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A
COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR
OF THE
INDO-GERMANIC LANGUAGES

Da muss sich manches Rätsel lösen
Doch manches Rätsel knüpft sich auch.

Goethe.

A
COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR

OF THE
INDO-GERMANIC LANGUAGES.

A CONCISE EXPOSITION
OF THE HISTORY
OF SANSKRIT, OLD IRANIAN (AVESTIC AND OLD PERSIAN), OLD ARMENIAN,
GREEK, LATIN, UMBRO-SAMNITIC, OLD IRISH, GOTHIC, OLD HIGH GERMAN,
LITHUANIAN AND OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC

BY
KARL BRUGMANN,
PROFESSOR OF COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LEIPZIG.

VOLUME III.
MORPHOLOGY, PART II:
NUMERALS. INFLEXION OF NOUNS AND PRONOUNS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

BY
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TO

JOHN PEILE,

DOCTOR OF LETTERS, MASTER OF CHRIST'S COLLEGE, THE FOUNDER OF THE
STUDY OF COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY IN CAMBRIDGE

THIS TRANSLATION IS DEDICATED

IN TOKEN OF THEIR GRATITUDE AND AFFECTION

BY

HIS OLD PUPILS.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

In this volume I have used, though sparingly, the terms suggested in the preface to volume II — *re-formate* (*formate*), *ad-formate*, *transformate*. These are applied to single words, as on p. 30, Rem. 1. When a word is modified by the analogy of another, it is said to be an *ad-formate* of it (p. 29, line 7 from the bottom, is an example). In its new shape it is *transformed from* the old, or a *transformate of it* (p. 44, footnote). Absolutely regarded, it is a *re-formate* (sometimes, where there can be no mistake, the simple word *formate* stands). *Re-formation* and *transformation* are used when not single words, but groups, come in question (as p. 90, line 6 from bottom); also when certain sound changes are exemplified by the words cited (as the *z* in *sibunzo ahtozo*, p. 40). These terms may be ugly, but they are so very convenient that their ugliness will, it is hoped, be forgiven.

In such words as *Pali*, *Prākṛit*, *Gāthīc* the quantity has not always been marked. It seemed needless to do so when this had been indicated often enough to ensure its being remembered.

The word polysyllable is used to include dissyllables, unless otherwise implied.

I had hoped to get out this volume by Christmas last. The delay is due partly to the waste of time in sending proofs to and fro from Germany, and partly to the almost ceaseless pressure of other duties.

Mr. Conway's criticism and advice has been very useful all through, and I take the opportunity of thanking him for it.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

CHELTENHAM, May 30, 1892.

CORRIGENDA TO VOLUME II.

page X line 1 for masculine read masculine

- | | | | | | |
|--------|-------------|------------|----------------------|----------------|-------------------|
| " 23 | " 19 | " | Classe | " | Classes |
| " 360 | " 14 | " | from below for -iēn- | read -iēn-, | with stop. |
| " 366 | " 5 | " | for 116 | read 116 | — |
| " 395 | " 15 | " | Fidóv-ru | read Fidó-vr-a | |
| " 434, | footnote 2) | " | live | " | line |
| " 437 | line 11 | from below | for nověji | read nově-ji | |
| " 443 | " 12 | " | " | " | dei-ús " eĩd-ús |
| " 474 | " 13 | " | " | " | gellà- " gellà |
| " 486 | " 9 | " | " | " | *suu-dĩ " *suu-dĩ |

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THE NUMERALS.¹⁾

§ 164. In the original Indo-Germanic language, the numerals 1 to 999 were expressed in one of three ways. Some were simple words, as **tri-* 'three' (Skr. *tri-*); some were compounds, as

1) Bopp, *Vergl. Gr.* II³ 55 ff. Schleicher, *Compend.*⁴ p. 477 ff. Bopp, *Über die Zahlwörter im Sanskr., Griech., Lat., Litth., Goth. und Altslaw.*, *Abh. der Berliner Akad.* 1833 p. 163 ff. Lepsius, *Über den Ursprung und die Verwandtschaft der Zahlwörter in der Indogerm., Semit. und der Koptischen Sprache*, in *'Zwei sprachvergleichende Abhandlungen'*, Berlin 1836, p. 81 ff. J. Grimm, *Geschichte der deutsch. Sprache*⁵ 167 ff. Pott, *die quinare und vigesimale Zählmethode bei Völkern aller Welttheile, nebst ausführlichen Bemerkungen über die Zahlwörter Indogermanischen Stammes*, Halle 1847. *Id.*, *Die Sprachverschiedenheit in Europa an den Zahlwörtern nachgewiesen, sowie die quinäre und vigesimale Zählmethode*, Halle 1868. E. Schrader, *Über den Ursprung und die Bedeutung der Zahlwörter in der indoeurop. Sprache*, Stendal 1854. Zehetmayr, *Verbalbedeutung der Zahlwörter, als Beitrag zur Beleuchtung des ursprüngl. Verhältnisses der indogerm. Sprachen zum semit. Sprachstamme*, Leipz. 1854. W. Wackernagel, *Über Zahl und Ziffern*, Michaelis' *Ztschr. für Stenogr.* 1855. Bernloew, *Recherches sur l'origine des noms de nombre japhétiques et sémitiques*, Giessen 1861. Krause, *Über den Ursprung und die Bedeutung der Zahlwörter*, *Ztschr. für österr. Gymn.* 1865 p. 867 f. J. Schmidt, *Über einige numeralia multiplicativa*, Kuhn's *Ztschr.* XVI 430 ff. — Ed. Müller, *Sprachvergleichendes über die Numeralia*, *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher für class. Phil.* 97, p. 535 f. Ascoli, *Über eine Gruppe indogermanischer Endungen*, *Krit. Stud.* 85 ff. Osthoff, *Formassociation bei Zahlwörtern*, *Morph. Unt. I* 92 ff. J. Baunack, *Formassociation bei den indogerm. Numeralien mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der griechischen*, Kuhn's *Ztschr.* XXV 225 ff. J. Wackernagel, *Zum Zahlwort*, *ibid.* 260 ff. The Author, *Die Bildung der Zehner und der Hunderter in den idg. Sprachen*, *Morph. Unt. V* 1 ff., 138 ff., 268.

Brugmann, *Elements.* III.

**dyō-dekṃ* 'twelve' (Skr. *dvā-daśa*); and some were expressed by phrases, as **trejes qe yīkṃti qe* 'twenty-three' (Skr. *trāyaś ca vīśattīś ca*). Simple words existed only for the numbers 1 to 10, and 100.

We find in the second stage, when the various branches of the language had begun to develop on their own lines, simple words for 1000, as Skr. *sa-hāśra-m*, Gr. Lesb. *χέλλ-ιοι*; but it is uncertain whether a corresponding form **gheslo-* existed in the protoethnic period, or whether the phrase 'ten hundreds' (cp. Skr. *daśa-śattī* f.) was the sole expression for this number. If the simple words for 1000 were not earlier than the second stage, the change was similar to one which took place in Greek, where Homer's *δεκά-χειλοι* '10,000' was replaced later by *μύριοι*.

The word **dekṃ* 'decem' played an important part in the Indo-Germanic decimal system. It is in the highest degree probable that the Indo-Germanic elements *-*kṃt-* and *-*kōmt-* which appear in the expressions for multiples of ten (Gr. Dor. *ἑκατὶ* and

Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, p. 160 ff. Spiegel, Gramm. d. altbaktr. Spr. p. 176 ff. — G. Meyer, Griech. Gr.² p. 372 ff. The Author, Gr. Gr. (Iwan Müller's Handb. II²) p. 135 ff. Ahrens, Ein Beitrag zur Etymologie der griech. Zahlwörter, Kuhn's Ztschr. VIII 329 ff. H. Ebert, Quaestionum de vocabulorum cum numeralibus Graecis compositorum formis ac significationibus specimen, Spandau 1858. — Stolz, Lat. Gr. (Iwan Müller's Handb. II²) p. 349 ff. Neue, Formenlehre der lat. Spr. II² p. 144 ff. Merguet, Die Entwicklung der lat. Formenbildung p. 132 ff. Aufrecht, Die lat. Zahladverbien auf *iens*, Kuhn's Ztschr. I 121 ff. — Zeuss-Ebel, Gramm. Celt.² p. 300 sqq. Stokes, Bezenb. Beitr. XI 166 ff. — J. Grimm, Deutsche Gramm. III 226 ff., 634 ff. *Id.*, Über die zusammengesetzten Zahlen, Germania I 18 ff. Holtzmann, Über das deutsche Duodecimalsystem, Germania I 217 ff. *Id.*, Das Grosshundert bei den Gothen, *ibid.* II 424 f. Rumpelt, Die deutsch. Zahlwörter sprachvergleichend dargestellt, Bresl. 1864. *Id.*, Die deutschen Pronomina und Zahlwörter, 1870. Scherer, Zur Gesch. der deutsch. Spr.² 576 ff. Kluge, Zu den german. Numeralien, Paul-Braune's Beitr. VI 393 ff. *Id.*, Paul's Grundriss I 402 ff. — Schleicher, Temy imenū čislitel'nychū vū litvo-slavjanskomū i německomū jazykachū (Priloženie kū X. tomu zapisokū Imp. Ak. Naukū), St. Petersburg 1866. *Id.*, Lit. Gr. p. 149 ff. Kurschat, Gr. der litt. Spr. p. 259 ff. Miklosich, Vergl. Gr. IV 51 ff. Leskien, Handb. der albulg. Spr.² p. 78 ff. — Reference may also be made to the discussion of the Lycian numerals by Deecke, Bezenberger's Beitr. XIV 181 ff. (see especially p. 240 ff.).

τραία-νοτα, etc.), and the word **kmtó-m* 'centum', were connected with **dekṃ*, and came from *-*dkmt-* *-*dkomt-* and **dkmtó-m*, syncope having taken place because the first syllable was unaccented (I § 310 p. 247); see Scherer Zur Gesch. der deutsch. Spr.² 579, Bugge Bezz. Beitr. XIV 72.

We are in the dark as to the precise significance of the original Indo-Germanic words for 'two' and all the following numerals. Many conjectures have been put forward, some of them not at all amiss. It has been suggested, for example, that **ter-* **tr-i-* 'three' may have been a name for the middle finger, connected with Skr. *tár-man-* 'top of the sacrificial pillar' Gr. *τέρ-θρο-ν* 'end, point, top'; **penge* 'five' has been compared with Goth. *figgr-s* 'finger' (cp. O.H.G. *füst* O.C.Sl. *pesti* 'fist' for **proqsti-s*, II § 101 p. 306), [and the slang phrase for a fist, *bunch of fives*]; and **dekṃ* 'ten' with Gr. *δέχομαι* *δέχομαι* I receive'¹). But many others are certainly far from the mark, as Zehetmayr's, in the work cited on the first page.

Our attention will be given first to Cardinal Numbers, to Abstract Numerals — so far only as they are used along with adjectival cardinal numbers in ordinary reckoning — and to the Ordinals. The Abstract Numerals are derived from the Cardinals by the suffixes *-ti-* and *-t-* (*-d-*), which serve as secondary suffixes in other abstract forms besides these (see II § 99 p. 293, § 101 p. 306 f., § 123 p. 390). Some of them were used in the proethnic period along with ordinary numerals; instead of 'ten men', for instance, the expression 'a ten of men' served equally well. Sometimes they even drove the cardinals out of the field altogether; in Balto-Slavonic **dekṃ* is not represented, but only **dekṃ-t(i)-*, which appears in Lith. as *deszimt(i)-*, in Slav. as *deset(i)-*. The Ordinal Numerals contain *-to-* and *-mo-*, suffixes used in comparison; a conjecture as to the origin of these has been given in II § 72 Rem. p. 167 and § 81 Rem. 1 p. 242.

1) Scherer, *op. cit.* p. 578: "It therefore seems most natural to regard the word as an ancient expression for both hands held out to receive something".

CARDINALS, ABSTRACT NUMERALS, AND ORDINALS.

§ 165. One. In the original language, one or more derivatives from a pronominal stem *oi-* served to express 'one': cp. Gr. Ital. Kelt. Germ. Balto-Slav. **oi-no-s* (Skr. has an enclitic *ēna-* with the meaning 'he'), Iran. Gr. **oi-uo-s*, Skr. **oi-go-*.

Aryan. Skr. *ē-ka-s*. Avest. *ae-va-* *ōi-va-*, O.Pers. *ai-va-*.

Greek. *oi-vós* *oi-vḥ* 'ace, the number one on a die', *oivḥ* *παρὰ τοῖς ἰωσι μόνάς* (Pollux VII 204), *oivḥ* *ζεν* *τὸ μονάζειν κατὰ γλῶτταν* and *oivḥ* *ντα* *μονήρη* (Hesych.). Then there is the Homeric *oietḥ* 'of the same age, contemporary', which Wackernagel (Kuhn's Ztschr. XXV 280) derives from **oiFo-ferḥ* by syllabic dissimilation (I § 643 pp. 481 f.), whilst *oi-o-s* Cypr. *oiFo-s* meant 'alone'.

Italic. Lat. *oi-no-s* *oenos* *anu-s*, Umbr. *unu* 'unum' Osc. *úin[itu]* 'unita'.

Remark. Many scholars connect *ē-ka-s* with Lat. *aequo-s* and Gr. *aiśa* 'equal portion' (for **aix*ka*). If **oi-* belongs to the stem *o-*, **aix-* might be connected with the feminine stem *a-* (§ 409). But at the same time such forms as Lat. *auri-s*: Gr. *oiata* suggest the possibility of a similar vowel variation here. — See Hübschmann, Das idg. Vocalsystem pp. 190 f.

Old Irish. *oe-n*.

Germanic. Goth. *ái-n-s* O.H.G. *ei-n* O.Icel. *ei-nn*.

Balto-Slavonic. Lith. *v-ēna-s* (cp. I § 666. 1 p. 526), Pruss. acc. *ai-na-n*. O.C.Sl. *i-nŭ* (cp. I § 84 p. 82, § 666. 3 p. 527), which in composition means 'one', as *ino-rogi* 'one-horned animal, unicorn'; elsewhere it has the meaning 'alter, alius'.

**sem-* was another word for 'one' in the parent language. The idea originally conveyed by it was probably that of being together or united. This became the regular numeral in Armenian and Greek: Armen. *mi* (gen. *miof*) for **sm-i* (I § 560 p. 416); Gr. *ēv-* instead of **ēm-*, nom. masc. in the dialect of Gortyn *ēv-s* Att. *el-s*, fem. *ula* for **sm-ia*, *μῶννξ* 'one-hoofed' for **sm-ωννξ* (II § 160 pp. 479 f.). Compare Skr. *sa-kṣt* 'once' Gr. *ā-naξ* 'once' *-áπλόος* 'single, simple', Lat. *sim-plex*, *sin-gul*,

semel (see § 182), *sem-per* 'in one unbroken sequence, always', Goth. *simlē* 'once, once upon a time'.

Isolated forms, of doubtful origin, are Hom. Gort. *ἰᾶ* Lesb. Thess. *ἰα* (cp. Osthoff, *Morph. Unt.* IV 186 f.), and Slav. *jedinŭ jedinŭ*, the regular word for 'one' in that language.

First. In all periods, from the protoethnic onwards, ordinals for this number were formed from the $\sqrt{\text{per-}}$, which is seen in Gr. *πέρων πέρ-σαι πρό* etc. (Fick, *Wörterb.* I³ 140 ff.), by means of the suffixes *-uo-* (Ar., Gr., Slav.), *-mo-* (Ital., Germ., Balt.), *-tymo-* (Ar.) and *-isto-* (West-Germ. and Norse).

**pŕ-uo-*, **pŕ-mo-*. The former became O.C.Sl. *pŕi-vŭ*, the latter is seen in Skr. *pŕvo-iyá-s pŕvo-iya-s* (also *pŕva-s* 'situated before'); Avest. *pourviya- pavirya-*; Gr. *πρώτος* Dor. *πᾶτος* for **πρω-ατο-ς*, besides which we have forms without the extension *-ατο-* (cp. *τέλε-ατο-ς* § 167), Dor. *πᾶν* 'formerly' for **πρω-ῥα-v*, and (with the suffix *-ῖο-*) *πρώην* 'recently' for **πρω-ῥα-ῖο-v*. Cp. I § 306 p. 242, II § 63 p. 133, § 64 p. 134. Apparently we must assume a form **pro-uo-* for Goth. *fráuja* 'lord', O.H.G. *frō* 'lord' *frouwa* (= Goth. **fráujō*) 'lady'; this **pro-uo-* will be related to **pŕ-uo-* in the same way as **pro-mo-* to **pŕ-mo-*.

**pŕ-mo-*. Goth. *fruma* O.Sax. *formo* A.S. *forma*. Lith. *pirma-s*. Cp. O.Ir. *rem-* 'ante, prae' II § 72 p. 168 and Lat. *prandiu-m*, which Osthoff is probably right in explaining as **pram-(e)d-ijo-m* 'early food' (cp. *Morph. Unt.* V p. III). **pro-mo-* is seen in Umbr. *prumum promom* 'primum': cp. Gr. *πρόμος* 'front man, front warrior, leader, prince' Goth. *fram-aldrs* 'advanced in age'. *-mo-* also occurs in Lat. *prīmu-s* Pelign. *prīsmu* 'primo' or 'primum' (I § 570 p. 427, II § 72 p. 168), which, like *pŕis-cu-s* and *pŕis-tinu-s*, is derived from a comparative form connected with *prius* (II § 135 pp. 433 f.).

-tymo-: Skr. *pra-thamá-* (for the *th* cp. II § 73 p. 178), Avest. *fra-tema-* O.Pers. *fra-tama-*. Cp. Avest. *fra-tara-* Gr. *πρότερος* 'former, earlier'.

-isto-: O.H.G. *furist* A.S. *fyrst* O.Icel. *fyrst-r*. Cp. O.H.G. *furiro* 'earlier, superior'.

Alban. *i-pare* 'first' belongs to the same root as these words.

Words derived from other roots:

Skr. *ādyā-s* from *ā-dī-*§ 'beginning'; and later *ādī-mā-s*.

Armen. *nax* and *arajin*, the latter from *araj* 'foremost side, front, origin, beginning' (cp. *verj-in* 'last' from *verj* 'end', *ver-in* 'highest' from *ver* 'above', and the like).

O.Ir. *cēt-ne*, in composition *cēt-*, Mod.Cymr. *kyntaf*, Gall. *Cintu-* in proper names, such as *Cintu-gnātu-s* ('primigenitus'); perhaps, as Thurneysen conjectures, this is connected with Goth. *hindumist-s* 'extreme, outermost' A.S. *hindema* 'last', since the ideas of 'first' and 'last' are easily interchanged. In Irish there is a further form *oen-mad*, used where larger numbers follow; here the termination *-mad* has come from *sechtm-ad* 'seventh' *dechm-ad* 'tenth', where *m* is part of the stem.

§ 166. Two.¹⁾ The stem is **dyo-* **duyo-* (I § 117 p. 109); in composition and in some ordinary derivatives we have **dyi-*, a form which recalls **tr-i-* 'three' (cp. II § 13 p. 28) and **u-i-* 'two' in *Fl-xar* etc. (§ 177). I find it impossible to agree with Bartholomae (Ar. Forsch. III 39), who conjecturally restores **dyōi-* **dyoi-* **dyi-* as the primitive base of this numeral.

Skr. *dvāu dvā* (*duvāu duvā*), fem. neut. *dvē* (*duvē*). Avest. *dva*, fem. *duyē* (cp. Bartholomae, Handb. § 92 p. 40).

Gr. *δύω* (used for both masc. and fem., like Lat. *duo* and Lith. dialectic *dù*, cp. also τὸ στήλα § 426), *δύο* (which was perhaps originally the neuter, see § 293); *δύ-δεκα* for **δφω-*. The Dor. and Later Att. *δυό* Lesb. *δύσει* or *δύεσαι* Thess. *δύας* are re-formates, apparently caused by *δυῶν* (*δυῶν*); the relation of *τρῖς*: *τριῶν* made it seem natural to coin *δυό* as dative to *δυῶν*. *δυοί* cannot be derived from **dyoiō-* (cp. I § 130 pp. 117 f.); possibly it came from **dyoi-jo-*, cp. Skr. *dvē-dhā* 'double, twice' and §§ 297, 311.

1) Benfey, Das indogerm. Thema des Zahlworts 'zwei' ist *DU*, Götting. 1876. — Zander, De vocabuli *δύο* usu Homericō Hesiodico et Attico, I, II, Königsberg 1834, 1845. — Meringer, Die Flexion der Zweizahl, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVIII 294 ff.

Lat. *duo*, fem. *duae* (cp. §§ 285, 286), acc. *duo*, *duōs*, *duās*, dat. *duō-bus*, *duā-bus*. In Umbrian the inflexion is plural throughout: nom. masc. *dur*, acc. masc. fem. *tuf*, nom. acc. neut. *tuva* (cp. Lat. *dua* beside *duo*).

O.Ir. *dau dō*, older *dau*, and also *dā* (§ 285), fem. *dī*; O.Cymr. Mid.Bret. masc. *dou*.

Goth. *tvái*, neut. *tva*, fem. *tvōs*; dat. *tváim*, gen. *tvaddjē* (see § 311). The Germanic dialects show various re-formates among the cases, as O.H.G. *zwēne*, which are not yet satisfactorily explained; the latest discussion of them is by Kluge in Paul's Grundriss I 403.

Lith. masc. *dù* for **dvū*, fem. *dvi* for **dvē*, see I § 184 p. 160, § 664. 3 p. 523. O.C.Sl. *dva dūva*, fem. neut. *dvě dūvě*.

**dvi-*. Examples of this base in composition are: Skr. *dvi-pád-* Gr. *di-novs* Lat. *bi-pēs* A.S. *twi-fēte* 'two-footed', O.H.G. *zwei-valt* 'two-fold'. In derivatives: **dvi-go-*: Skr. *dvi-ka-* 'consisting of two' Gr. *disó-s di-ró-s* 'two-fold' for **dfi-x-ko-s*, O.H.G. *zweho* 'doubt' A.S. *twiz* 'twig, branch' (II § 86 p. 257). In Italic we find *du-* (as well as **dvi-*): Lat. *du-plu-s du-plex du-centi* (cp. § 180), Umbr. *du-pursus* 'bipedibus'; this was a re-formation, developed possibly with the aid of *quadru-* (II § 34 p. 61).

Remark 1. Side by side with Lat. *bi-*, *dvi-* is found twice in composition, *dvi-dēns* and *dvi-cēnsus* (Paul. Fest.). This, like O.Lat. *duis* = *bis* (§ 182), may have preserved an Idg. **dvi-* (cp. Ved. *duiṣ* beside *dvīṣ*), or it may simply be a modification of *bi-* on the analogy of *duo* (and of *du-*); I leave the matter undecided. In either case we may reject the view of Skutsch (De nominum Latinorum compositione, Nissae 1888, p. 35), who holds that *bi-* arose from the *dvi-* which is preserved in these two compounds. On the other hand, I agree with this scholar in regarding *di-* in late compounds (as *di-lōris*) as borrowed from the Greek *di-* (p. 36).

Armen. *erku* (gen. dat. *erku-ç*), of uncertain origin. Bugge (Beitr. zur etym. Erläuterung der arm. Spr., 41 f.) derives the word from **ku-* = Idg. **duō(y)*, with *er-* prefixed on the analogy of *ereḵ* 'three'; a most daring suggestion. Fr. Müller would connect it with Suanian *jéru* Georgian *ori* 'two'.

Second. For this numeral the different languages show very different forms.

Skr. *dvi-tīya-s*, Avest. *bi-tya-* Gāthīc *d'bi-tya-* O.Pers. *dāvitiya-* (I § 159 p. 143).

Armen. *erkir* and *erkr-ord* (for **erkir-ord*).

Remark 2. Perhaps *erkir*, like *çovir* 'fourth', was formed on the analogy of *eri-r* 'third'. The termination *-ord*, found in *erkr-ord* and all the numerals which follow, is very common in other words besides numerals: e. g. *hanapaz-ord* 'daily' from *hanapaz* 'always', *parap-ord* 'otiosus' from *parap* 'otium', *ors-ord* 'hunter' from *ors* 'hunt', *lc-ord* 'companion', *oçuyoc* from *luc* 'yoke'. Petermann (*Grammatica Linguae Armen.* p. 162) and Bopp (*Vergl. Gr.* II^o 97 f.) offer very questionable conjectures as to its origin.

Gr. *δεύτερος* properly means 'removed to a distance from something, at a distance from it, coming after it in time or position' (*δεύτατος* is also found). It is etymologically connected with *δέωμαι* and the Sanskrit adj. *dū-rá-* 'far off, afar', and did not belong to the numerals until Greek had become a separate language. Its similarity in sound with *δίω* certainly had something to do with this new use. See the Author, Kuhn's *Ztschr.* XXV 298 ff.

Lat. *secundu-s*, connected with *sequor*; see II § 69 p. 161.

O.Ir. *aile* (Mid. Cymr. Mod. Bret. *eil*) = Lat. *aliu-s*, and *tānise*, which is connected with *imthānad* 'change', though nothing further is known of its etymology.

Goth. *an-þar* O.H.G. *andar*. Lith. *añtra-s* O.C.Sl. *vūtorū*. Cp. II § 75 p. 198. It possibly may be analysed *vū-torū* (cp. Skr. *u-bhāū*), see § 285.

§ 167. Three. Idg. masc. neut. **tr-i-*. The *-i-* was a suffix, as is proved by such forms as Skr. *ty-tīya-s* Gr. Lesb. *τέρ-το-ς*.

Skr. *tráy-as*, loc. *tri-śú*. Avest. *prāy-ō*, loc. *pri-šva*.

Armen. *ere-Ē*, gen. dat. *eri-ç*, instr. *eri-vĒ*, see I § 263 p. 213.

Gr. *τρεις* Gortyn. *τρεις* for **τρει-ες*, loc. *τρι-σι*; Hipponax has *τρισι*, which was suggested by *τριων* (*τρία*). The Boeot. *τρέ-πεδδα* (beside *τρι-πους* etc.), taken in conjunction with Lat. *trē-centī*, Lith. *trẽ-czia-s* O.C.Sl. *tre-tŕjŕ* 'third' Lith. *tre-jŕ* 'three by three', seems to point to an old stem **tr-e-* (**tr-o-*).

Lat. *trēs*, dat. abl. *tri-bus*, Umbr. *trif tref* acc. 'tres' *triia* 'tria'.

O.Ir. *trī* dat. *tri-b*.

Goth. *þreis* dat. *þri-m*, O.H.G. *dri* dat. *dri-m*.

Lith. *trīs* loc. *tri-sė*. O.C.Sl. *trīj-e trij-e* loc. *trī-chū*.

For the feminine there was a special form in the parent language, preserved only in Aryan and Keltic, **tiser- *tisr-*: nom. Skr. *tisr-ās* (for the weak form of the stem see § 320) Avest. *tišar-ō*, O.Ir. *teoir* O.Cymr. *teir* (cp. I § 576 p. 431). It is conjectured that **tisr-* came from **tri-sr-* by dissimilation, and that its second part is identical with the second part of **sye-sor-* 'sister'; see Bugge, Bezenb. Beitr. XIV 75 f. Skr. *cātāsr-as* is a similar formation (see § 168).

Third. The Indo-Germanic languages have forms with *-to-*; those without the *-i-* of **tr-i-* may be considered the oldest: Skr. *ty-tīya-s*, Gr. Lesb. *τίρ-τος*, Lat. *ter-tiu-s* Umbr. *tertīm* 'tertium', Pruss. *tir-ti-s* acc. *tir-tie-n* (*tir-* = **tj-*).

The following have **tr-i-*. Avest. *þri-tya-* O.Pers. *ši-tiya-*. Gr. Att. etc. *τρί-τος*, and the Homeric *τρίτ-ατος* on the analogy of *εἰνατο-ς δέκατο-ς*, cp. *πρῶτο-ς* for **πρωτ-ατος* § 165 p. 5 and *ἑβδόμ-ατος* § 171. Lat. *trit-avo-s*, unless the true form of the word be *striit-avo-s*, see II § 81 p. 246. Mod.Cymr. *trydydd* for **tri-tijo-* or for **tj-tijo-*, we cannot tell which. With different suffixes: Armen. *eri-r* (and *err-ord* for **erir-ord*, cp. § 166 Rem. 2) and O.Ir. *tri-s*, in composition *tress-* (see II § 81 p. 247).

For *tr-e-* in Lith. *trėczta-s* for **tretja-s* and in O.C.Sl. *trētijŕ*, see last page.

The last-named forms make it doubtful whether Goth. *þridja* O.H.G. *dritto* are derived from **tri-tjo-*, or from **tre-tjo-* (according to I § 67.3 p. 57).

§ 168. Four. The Idg. stem masc. neut. **getyer- *getyor-* had a variety of ablaut-forms; this was because there were several distinct weak-grade forms of the second syllable: **q(e)tur- *q(e)tūr- *q(e)tru- *q(e)tūr- *q(e)tuf-*. Cp. I § 155 p. 140, and J. Schmidt, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXV 43 ff. and 138, Pluralbild. 191 f.; Wackernagel, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXV 283 ff., XXVIII 136;

G. Meyer, Gr. Gr.² 376 f.; Osthoff, Phil. Rundsch. I 1592, Morph. Unt. IV 333; Kluge, Paul-Braune's Beitr. VIII 517 ff., Paul's Grundr. I 403 f.

The nom. plur. masc. in the original language would be **getuor-es*: Dor. τέτορες Lat. *quattuor* Skr. *catvār-as*; neut. **getuōr* **getuōr-ə*: Skr. *catvāri*, Lat. *quattuor*, Goth. *fidvōr*, whose *ō* passed over into the masculine.

Skr. *catvār-as* acc. *catūr-as*; in composition *catur-* instead of pr. Ar. **catru-*. Avest. *caḫwār-ō*; *catur-a-* 'occurring four times'; in composition *caḫru-*, as *caḫru-karana-* 'four-cornered', and *caḫwar'-*, as *caḫwar'-zanagra-* 'four-footed'; the latter was probably suggested by *caḫwar'-sat-* '40' (see §§ 176, 178, and the Author, Morph. Unt. V 30). For the ablaut in the first syllable cp. Avest. *a-xtūrya-* 'occurring four times' and the ordinals Skr. *tūr-ya-* *tur-īya-* Avest. *tūrya-* for **ktur-* (I § 648 p. 491).

Armen. *čor-ē*, gen. *čor-i-ç*, from **getuōr-* or **getur-*, see I § 455 p. 336. Also *ḫar-*, in *ḫar-a-sun* '40', probably from *(*q*)*tuḫ-*, see §§ 176, 178.

Gr. Dor. τέτορες, Late Ion. τέσσαρες Arcad. τεσσαρά-κοντα, Lesb. πέσρες Hom. πόνρες, Att. τέτταρες Hom. τέσσαρες Boeot. πέτταρες, dat. Hom. τέτρα-σι. Cp. I § 166 p. 147. *π-* in *πέσρες* *πόνρες* *πέτταρες* can hardly have been taken over from **πτρα-* (*τράπεζα*) and **πτρν-* (*τρν-φάλεια*), since these had dropped their *π-* in the proethnic Greek period. More probably it came from *πέντε*. Two other forms are *τετρα-* and *(*π*)*τρα-*. The former is seen in *τέτρα-σι*, *τετρά-κις* 'four times', *τέτρα-το-ς* (beside *τέταρτο-ς*) and in most compounds, as *τετρά-κυκλος* 'four-wheeled'; the latter in *τρά-πεζα* 'table' for *(*π*)*τρά-πεζα* (beside *ταρ-* in *τάρων* = *τεττάρων*, a word used by the comedian Amphis, and in *ταρτημόριον* = *τεταρτημόριον*, preserved by Hesychius¹). *τετρα-* stands for **τεττρα-* (**getuḫ-*) and *(*π*)*τρα-*

1) Hesychius' explanation, τὸ τριτημόριον, seems to be corrupt; read τὸ τεταρτημόριον. It is not at all probable that this word has preserved a form *ταρτο-* belonging to Skr. *trītya-s* Pruss. *tirti-s* 'third'.

for **(π)τφα-* (**qtyr-*), *f* having been lost in proethnic Greek (the Author, Gr. Gr.² pp. 43, 71). *τετρώ-κοντα* for **qetyr-*, see §§ 176, 178, 341. *Τυρταῖος*, if Pott is right in adding this to the list (cp. *Τριταῖος*), should be compared with Skr. *túr-ya-*; *τυρ-* instead of **πτыр-* on the analogy of *τρν-*. With Homer's *τεσσαρά-βοιο-ς* 'worth four oxen' compare another Homeric form, *τεῖκοσά-βοιο-ς* (beside *δωκαεῖκοσί-πηχυ-ς*).

Lat. *quattuor*, *quadru-* (in composition), *quadra-ginta* instead of **quettuor*, **quedru-*, **quedra-*, being assimilated to *quartu-s* (see next page). *quattuor*, nom. pl. masc. and nom. acc. neut. (see last page), dropped its inflexions because the following numerals (*quinque* etc.) were not inflected. *quadra-* stands for **qetyr-*, see §§ 176, 178. *-d-* has taken the place of *-t-*, reminding us of a similar change of the breathed to the voiced sound in *angulu-s* for **aneklo-*, *septin-gentī septua-ginta* (I § 499 p. 366, III § 177), Gr. *ἐβδομο-ς* O.C.Sl. *sedmī* (§ 171). Umbr. *petur-pursus* 'quadrupedibus', Osc. *petora* 'quattuor' (Fest.) and *petiro-pert* 'quater'.

O.Ir. *cethir* (dat. *cethrib*), O.Cymr. *petguar*. Gall. *Petru-coriu-s* and *petor-ritum* 'four-wheeled vehicle'.

Goth. *fidvör* for **fidvör-(i)z* like *stiur* 'steer, ox' for **stiur(a)-z* (I § 660. 6 p. 516, III § 194), dat. *fidvöri-m*, see § 169; *fidur-dōgs* 'lasting four days' (*fidūr-?* or *fidür-* instead of **fidaúr-* because the second syllable was unaccented?). The *t*-sound which appears in Gothic is not found elsewhere, except in A.S. and O.Swed. compounds; e. g. A.S. *fyðer-fēte* 'four-footed' for pr. Germ. **fīþur-* (II § 19 p. 36). O.H.G. *fior* O.Sax. *fiwar* A.S. *feówer* O.Icel. masc. *fjörer* neut. *fjogor fjugur* point to a form **kyekyor-* **kyekur-* before the great Sound-shifting (*Lautverschiebung*) in proethnic Germanic; for the change of *-zu-* to *-y-* see I § 444 c p. 330. I assume that in **kyetyor-*, *-ty-* was assimilated to the initial guttural (cp. **pempe* Goth. *fimf* for **penqe*, § 169 p. 14); then **kyetur-* followed suit, and became **kyekur-*. In Gothic, on the other hand, *fidur-* held its ground, and *fidvör* (instead of **fi(z)vör*) has been assimilated to it.

Remark 1. I have discussed this *-tu-* in Morph. Unt. V 53 f. It has been differently explained by Kluge in Paul-Braune's Beitr. VIII 517 ff., and in Paul's Grundriss I 403; but I do not feel convinced by his arguments.

Remark 2. Even in pr. Germ. this numeral was declined as an *i*-stem; e. g. O.H.G. *florin* like Goth. *fiðvri-m*. The same *i*-inflection is seen in the numerals 5 to 12, as Goth. *fimfi-m* O.H.G. *finfin*. The origin of this inflection is doubtful; perhaps the *i*-forms are to be traced to more than one source. See on this subject the Author, Morph. Unt. V 53 ff.

Lith. *keturì*, stem *ketur-ja-*, but acc. *kětur-is*, declined in the same way as the following numbers *penkì szeszì* etc. Side by side with this is found *ketverì* (stem *ketver-ja-*), the distributive — used as a cardinal numeral with plural substantives —, whose termination *-erì* spread to the numerals which followed (*penk-erì szesz-erì* etc.). The same suffix *-jo-* occurs in *tre-jì*, Avest. *a-xtūirya-* 'occurring four times', Gr. *δοιοί δισσό-ς*, and in many other numerals (cp. § 183). From *ketver-ì*, *-jo-* passed over to the proper cardinal numeral, but the acc. *kěturis* = Skr. *catūras* Gr. *πίονρας* (common ground-form **getur-ys*, § 333) was preserved by the aid of *tris*, and then the numerals which followed were declined precisely like *keturì* (cp. the Author, Morph. Unt. V 55 f.).

O.C.Sl. *četyr-e*, gen. *četyr-ŭ* acc. *četyr-i*, fem. nom. acc. *četyr-i*. Distributive *četver-o*.

We trace an original fem. of **getyer-*, answering to **tiser-* 'three' (§ 167 p. 8), in Skr. *cātasr-as* Avest. *catanər-ō* (I § 558 p. 415) and Mod.Cymr. *pedeir* O.Ir. *cetheoira cetheora*. These justify the conjecture that *-yer-* in **getyer-* was a suffix of some kind.

Fourth. Skr. *catur-thā-s* and *tūr-ya-s tur-tya-s*, Avest. *tūirya-* (see p. 9).

Armen. *čor-ir čorr-ord* for **čorir-ord* and *kər-ord* (cp. § 166 Rem. 2 p. 7).

Gr. *τέταρ-το-ς* Hom. *τέτρα-το-ς* Boeot. *πέτρα-το-ς* (*π-* as in *πέτραρες*), ground-form **getur-to-*. *ταρτο-* ground-form **qtur-to-* in *ταρτημόριον*. Cp. p. 10.

Lat. *quartu-s* for **qtur-to-* (I § 306 p. 242), which no doubt became first **tvar-to-*, and then *quarto-* through association with

quattuor. Prenest. *Quorta* (Schneider, Dial. Ital. I no. 217) is so isolated that I cannot venture on the strength of it to assume **qtuŕ-to-* as well as **qtuŕ-to-* for Italic; cp. Stolz, Lat. Gr.² p. 385. Osc. *trutum* 'quartum' *trutas* gen. 'quartae' (Bugge, Altital. Stud. 1878 p. 53 ff.) are formed from **qtrǎ-*.

O.Ir. *cethramad* formed after the analogy of *sechtmad* 'seventh' *dechmad* 'tenth'.

O.H.G. *fior-do* A.S. *feór-ða* beside O.H.G. *fior*, see p. 11.

Lith. *ketviŕ-ta-s* O.C.Sl. *četrŕi-tŭ* ground-form **qetŕŕ-to-*.

§ 169. Five. Idg. **penqe*. This number, along with the numbers 6 to 10, was indeclinable in the original language, and also more or less in Aryan, Armenian, Greek, Italic, Keltic, and Germanic during the historical period. We may conjecture that it is a survival from the time when the attributive adjective needed no case-endings. For example, Ved. *pánca kŕṣṭíṣu*, Gr. *πέντε δακτύλων*, Lat. *quinque virōrum*, Goth. *fiṃf hláibans*. But it came to be declined more or less frequently in all the different branches of Indo-Germanic except Italic: Skr. gen. *pañcānām*, Armen. gen. *hngi-ç*, Gr. Lesb. *πέμπων*, Mid.Ir. *cōic m-bō* 'quinque vaccarum', O.H.G. dat. *finfin* (inflected only where it followed the substantive). In Lithuanian alone *penki* is invariably inflected from the earliest period at which we know the language (cp. last page). In Slavonic the adjectival numeral, along with those immediately following up to 10, had died out before the beginning of our record.

Skr. *pánca*, Avest. *panca*.

Armen. *hing*, see I § 330 p. 265, § 455 p. 336.

Gr. *πέντε*. -π- is regular (I § 427 p. 312) in Lesb. *πέμπων* (see above), and in *πεμπ-ώβολο-ν*, *πεμπάς* *πεμπάζω*; whilst in Lesb. *πέμπε* the -π-, and in *πεντώβολο-ν* *πεντάς* etc. the -τ- was due to form-association. In compounds, besides *πεντε-* (e. g. *πεντε-τάλαντο-ς*) we find *πεντα-* (e. g. *πεντα-κόσιοι*, *πεντά-πηχυ-ς*), which is a re-formation following the model of *τετρα-*, *ἑπτα-*, *ἐνα-*, *ἐννεα-*, *δέκα-*.

Remark 1. Two stems are found; *πεμπά-* like Skr. *pañcāt-*, and a *ti*-stem with the same meaning, Skr. *pañktí-* & O.Icel. *fiṃt* O.C.Sl. *peŕŕ*. The

first two words are ad-formates of *δενάς* and *δαδάι-* respectively; and considering how widely the suffix *-ad-* was used in Greek — *μονάς, ἐνάς, δυνάς, τριάς, τετράς, ἑξάς, ἑβδομάς* (cp. *ἑβδομή-κοντα*) *ἐπτάς, ὀγδοάς* (cp. *ὀγδοή-κοντα*) *ἑκτάς, ἑννέας, τετταρακοντάς, ἑκατοντάς, χιλιάς, μυριάς* — it is extremely doubtful whether there is any immediate historical connexion between *πεμπάς* and *παῖνκτι-*. For the *-δ-* of *-ad-* see II § 123 p. 392 and III § 178.

Lat. *quinque quinque* (for *ī*, see Thurneysen in Kuhn's Ztschr. XXX 501 f.), Umbr. *pumpeřias* Osc. *pumperias*, equivalent to 'quintiliae' or 'quincuriae', Osc. *Púmpaiians* 'Pompeianus'. Pr.Ital. **k̑erak̑e*, see I § 336 p. 267. *quincu-*, in *quincu-plex* etc., through association with *quadru-*.

O.Ir. *cōic*, O.Cymr. *pīmp*, Gall. *πεμπεδουλα* 'πεντάφυλλον' (Dioscor.), see I § 436 p. 324. Pr.Kelt. **k̑erak̑e*, see I § 339 p. 269.

Goth. *fiṃf* O.H.G. *fiṃf finf* (the *u* of O.H.G. *funf* is discussed below under the ordinal). Probably the second *f* is to be explained by supposing that **perak̑e* became **pembe* (cp. I § 444 Rem. 1 pp. 329 f.) as **k̑et̑or-* became **k̑ek̑or-* (III § 168 p. 11). The *i*-inflexion, which we see in Goth. *fiṃfiṃ* O.H.G. *fiṃfiṃ*, is discussed in § 168 Rem. 2 p. 12.

Lith. *penkt̑* and *penk-eȓi*, see § 168 p. 12.

In Slavonic, the cardinals 5 to 10 inclusive were represented by the abstract formation: *peřt̑* 'fivefold character, the number five' (= Skr. *pañcakti-* O.Icel. *fiṃt*) governing the gen. pl. of the thing. The old numerals were indeclinable, and this may have had something to do with their being dropped.

Remark 2. Be it observed in passing that the Albanian numerals 5 to 10 are based upon these same *ti*-abstracts: *pesë* 'five', *gjashtë* 'six', *ëste* 'seven', *tetë* 'eight', *nëntë* 'nine', *dhjetë dhjetë* 'ten'. See G. Meyer, Albanes. Stud. II 50 ff.

Fifth. Idg. **p̑eq-to-* (which can be traced with certainty in Germanic, but nowhere else); and perhaps **peȓeq-to-* too is proethnic (cp. **peȓeqe*).

Skr. *pañcamā-s* (following *saptamā-s* etc.) and *pañca-ṭha-s* (cp. O.Ir. *cōiced*). Avest. *puzda-* (for *-ā-*, cp. *uxda-* I § 475 p. 351), according to von Fierlinger (Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVII 194), comes from **p̑eqto-*; but why should it have *u* and not *a*? The *u* reminds us of Gr. *πυγμή* Lat. *pūgnu-s*. Besides *puzda-* we find the further form Avest. *pañtane-m* acc. 'one-fifth'.

Armen. *hing-er-ord*.

Remark 3. For *-ord*, see § 166 Rem. 2 p. 8. The *-er-* which precedes *-ord* in this and the succeeding numerals is still unexplained.

Gr. *πέμν-το-ς*, Gortyn. *πέντο-ς* (I § 427 a p. 312).

Lat. *quintu-s* *Quinctiu-s*, Osc. Púntiis Πομπτιες 'Quinctius'. The ground-form may be either **penqto-* or **pqto-*. Bartholomae (Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 503) conjectures that Lat. *quint-* Osc. *pont-* were the regular forms, while the cardinals were responsible for *-c-* in *quinct-* and *-p-* in *pompt-*.

O.Ir. *cóiced* O.Cymr. *pimphet*, see II § 81 p. 247.

Goth. *fimfta* in *fimfta-taihunda* 'fifteenth', O.H.G. *finfto* *finfto*. A form **fuwxta-* = **pqto-* must be assumed for pr. Germ. to explain Mod.H.G. Swab. *fuchzē* '15' *fuf* 'fifth', O.H.G. *funfto* *funf*, Mod.H.G. Rhine-Frank. *fufzēn* *fufzich* etc.; see Kauffmann, Paul-Braune's Beitr. XII 512. Compare too O.H.G. *fūst* (pr. Germ. **fuwxsti-z*) O.C.Sl. *pęstŭ* 'fist' common ground-form **pqgsti-s*, II § 101 p. 306 f.

Lith. *penkta-s*. O.C.Sl. *pętŭ* may stand for **penq-to-* or **pqg-to-*.

§ 170. Six. Three forms may be restored with more or less probability. Iranian, Greek, and Keltic point to **syeks*; Armenian and Baltic to **yeks*; Sanskrit, Latin, Germanic, Baltic, and Albanian to **seks* (Alban. *gāšte*, see G. Meyer, Alban. Stud. II 56 ff.). **syeks* and **yeks* would be parallel forms like ✓ *syelq-* and *yelq-* 'draw' (Gr. *ἐλκω* Lat. *sulcu-s*: Lith. *velkti*) and other pairs of the same kind; see I § 589.3 pp. 445 f. **syeks* and *seks*, again, recal such pairs as **sye-* (Skr. *svā-* 'suus' etc.) and **se-* (Avest. *hē hōi*, Lat. *sē*, Goth. *si-k*), **sesor-* (Skr. *svāsar-* 'sister' etc.) and **sesor-* (Lith. *sesū* O.C.Sl. *sestra*) and so forth; see I § 170 p. 150, § 184 p. 160 (and see II p. 441 footnote 2), § 187 p. 162.

Both in the prehistoric parent language, and in the historic period of Aryan, Armenian, Greek, Italic, Keltic and Germanic, this word was indeclinable. For example: Avest. *xšvaš sataiš* 'with six hundred', Gr. *ἕξ ἡμέρας*, Lat. *sex mēnsibus*, Goth. *afar dagans sahs* 'after six days'. But it was sometimes inflected,

as Skr. *ṣaḍbhiṣ*, Armen. gen. *veç-i-ç*, Gr. *ἑξαι* or *ἑξάσι* (in an inscr. of the fourth century A. D., C.I.G. no. 5128. 27 *τοῖς ἑξαι βασιλείαις*) like *τέτρασι*, Mid.Ir. gen. *se m-bō* 'sex vaccarum', O.H.G. dat. *sehsin* (only used when the subst. precedes). The Latin word, *sex*, was never declined; the Lithuanian, *szeszī*, always.

Skr. *ṣāṣ* (*ṣāt*, see I § 401 Rem. 2 p. 297); cp. *ṣḍāṣa* '16' for **ṣaṣḍāsa*, like *vōḍhum* for **vaṣḍhu-m* (I § 404. 2 pp. 298 f.), and *ṣaṣṭhā-s* 'sixth'. Avest. *xšvaš*, also *xštva-*, which latter is regarded as standing for **xvšta-*. Apparently it should be assumed that there were two forms in protoethnic Aryan, **smaš* and **saš*, which became **šmaš* and *šaš* by assimilation of the sibilant. These would become quite regularly Avest. *xšvaš* (see Bartholomae, Ar. Forsch. III 20) and Skr. *ṣāṣ* respectively.

Armen. *veç* doubtless represents **mekš*; see I § 560 Rem. p. 417, § 589. 3 p. 446.

Gr. *ἑξήξ* for **mekš*. For *ἐκ ποδῶν*, *ἐγ δακτύλων*, *ἐκ-πλεθρο-ς* *ἐκ-μυρο-ς* etc. see the Author's Gr. Gr.² p. 71. *ἑξα-* in *ἑξα-κόσια* and other compounds follows the type of *τετρα-* *ἑπτα-* etc.

Lat. *sex*.

O.Ir. *sē* (cp. *mōr-feser* 'magnus seviratus') Mod.Cymr. *chuwech* for **mekš*, see I § 175 p. 154, § 517 p. 377, § 576 p. 432, § 657. 10 p. 510. The second *s* has been preserved in the Irish *ses-ca* 'sixty' and *sess-ed* 'sixth'.

Goth. *saihs* O.H.G. *sehs*, ground-form **sekš*. Cp. p. 18 footnote 1.

Lith. *szesz-ī* (cp. *ketur-ī* § 168 p. 12) doubtless represents **seszī*, as *szeszura-s* represents **seszura-s* (I § 587. 2 p. 442). Pruss. *wuscht-s uscht-s* 'sixth'; probably we have a borrowed word in Lith. *ūszės* beside *szēszios* pl. 'childbed'. Slavonic has the abstract, *šestī*: cp. Skr. *ṣaṣṭī-ṣ* ('group of six tens, sixty') O.Icel. *sētt*. *šestī* brings us to **chestī* at the first step backwards, and is doubtless one of the instances of *ch-* = *s-* (see I § 588 Rem. 3 p. 444); this change has not yet been satisfactorily explained.

Sixth. The parent language may have had the word **mek-to-s* (**se-*, **me-*): cp. Skr. *ṣaṣṭhā-s* Avest. *xštva-* (see above),

Gr. *ἑξρο-ς*, O.H.G. *sehto* O.Icel. *sette setti*, Lith. *sėšėsta-s* Pruss. *wuscht-s* O.C.Sl. *šestŭ*. And the *-s-* of Lat. *sextu-s* Umbr. *sestentasiaru* 'sextantiarum' Osc. *Σεσρες* 'Sextius', Goth. *saihta* O.H.G. *sehsto* (beside *sehto*) may have come from the cardinal. But it is uncertain whether or not pr. Idg. **syekto-s* grew out of **syeks-to-s* by a purely phonetic change. Who can tell whether the *-s* of **syeks* was not an inflexional suffix? If so, it would not at first be found in the ordinal any more than (say) the *-e* of **penqe* 'five' in **penqto-s*. Cp. I § 589 Rem. 2 p. 446.

Armen. *veç-er-ord*.

O.Ir. *sessed* Mod.Cymr. *chweched*. As to the supposed origin of this re-formation see Zimmer, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXX 214.

§ 171. Seven. Pr. Idg. **septm̥*; the accentuation is inferred from Skr. *saptá*, Gr. *ἑπτά* and Alban. *šta-te* (G. Meyer, Alban. Stud. II 65). Another form of the same stem, **septom-*, is perhaps to be inferred from Gr. *ἑβδομήκοντα ἑβδομάς ἑβδομάκις* O.Ir. *secht-moga* (cp. **-ākom-t-* beside **-ākm-t-* § 164 pp. 2 f.), see § 178.

The word was originally indeclinable: examples are Ved. *saptá sindhuṣu* 'in septem fluminibus' Avest. *hapta satāiš* 'with seven hundred', Goth. *sibun hláibans*; and Gr. *ἑπτά*, Lat. *septem*, O.Ir. *secht n-* were never declined. Inflected forms are: Skr. dat. abl. *saptá-bhyas*, Armen. gen. *evtan-ç*, O.H.G. *sibin-in* (only used where the subst. precedes). In Lith. only the word is always inflected, *septyni*.

Skr. *saptá*, later *sápta*, Avest. *hapta*; we may conjecture that the Skr. word was originally **saptám*, but followed the lead of *náva* and *dáśa*; see I § 226 p. 193, § 230 p. 196.

Armen. *evtn*, see I § 330 p. 265, § 560 p. 416. The final *-n* must be explained in the same way as that of *tasn* (§ 174).

Gr. *ἑπτά*, which we may conjecture should have been **ἑπτάν*, but took its present shape under the influence of *ἐννέα* and *δέκα*; see I § 226 p. 193, § 235 p. 198.

Lat. *septem*. In composition we find beside *septem-* the re-formation *septu- septi-*, like *octu- octi-*.

O.Ir. *secht n-* Mid.Cymr. *seith*; see I § 339 p. 269.

Goth. O.H.G. *sibun*. For the retention of *-n* (on the analogy of the ordinal Goth. **sibunda* O.H.G. *sibunto*, unless indeed it came from an older form **sibun-i*), see the Author, Morph. Unt. V 55¹⁾. As to the loss of *-t-* — we assume **septŋ* to be the Idg. ground-form — we must certainly not ignore Ascoli's theory that the parent language possessed two forms, one with *-t-* (**septŋ*), and one without (cp. Skr. *aṣṭi-* 'eighty' beside Idg. **oktōy*) which was kept in Germanic (see Ascoli's Krit. Stud. 101). But it is more natural to assume that there were two forms in proethnic Germanic, **septmó-* 'seventh' which became **sepmó-* and then **sebmó-*, and **septŋ*, which became **seftum* (this seems to be the form represented in the Salic Law by *septun* = *seftun*) and was then assimilated to **sebmó-* and became **sebum*; cp. Pruss. *sepma-s* beside *septma-s* 'seventh' and pr. Balto-Slav. **ošmo-* 'eighth' for **oštmo-* (§ 172). Sievers (Paul-Braune's Beitr. V 119) and Osthoff (Morph. Unt. II 51 f.) think that the *ŋ*-form **septŋ* could become **sepŋ* in pr. Germ. by a direct phonetic change; cp. also Noreen, Urgermansk judl. p. 108.

Lith. *septyn-i*, like *devyn-i* 'nine' in its ending, and similar to *asztān-i* 'eight'. It may be conjectured that these three forms once were **septin(-i)* **devin(-i)* — cp. the ordinals *septiñ-ta-s* *deviñ-ta-s* — and **asztū(n-i)*, and that their present shape is due to mutual assimilation. The long *ū* caused the lengthening of *i* to *y*; similarly the long vowel of *trylika* etc. caused the lengthening of the antepenult in *vėnūlika* (p. 28), and that of Idg. **tri-* caused the lengthening in **getuŋ-* **perqē-* (§ 178); many other examples might be found. **septin-i* *septiñ-ta-s* instead of **septim-i* **septim-ta-s* owe their *n* to **devin-i* **deviñ-ta-s*.

O.C.Sl. *sedmī*, an abstract noun, beside *sedmū* 'seventh', was shaped on the analogy of *šestī* : *šestū* etc. (II § 97 p. 290). The

1) If it is assumed that there were proethnic forms, **sibun-i* **niun-i* **tehun-i*, ad-formates of **fimfi* = Idg. **perqe*, it follows that O.H.G. *sehs*, which should have been **sihs*, must be regarded as modelled upon the analogy of *sehsto* *sehto*. For on this assumption there must have been a pr. Germ. **sehs-i*, which would then have become **sixsi*.

pr. Idg. abstract would doubtless be **septm-ti-s* : Skr. *saptatiś* ('seventy'), O.Icel. *sjaund*.

Seventh. Idg. **septmó-* (perhaps **sepmó-* **sebdmó-* may be inferred from Gr. *ἑβδομο-ς* O.C.Sl. *sedmŭ*; see I § 469 p. 345) and **septmómó-*. Possibly **septm-tó-* may also be regarded as proethnic.

Skr. *saptamá-s*. Also *saptátha-s* Avest. *haptaṭha-*.

Armen. *evñ-er-ord*.

Gr. *ἑβδομο-ς* Epidaur. *ἑβδομαῖο-ς*, cp. *ἑβδομήκοντα* Heracl. Delph. *ἑβδεμήκοντα*; Hom. *ἑβδόμ-ατο-ς* like *πρωτο-ς* (**πρωF-ατο-ς*) and *τριτ-ατο-ς*, see § 167 p. 9. The history of *ἑβδομο-* is obscure. There seem to have once been two parallel forms, **ἑβδομο-* = O.C.Sl. *sedmo-* and **ἑπταμο-* = Skr. *saptamá-*; more we cannot say with certainty. Cp. § 178 for *ἑβδομήκοντα*, and the Author, Morph. Unt. V 36 ff.

Lat. *septimu-s*.

O.Ir. *sechtmad* Mid.Cymr. *seithuet* for **septm-eto-s*, see II § 72 p. 168.

O.H.G. *sibunto*.

Pruss. *septma-s* *sepma-s*. Lith. *sėkma-s* (*sėkma-s*), see I § 345 p. 271, § 377 p. 286; the ordinary word now is *septinta-s* (Lett. *septītdāis*) instead of **septim-ta-s* through assimilation to *devīn-ta-s*. O.C.Sl. *sedmŭ*.

§ 172. Eight. Idg. **oktō* **oktōy*. *-t-* must have been something of the nature of a suffix, as *ašt-ti-ś* 'eighty' seems to shew; this word is unintelligible if regarded as a derivative from **oktōy* (*aštāy*).

Remark. It can hardly be a mere coincidence that the ending agrees with that of the nom. acc. du. masc. of *o*-stems (§ 285). **okti* too, which we see in *ašt-ti-ś*, may have been a dual, like **oqti* 'the two eyes' (§ 295). Perhaps the meaning may have been 'two sets of four' (cp. Mid.Cymr. *deu-naw* 'eighteen', properly 'two nines', etc.) It must be admitted that in that case the numeral 'two' might have been expected before **oktōy*, as in Lat. *vi-ginti* 'two tens', *du-centi*, and so forth. Still this might have been dropped in course of time.

Uninflected in pr. Idg.: e. g. Avest. *ašta sataiš* 'with eight hundred'; and Gr. *ὀκτώ*, Lat. *octō*, O.Ir. *ocht n-* are always

indeclinable. Inflected forms are: Skr. instr. *aṣṭā-bhīṣ*, Armen. *uṣ-i-ç*, O.H.G. dat. *ahtow-en* (only used when the substantive precedes). Inflexion is regular only in Lithuanian, *asztūni*.

Skr. *aṣṭā aṣṭāu*, Avest. *ašta*. In Skr. we find also *aṣṭā*, loc. *aṣṭā-su* etc., an ad-formate of *saptā*. Compounds with *aṣṭa*- (cp. Lat. *octi*-) had not a little to do with giving currency to this form.

Armen. *uṣ*, for **uṣt*, and that for **optō(u)*, whose *p* came from the numeral seven (cp. El. *ὀπτω*); see Bugge, Beitr. zur etym. Erl. der arm. Spr. 43.

Gr. *ὀκτώ*. The numeral seven gave its rough breathing to Heracl. *ὀκτώ*, its *π* to El. *ὀπτω*, and its *α* to *ὀκτα*- in *ὀκτα-κόσιοι* (Lesb. *ὀκτω-κόσιοι*) *ὀκτώ-novς* (beside *ὀκτώ-novς*: Skr. *aṣṭā-pad*-). Boeot. *ὀκτό* is like *δύο*, see §§ 166, 293.

Lat. *octō*. In composition *octō*- and *octi*- *octu*-, cp. Skr. *aṣṭa*- Avest. *ašta*-. Osc. *Úhtavis* 'Octavius'.

O.Ir. *ocht n*- (see I § 517 p. 377) follows *secht n*-; for forms without the nasal see Stokes, Bezzenb. Beitr. XI 170. Mod.Cymr. *wyth* Mod.Bret. *eiz* for **oktī*, older **oktū* **oktō*.

Goth. *ahtáu*; O.H.G. *ahto*, inflected dative *ahtowen*. See I § 659.3 p. 512, § 660.3 p. 515, § 661.3 p. 519.

Lith. *asztū-n-l*, cp. § 171 p. 18.

O.C.Sl. *osmī* (ordinal *osmŭ*) follows *sedmī*, see § 171 p. 18. The original Idg. abstract numeral is represented by Skr. *aṣṭ-tī-ṣ* ('eighty'), cp. p. 19.

Eighth. Idg. **oktōm-ó*- or some such form. The *mo*-forms follow the example of the numeral seven, as do Skr. *navamā-s* Umbr. *nuvime* (§ 173 p. 22).

Skr. *aṣṭamā-s*, Avest. *aṣtema*-.

Armen. *uṣ-er-ord*.

Gr. *ὀγδοο-ς* for **ὀγδοφο-ς* (in Homer also *ὀγδό-ατο-ς*, like *ἑβδομ-ατο-ς*), cp. *ὀγδο-ή-χοντα*, *ὀγδο-άς*. -*γδ*- for -*κτ*- follows the -*βδ*- of 'seven'. In all other points the history of *ὀγδο(φ)-ς* is obscure; see the Author, Morph. Unt. V 36 ff., and below § 311.

Lat. *octāv-o-s*, Osc. *Úhtavis* 'Octavius'; the *a* is strange nor has it been satisfactorily explained even by the attempts

of Thurneysen and Meringer (Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVIII 154, 232). Cp. the vulgar Latin *octuā-gintā*, for **octov-ā-*, which is like Gr. ὀγδο(ν)-η-. See the Author, *loc. cit.*

O.Ir. *ocht-mad*, Mid. Cymr. *wyth-uet*.

Goth. *ahtu-da*, O.H.G. *ahto-do*; O.Fris. *ahtunda* following *sigunda niugunda*.

Lith. *āszma-s* (now growing obsolete), Pruss. acc. *asma-n*, O.C.Sl. *osmŭ*, pr. Balto-Slav. **oš(t)-mo-s*. The Lith. has another word *asztuŭta-s*, an ad-formate of *septiŭta-s deviŭta-s*.

§ 173. Nine. Idg. **néw̥p* and **énw̥p*, the latter in Armenian and Greek. Also **enwen-*, which is preserved in Gr. *ἐνεν-ήκοντα* (§ 178). The final was -*w̥* -*n*, not -*η* -*m*, as we see from Gr. *ἐνεν-ή-κοντα*, Lat. *nōn-ā-gintā nōn-u-s* and Lith. *deviŭ-ta-s* (contrast *desziŭ-ta-s* 'tenth').

In Indo-Germanic, it was not inflected; e. g. Avest. *nava satāiš* 'with nine hundred'; and in Greek, Latin, and Old Irish it is always indeclinable. Inflected forms: Skr. gen. *navāṇām*, Goth. gen. *niun-ē*, O.H.G. dat. *niun-in* (only when the substantive precedes). It is always declined in Lithuanian, *devyn-ī*.

Skr. *nāva*, Avest. *nava*.

Armen. *inn*, pl. *inun-ē* or *innun-ē* (cp. Osthoff, Morph. Unt. I 122), see I § 232 p. 197.

Gr. **enfa* preserved in Ion. *ἐνά-νυχες ἐνα-κόσιοι ἐνα-το-ς* Att. *ἐνα-κόσιοι ἐνα-το-ς*, Hom. *ἐνν-ῆμαρ* like *ἐννῆ-κοντα* (§ 178). Also *ἐννέα*, which should probably be explained with Wackernagel (Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVIII 132 ff.) as **én nefā* 'nine in all, a good nine', this original meaning having been subsequently weakened; Heracl. *ἐννέα*, like *ὀκτώ*, following *ἐπτά*. *ἐνεν-ή-κοντα* 'ninety' preserves an original **enwen-*, cp. § 178.

Lat. *novem* instead of **noven* follows *septem decem*. -*n* is kept in *nōn-ā-gintā nōn-u-s*. *noun-dinu-m nōn-dinu-m*, usually *nūn-dinu-m*. Umbr. *nuvis* 'novies'.

O.Ir. *nōi n-*, Mod.Cymr. Corn. *naw*. But whence came this *a*?

Goth. O.H.G. *niun* for **niyun*, I § 179 p. 156. O.Sax. *nigun* A.S. *nigon*, where *ɜ* is a transition-sound or glide (cp. Jellinek, Paul-Braune's Beitr. XIV 582). The ending -*un* is

to be explained in the same way as that of *sibun*, for which see § 171 p. 18.

Lith. *devyn-i* O.C.Sl. *devęti* instead of **navyni* **novęti* on the analogy of the initial *de-* of 'ten'; Pruss. *newintis* ('ninth') has been influenced by the Germanic form. For the termination of *devyn-i* see § 171 p. 18. *devęti* is the Idg. abstract **neup-ti-s*: cp. Skr. *navatiś* ('ninety'), Avest. *navaitiś* ('nine' and 'ninety'), O.Icel. *nīund*.

Ninth. Idg. **neupn-ó-* or **neup-tó-* (**enupn-ó-* or **enup-tó-*), perhaps both.

Skr. *navamá-s* Avest. *naoma-* = **navema-* (as *ker'naom* = **ker'navem*, I § 158 p. 141) O.Pers. *navama-* instead of **navaná-*, following (Skr.) *saptamá-* *daśamá-*, cp. Umbr. *nuvime*.

Armen. *inn-er-ord*.

Gr. Hom. *ēva-ro-ς*, Att. Hom. *ēva-ro-ς* for **ēvfa-ro-ς*.

Lat. *nōn-u-s* for **noven-o-*. If the *dzenoine* of the Duenos inscription means 'die noni', its *oi* makes some difficulty, although not for the reasons which Pauli suggests (Altital. Stud. I 32 ff.). Umbr. *nuvime* 'nonum', where *m* is not original, but is like that of Lat. *novem* and Skr. *navamá-s*.

O.Ir. *nō-mad*, Mid.Cymr. *naw-uet*, re-formates like *ocht-mad wyth-uet* etc.

Goth. *niun-da* O.H.G. *niun-to-*, pr. Germ. **niyun-dá-n-*.

Lith. *deviñ-ta-s* (Pruss. *newint-s*, see above), O.C.Sl. *devę-tū*.

§ 174. Ten. Idg. **dékm̥*. Originally indeclinable, and still so in Ved. *dāśa kakṣtyabhiś* 'with ten girdles', Gr. *δέξα ραποί*, Lat. *decem nāvium*, Goth. *taihun skattans*, O.H.G. *stat zehen burgo* 'Decapolis', and similar phrases. Inflected: Skr. instr. *dāśá-bhiś*, Armen. instr. *tasam-bē tasam-b*, Gr. gen. *δέκων* in a Chian inscription (a trace of Lesbian influence), dat. Goth. *taihun-im* O.H.G. *zehin-in* (in O.H.G. only found where the substantive precedes). **dékm̥* has died out not only in Slavonic, but in Baltic too.

Skr. *dāśa*, Avest. *dasa*.

Armen. *tasn*. If the acc. *mard* 'hominem' is a regular developement from **mṛto-m*, in which case original final *-m* was

dropped, *tasn* like *evñ* must be an ad-formate of *in-n* 'nine', cp. I § 202 p. 169, § 651.2 Rem. p. 497. But it is preferable to regard the ending of *tasn* as coming quite regularly from **dekñ*, and *mard* as being a nominative used for the accusative (see § 212).

Gr. *δέκα*. Arcad. *δωό-δεκο* (Bullet. de corresp. hellén., IV 1889 p. 281) like *δέκοτο-ς* (see p. 24).

Lat. *decem*. -*decim* in *ūn-decim* etc. is due to the accentuation, see I § 65 p. 53. Re-formates are *decu-plu-s dec-eni-s dec-unx* etc. beside *decem-plex* etc. Umbr. *desen-duf* 'duodecim' tekuries *dequrier* 'decuriis', Osc. *dekmanniúis* 'decumanis'.

O.Ir. *deich n-* (indeclinable, since *deich* and *dech* are meaningless variations in the mode of writing the same sounds), O.Cymr. *dec*.

Goth. *taihun* O.H.G. *zehan*. The final *-n* must be explained in the same way as that of *sibun*, see § 171 p. 18. We should not have expected the *-a-* which is found in O.H.G. *zehan* O.Sax. *tehan*; cp. O.H.G. *zehanzo* beside Goth. *taihuntē(-hund)* § 179. Possibly in words like *drī-zehan*, *-*tehun* became *-*tehñ* and then *-tehan*, and the *a* passed thence into **téhun* etc. (cp. O.H.G. *Sigi-frid* as contrasted with *fridu*). A different explanation is given by Noreen, Arkiv III 26.

In Balto-Slavonic the only forms left are the two Idg. abstracts: Lith. *deszim-t-* O.C.Sl. *desę-t-* and Lith. *deszim-ti-* O.C.Sl. *desę-ti-*: cp. Skr. *daśāt-* Gr. *δεκάς* Goth. gen. pl. *taihuntē* (in *taihuntē-hund* '100', see § 179) and Skr. *daśattī-ś* ('tenfold character, group of ten', specialised to mean 'group of ten tens, hundred') O.Icel. *tiund*. In early Lithuanian *deszimti-* is still an inflected singular substantive and is followed by the genitive; but now the inflexion is gone, and we have *dėszimt* (doubtless both acc. sing. = *desęti* and loc. sing. = *desęte*) and *dėszimts desziŋts* (doubtless nom. pl. = *desęte*)¹⁾, although still

1) The history of the plural form *dėszimts* needs further investigation. Has it been influenced by *dvidėszimts* 'twenty' *trisdeszimts* 'thirty' etc.? Or is it merely due to an idiom of the language which we find in the old books, whereby the abstract noun is used like an adjective with the

governing the genitive plural. O.C.Sl. *desętŭ* is declined throughout as an *i*-stem; there is a parallel stem *desęt-*, e. g. in *jedinŭ na desęte* (loc. sing.) 'eleven' = 'one upon ten'.

Tenth. Idg. **dekṃ-to-* (**dekṃ-t-o-?* see II § 81 Rem. 1 p. 242) and **dekṃm-o-*.

Skr. *daśamā-s*, Avest. *dasema-*.

Armen. *tasn-er-ord*.

Gr. *δέκατο-ς*. Lesb. Arcad. *δέκατο-ς* (cp. Arcad. *δύο-δεκο*), whose *o* follows *-κοντα -κοστο-ς*, cp. §§ 176, 177.

Lat. *decimu-s*, Osc. *dekmanniúis* 'decumanis'.

O.Ir. *dechm-ad*, Mid.Cymr. *decu-et*.

Goth. *tathunda*, O.H.G. *zehanto* (cp. p. 23).

Lith. *desziṃta-s*, O.C.Sl. *desętŭ*.

§ 175. Eleven to Nineteen. When the units were added to multiples of ten in the parent language, both units and tens of the resulting number were independent in the sentence. The copula 'and' may have been generally used with them, as in the phrases Ved. *ékā ca viṣatī ca* acc. '21', *tráyaś ca triśác ca* '33', Gr. *δύω καὶ πεντήκοντα* '52', Lat. *quattuor et viginti*; but not always, as we infer from Ved. *triśátā trín* acc. '33', Gr. *πεντήκοντα δύο*, Lat. *viginti quattuor* etc. But in the cardinal numbers 11 to 19 there was a closer combination between the unit and the numeral 'ten' which followed it (see II § 16 pp. 31 f.). In the numbers 11 to 14 the unit was inflected, in 15 to 19 it was not; hence 15 to 19 readily became true compounds, whilst 11 to 14 may not have become compounds so soon, since their ending had first to become stereotyped.

Remark. There can be no doubt as to the reasons for this difference between the expressions for 11 to 19 and those for 21—29, 31—39 etc. The former group was more often used, for one thing; but the chief reason was that the words for 20 and the other multiples of ten were themselves compounds, and therefore it was less convenient to compound them again with other words.

name of the thing whose number is stated, and takes the case of it; as loc. *desziṃtisa męstosn* 'in decem urbibus' (cp. Bezzenberger, Beitr. zur Gesch. der lit. Spr. 178 f.)?

But the numbers 11 to 19 were not expressed in the parent language only by pairs of words in juxta-position, like Skr. *dvā-daśa* Gr. *δώδεκα*. We are justified in regarding as original expressions like Gr. *δέκα δύο*, *δέκα τρεῖς*, Lat. *decem duo*, *decem tres*. We may also believe that phrases of subtraction were used for the numbers immediately preceding twenty as well as for those immediately preceding thirty, forty and so forth; such, for example, as we find when the languages had begun to follow their own separate lines — Skr. *ekōnaviśati-ś*, *ūnaviśati-ś* and *ēkaṁ nā viśati-ś* for 19, *tryūnaśaṣṭi-ś* for 57, Gr. *ἐνὸς δέοντα εἴκοσι ἐτη* '19 years', *μιάς δέοντα τετραράκοντα νῆες* '39 ships', Lat. *ūn-dē-viginti duo-dē-trigintā*, A.S. *twā lēs twentiz* for 18, *an lēs twentiz* for 19, H.G. dial. *ains-min-zwainzich zwai-min-dreisich* (Goth. 2 Cor. 11. 24 *fidvōr tiguns āinamma vanans* to translate *τεσσαράκοντα παρὰ μίαν*).

Of the different modes of expressing the ordinals which we find, the Latin for 13th to 19th, *tertius decimus* etc., occurs in Armenian, Greek, and Germanic besides. We may therefore fairly regard this as original.

Aryan. Cardinals. 11 Skr. *ēka-daśa*; the first part of which crystallises the form of the instr. sing. masc. (Ved.) and nom. sing. fem.; the form thus chosen was suggested by *dvā-daśa*, cp. Avest. *aēvan-dasa-* etc. '11th' below. 12 Skr. *dvā-daśa* *duvā-daśa* Avest. *dva-dasa*. 13 Skr. *trāyō-daśa*. 14 Skr. *cātur-daśa*, showing now the stem without inflexion, cp. Avest. *caṇru-dasa-* '14th'. 15 Skr. *pāñca-daśa*, Avest. *panca-dasa*. 16 Skr. *ṣō-daśa*. 17 Skr. *saptā-daśa*. 18 Skr. *aṣṭā-daśa*. 19 Skr. *nāva-daśa*, also *ekōnaviśati-ś* (*ēka-ūna-viśati-* 'a score too little by one, a score less one'), or simply *ūna-viśati-ś*, and *ēkaṁ* (i. e. *ēkaḍ*) *nā viśati-ś* (cp. Delb., Altind. Synt. pp. 112, 543).

Ordinals. In Sanskrit all the numbers have both *-daśā-s* and *-daśama-s*, cp. Lat. *-decimu-s*. 11th Skr. *ekādaśā-s*, Avest. *aēvan-dasa-*, *aēva-dasu-*, *aēvō-dasa-*; *aēvu-dasa-* may be like *dva-dasa-* = Skr. *dva-daśū-*, or is it the bare stem instead of a case, as in *pri-dasa-* *caṇru-dasa-*? cp. II § 25 p. 41.

12th Skr. *dvādaśā-s* (*dvādaśama-s* like *duodecimu-s*), Avest. *dvadasa-*. 13th Skr. *trayōdaśā-s*, Avest. *pridasa-* with the bare stem instead of a case. 14th Skr. *caturdaśā-s*, Avest. *caṇrudasa-*, cp. the cardinal. 15th Skr. *pañcadaśā-s*, Avest. *pancadasa-* and *pancadasya-*, the latter like *tāirya-* 'fourth' *bitya-* 'second'. 16th Skr. *ṣoḍaśā-s*, Avest. *xšvaśdasa-*, etc. Side by side with Skr. *navadaśā-s* (Avest. *navadasa-*) '19th' is found *ekōnaviśā-s*, *ūnaviśā-s* and *ekānaviśā-s*, cp. the ordinal.

Armenian. Ordinals. 11 *me-tasan*. 12 *erko-tasan*. 13 *ereḵ-tasan*. 14 *çoreḵ-tasan*. 15 *hnge-tasan*. 16 *veš-tasan*. These are all inflected as *i*-stems; e. g. gen. dat. *metasaniç*, instr. *metasanivḵ* (cp. *ḵsan* '20', gen. dat. *ḵsaniç*). The numbers from 17 onwards have *ev* 'and', and inflect sometimes both parts, sometimes only *tasn* (cp. *air-ev-ji* II § 28 p. 46). 17 *evñ-ev-tasn*. 18 *uḷ-ev-tasn*. 19 *inn-ev-tasn*.

Ordinals. Two modes are used. *tasn-erord* ('tenth') may be followed by the ordinal of the unit, as *tasnerord çorrorrd* 'decimus quartus'; or *-er-ord* may be simply added to the cardinal, as *metasan-erord* '11th' *çoreḵ-tasan-erord* '14th'.

Greek. Cardinals. 11 *ἐν-δέκα* (*ἐν-* is nom. acc. neut.), Delph. *δέκα εἷς*. 12 *δύ-δέκα* (Hom. *δυνό-δέκα*), Hom. *δυο-καί-δέκα*, and in Att. and Dor. *δέκα δύο* as well. 13 *τρεῖς καὶ δέκα* and (with the nom. *τρεῖς* crystallised) *τρεῖς-καί-δέκα*¹), Att. Dor. *δέκα τρεῖς* as well. 14 *τέτταρες καὶ δέκα*, *τετταρισ-καί-δέκα* and *δέκα τέτταρες*, and so forth. As to the form of *ἕξ* in *ἕκ-καί-δέκα* beside Boeot. *ἕσ-κη-δέκατος* see the Author's Greek Grammar² § 59 p. 71. In Attic *δέκα δύο*, *δέκα τρεῖς* etc. were used when the substantive preceded; e. g. *δραχμαὶ δέκα τρεῖς* but *τρεῖς καὶ δέκα δραχμαί* (cp. Wackernagel, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXV pp. 284 f. and Philol. Anzeiger 1886 pp. 78 f.; Meisterhans, Gr. der att. Inschr.² pp. 126 f.).

Ordinals. 11th *ἐνδέκατος*. 12th *δωδέκατος*, epic *δυωδέκατος*,

1) If the by-form *τρεσκαί-δέκα* is to be admitted (cp. Meisterhans, Gr. der att. Inschr.² p. 126), it contains the acc. *τρεῖς* = **τρεῖς* (Wheeler, Der gr. Nominalaccent 42) in a crystallised shape, or *τρεῖς*, the form it assumed in proethnic Greek before consonants (I § 204 p. 171).

Ion. δωδέκατο-ς. From 13th onwards the usual mode of expression in classical Attic, followed consistently in the inscriptions, is τρίτος καὶ δέκατος, τέταρτος καὶ δέκατος etc. Homer has τρεῖσκαιδέκατο-ς ὀκτώκαιδέκατο-ς, and Herodotus τεσσαρεσκαιδέκατο-ς πεντεκαιδέκατο-ς, while we find ἑσκηδέκατο-ς in Boeotian.

Italic. Cardinals. The following is the ordinary Latin mode of expressing these. 11 *un-decim*, the first part of which we may conjecture to have come from more than one case-form (cp. *un-dē-vīginti*), cp. I § 633 p. 474, II § 36 p. 62. 12 *duo-decim*. 13 *trēdecim* for **trēz-decim* (I § 594 p. 450); also *trēdecim*, perhaps following *trēcenti*. 14 *quattuor-decim*. 15 *quindecim* for **quingu(e)-decim*, see I § 633 p. 474. 16 *sēdecim* for **segz-decim*, see I § 594 p. 450. 17 *septen-decim*, see I § 207 p. 174. 18 *duo-dē-vīginti*. 19 *un-dē-vīginti*, cp. *un-decim*. Other expressions are interchanged with these, such as *trēs et decem*, *octō et decem*; *decem duo*, *decem novem*; *decem et unus*, *decem et duo*.

Umbr. *desen-duf* acc. 'decem duo', see I § 207 p. 174.

Lat. Ordinals. 11th *undecimu-s*. 12th *duodecimu-s*. 13th *tertius decimus*, 14th *quartus decimus* etc., rarely *decimus tertius* etc. 18th *duodēvicesimu-s*, rarely *octāvus decimus*. 19th *undēvicesimus*, rarely *nōnus decimus*.

Old Irish. In the cardinals we have the form *deac*, dissyllabic in the older language, in the later contracted into *dēc* (Mod.Ir. *déag*). 11 *oen — deac*, 12 *dā — deac*, 13 *trī — deac* etc., with the noun in between, as *dā cath deac* '12 battles'. *deac dēc* has nothing to do with *deich n-*; it was possibly a word meaning much the same as Skr. *adhika*- Goth. *-lif* Lith. *-lika*.

Ordinals. 11th *oenmad — deac*, 12th *aile — deac* etc.

Germanic. Cardinals. 11 and 12 contain *-libi-*. This is a noun stem connected with Goth. *bi-leiban* 'to remain' (✓ *leip-*, Skr. *limpāmi* 'I cleave, stick'), and it originally meant 'excess' or 'being in excess' — *elf* would then be 'one in addition', i. e. to ten; cp. below Lith. *-lika* from ✓ *leiq-*, and Skr. *adhika*- 'being

in excess' as used where 10 and its multiples are coupled with units, e. g. *aštādihikanavati-š* 'a ninety increased by eight' = '98'. Goth. *áin-lif* O.H.G. *ein-lif*, Goth. *tva-lif* O.H.G. *zwe-lif* appear inflected under the same conditions and in the same way as the numbers 4 to 10, e. g. *tvalibi-m*, *zwe lifin* (O.Sax. *elleban* '11' nom., following *tehan* '12'). 13 O.H.G. *dri-zehan*, but also *fone dien anderen drin zēnin* (Graff, Ahd. Spr. V 628). 14 Goth. *fidvōr-tathun*, O.H.G. *fior-zehan*. 15 Goth. *fimf-lathun* O.H.G. *finf-zehan*. 16 O.H.G. *sehs-zehan*. 18 O.H.G. *ahto-zehan*. 19 O.H.G. *niun-zehan*.

Ordinals. 11th (fem.) O.H.G. *einlif-to* O.Icel. *ellifte ellifti*. 12th (fem.) O.H.G. *zwe lif-to* O.Icel. *tolfti*. The following ordinals began by being phrases of the same type as Lat. *tertius decimus*; but their first member crystallised, it would seem, in proethnic Germanic, and they then conformed to the rules of stem-compounds. Goth. Luke 3. 1 *in jēra fimfta-taihundin* 'ἐν ἔτει πεντεκαίδεκάτῳ'. O.H.G. *dritto-zehanto*, *fiordo-zehanto* etc., and also with *-a-* (later *-e-*) as the final of the first member. Another series, derived from the cardinal, was used in later O.H.G., as *fierzēn-do sehszēn-do*. Icelandic has a corresponding series, *fim(m)tán-de sextán-de* etc.

Balto-Slavonic. Lithuanian. 11 *vėnū-likā*, 12 *dvý-likā*, 13 *trý-likā*, 14 *keturió-likā*, 15 *penkió-likā*, 16 *szeszio-likā*, 17 *septynió-likā*, 18 *asztūnió-likā*, 19 *devyniό-likā*; 11th O.Lith. *lėka-s*, 12th O.Lith. *antras lėkas*, but the words now used have *-likta-s*, as 11th *vėnūlikta-s*, 12th *dvýlikta-s*. *trý-likā*, *keturió-likā* etc. contain forms of the neut. pl. in both parts (§ 338), and accordingly O.Lith. has the dat. *-likams* and instr. *-likais*. When the neuter dropped out of use in Lithuanian (§ 403), *-likā* was treated as a nom. sing. fem.; and then it was declined gen. *-likos* etc. This inflexion is seen in Old Lithuanian, and is still found in dialects of the language. *-likā* came from an adjective **lika-s* 'remaining over, being in excess', a by-form of the O.Lith. *lėka-s* just mentioned; and to this day *lėka-s* is in regular use in the sense of 'remaining over singly, odd'. The root is *leiq-* (Lat. *linguo* Gr. *λείπω*). Cp. Goth. *áin-lif* above. In

cēnā-likā and *dvý-likā* the final of the first member has assimilated itself to the numerals immediately following, and become long; cp. Skr. *eka-daśa* p. 25 and § 326. Cp. Bezzenberger, Beitr. zur Gesch. der lit. Spr. 179 ff.; Kurschat, Gram. p. 269; the Author, Lit. Volkslieder p. 309, and in Techmer's Internat. Ztschr. I 251 f.; Mahlow. Die langen Vocale 49; Joh. Schmidt, Pluralbild. 39, 42. — Slavonic. 11 *jedinū na desęte* (loc. sing. of stem *desę-*) = 'one upon ten', 12 *dŭva na desęte* 'two upon ten' etc. Cp. Lett. *vien-pa-dsmi* '11' = 'one over ten' *diuo-pa-dsmi* '12' etc., and Gr. Thess. *τὰ ἑνὰ ἐν' ἰσάδι* (Collitz, Samml. der Gr. Dialekt-inschr., no. 345. 10). There are two types of ordinals. Sometimes only the unit takes the ordinal form, as *osmyjŭ na desęte* 'the eighth upon ten' = 18th; sometimes *-ŭnū* was used to make a derivative from the expression for the cardinal number. In the latter case the unit might either show the form of the nom. acc., as *peŭi-na-desętinū* '15th'; or be treated like the first member of a stem-compound, as *peŭo-na-desętinū*, cp. II § 47 p. 86.

§ 176. Twenty to Ninety-nine.

The Indo-Germanic expressions for multiples of ten from 20 to 90 at first meant two, three, or the proper number of tens. Originally both parts of the phrase were inflected; both the unit (except the uninflected units 5 to 9, see §§ 169 ff.) and the word for a ten — a neuter **kōmt-* **kmt-* (for **dkōmt-* **dkmt-*, see § 164 pp. 2 f.). '20' was a dual, **uī* (?) *kmt-i*; the others plural, as '30' **trī kōmt-ə*. But these expressions for multiples of ten are not inflected in any language; in all of them the nom. acc. has become stereotyped. Some at least of the units in these phrases were stereotyped in the parent language itself. This is proved by **getuŭ-kōmtə* (Gr. *τετρώ-κοντα* Lat. *quadrā-gintā* Avest. *caŭwar-sat-* Armen. *kār-a-sun*) and **perqē-kōmtə* (Gr. *πεντή-κοντα* Skr. *pañcā-śāt-*), which were ad-formates of **trī-kōmtə*. It is doubtful whether **kmti* and **kōmtə* had also become crystallised so soon.

These forms of the nom. acc. pl. (du.) neut. became in the Indo-Germanic period the foundation upon which were built singular abstract nouns (collectives) of the feminine gender, and

ordinals whose first member was the nom.-acc. form. The abstract nouns were ad-formates of the feminine **deḱḱmt-* 'group of ten')¹: examples are Skr. *triśāt-* 'group of 30', Gr. Boeot. *Fixás* Att. *εἰκάς*, O.Ir. *fiche* 'group of 20' gen. *fichet*. The ordinals were derived from these by the suffixes *-to-* and *-t-ḡmo-*. When these two groups of abstract nouns and ordinals sprang up, the expressions for the cardinal numerals, from which they were derived, had not yet fully become compounds. Thus **trīkomi-* **trīkḱmt-* 'τριακάς' and **trīkḱmt-to-* **trīkḱmt-tḡmo-* 'τριακοστός' may have stood related to **trī kōmtə* 'three tens' much in the same way as O.C.Sl. *dūvadeseŕinŭ* '20th' to *dŭva deseti* '20', and as Lat. *quartadecumānī* to *quarta decuma*, *Sacraviēnsēs* to *sacra via* etc. (II § 3 p. 5).

Remark 1. Perhaps the re-formates **getḡf-* and **perḡz-* first appeared only in collectives and ordinals, in which there was a closer connexion between the word for the unit and the word for the ten. This might explain certain pairs of forms, *τετρά-κорта* and *τετταρά-κорта* in Greek, *pancā-sat-* and *panca-sat-* in Avestic; and the difference between Avest. *capwar-sat-* and Skr. *catvāri-śāt-*. Gr. *τετράκорта* would then be an ad-formate of *τετρακοστός*; while *τετταρακοστός*, on the contrary, would have followed *τετταράκорта*.

The dual **ḱmt-i* once had the weak stem in all its cases; hence come Avest. *vī-saiti* Armen. *Ḳ-san* Gr. *Fi-κατι* Lat. *vī-ginti*, hence also the collective with *-ḱmt-*: Gr. *Fi-κάς εἰ-κάς* O.Ir. *fi-che* (O.Cymr. *u-ceint* Corn. *u-gans*). But the nom. acc. pl. was **kōmt-s*, whence Armen. *-sun* Gr. *-κорта* and the collectives Avest. *pri-sqs* O.Ir. *-cha -ga*. In cardinals and collectives of the tens from 30 upwards **ḱmt-* is also found (Lat. *-ginta* and Skr. *tri-śāt-* Avest. *pri-sat-* etc., Gr. *τριακάς*). Two possible causes may be assigned for this. (1) Beside **kōmt-s* there may have once been weak cases with **ḱmt-*, as loc. **ḱmt-su*, or (2) the corresponding forms for the number 20 may have set the type. The ordinals had all of them doubtless **ḱmt-* to begin with, as Gr. Boeot. *Fi-καστός* Skr. *tri-śattamā-s* Lat. *trī-cēsīmu-s*.

1) Words were formed later on the same principle in Old Icelandic, in Lithuanian, and in Greek. Examples: O.Icel. *tvítug-t* 'είκάς' *þrítug-t* 'τριακάς' etc.; Lith. *dvidešimti-s* 'είκάς' (e.g. *po dvidešimties metu*, in Bretken) from **dvi dšezimti* '20'; Gr. *ἑνδεκάς* *δωδεκάς* etc.

Remark 2. Avest. *visqstema*- is an ad-formate of **prisqstema*- (which we may infer from *prisqs*), which had itself taken the place of **prisastema*-. In Greek, and doubtless in its proethnic period, *-κοντα* influenced the connected ordinals in **-καστο-ς*. The change may have taken place in either of two different ways; (1) **-καστο-ς* may have become **-κονστο-ς* and then *-καστο-ς* (cp. *καστό-ς* for **κονστο-ς*, I § 204 p. 171), or (2) **-καστο-ς* may simply have taken over the *o* of *-κοντα*. The *o* then spread backwards to 20 and 10 (Ion. Att. *εικοστό-ς* *είκοσι*, Arcad. *δέκοντο-ς* *δέκο-δεκο*), and forwards to 100 and its multiples (Arcad. *ἑκατόν-βοια* and Ion. Att. *-κόσιοι*).

The old expressions for the cardinal numbers, consisting of an adjective with a substantive, remained in Armenian, Greek, and Latin, and in the Avestic word *visaiti* '20'. In Aryan and in Keltic these were displaced by the group of singular abstract nouns; the only Aryan forms which recal the old type are Avest. *visaiti*, and indirectly Skr. *vīṣati*-ṣ (see § 177). But in Aryan these forms were themselves displaced in the numbers from 60 to 90 by a second group of abstracts, such as Skr. *ṣaṣṭi*-ṣ (see § 178). In Germanic and Balto-Slavonic, both these expressions for the cardinal numerals and the singular abstracts had disappeared before the historical period begins. Their place was filled by other expressions which had really and truly the same etymological factors, and the same meaning, as the original Indo-Germanic expressions. Take for example 30, Goth. *þreis tigjus* Lith. *trīs dēszimtyś* O.C.Sl. *tri desęti*, where the substantive was the Indo-Germanic word for a group of ten, **dekmt-* **dekmti-*, still used independently.¹⁾ It is probable that **komt-* **kmt-* became obscured quite early in Germanic and Balto-Slavonic, as in the other languages, and sank to the level of a suffix; and the new expressions served to refresh somewhat the original meaning of the words. But then the same thing happened again, and the new words

1) Germ. **tezu-* 'group of ten' must be derived from **dekmt-* in the following manner. In the instr. pl. **tezungd-mi* and in an instr. dual form containing an *m*-suffix (in the expression for 20), *-undm-* became *-unm-*, *-umm-*, and *-um-* successively. Thus we have *tigum*, which gave the type for a new set of cases, Goth. *tigjus* etc. See §§ 379, 386. What may be the relation of forms with *u* in the root-syllable (O.H.G. *-zug* O.Icel. *togr tugr*) to **tezu-* still remains an open question. — For the masc. gender of the word compare O.C.Sl. *dŭva desęti*.

were themselves obscured and became suffixes. For example, in Mid.H.G. *drī-zic vier-zic* Mod.H.G. *drei-ssig vier-zig* the final part was and is a mere suffix, no less than was that of Gr. *τριάκοντα* or that of Lat. *trīginta* at the beginning of the historical period of the classical languages. And in German [and English] these multiples of ten are used as adjectives agreeing in case with the substantive which follows, just as happened with the similar expressions which the Romans and the Greeks had inherited from the parent language: Mod.H.G. *in vierzig wochen* 'in forty weeks' as contrasted with O.H.G. *feorzug wehhōno* 'τετταρακοντάς ἑβδομάδων' and with Goth. *dagē fidvōr tiguns* 'ἡμερῶν τέτταρας δεκάδας', just like Gr. *τριάκοντα ἄνδρες* instead of **τρία χόντα ἀνδρῶν*, Lat. *trīginta viri* instead of **trī contā virōm*. However, in Germanic these new expressions with **tezu-* held their ground only from 20 to 60, while the three others of the series — 70, 80, 90 — were displaced in proethnic Germanic by a new group formed on the analogy of an old expression for 100, Goth. *tathuntē-hund* 'δεκάδων δεκάς'. This change will be discussed in § 178.

In the parent language there never was any very close connexion between the words for the various multiples of ten and any intermediate units which might be used with them (in numbers such as 21, 22, 31 and so forth). The unit always remained an independent word. See § 175 p. 24. It was also independent in the differentiated idioms of the different languages. Sanskrit is the only noteworthy exception. Along with the old method of expression, Vedic itself contains feminine words like *trāyas-trīṣat-* '33' *cātus-trīṣat-* '34', which follow the analogy of *trāyō-daśa* '13' *cātur-daśa* '14'. Later, these compound forms became the rule; and for other numbers besides 24, 34 etc. the bare stem was used in them; e. g. *ēka-viṣati-ṣ* '21' (but on the other hand *ēkadaśa*), *dvi-trīṣat-* '32'. Sanskrit always shows a marked preference for compound words only followed the

traction have been

already discussed (§ 175 p. 25). Examples are *ēkōnatrīṣat-* '29', *pañcōṇṇa śatam* '95', *ēkān nā śatām* '99'.

§ 177. Twenty. The cardinal ended in **-kmti* (Avest. *vī-saiti* Gr. *fi-xati*), which was nom. acc. du. neut. of the stem *-kmt-* (§ 294).

The first part was **uei-* (Gr. Heracl. *fei-xati*¹) *εἰ-κοσι*), **ui-* (O.Ir. *fi-che*), **uim-* or **uin-* (Skr. *vi-śati*-*ś*), perhaps also **ut-* (Avest. *vī-saiti*, Gr. *fi-xati* with *i*?, Lat. *vī-ginti*, Armen. *Esan* for **gi-santi* or **gī-santi*). It would seem, then, that different case-forms were used; but we cannot get anything like a clear idea as to what the original method of expression was in Indo-Germanic. It seems certain that all these variations of **uei-* meant 'two', and it is natural to connect them with two particles — (1) Skr. *vi* 'apart' *vi-śu- vi-śva-* 'on both sides, on different sides' (cp. Avest. *pri-śva-*) *vi-tard-m* 'further' Goth. *vi-þra* 'against, with- (in composition)' Lat. *vi-tr-icu-s* (II § 75 p. 191); and (2) *u* in Skr. *u-bhaú* O.C.Sl. *vū-torū* and in the nom. acc. du. Skr. *dva-ú*. Then **u-i-* 'two' will be like **tr-i-* 'three' and **dvi-* 'two' (§ 166 p. 6, § 311 Rem. 2). See the Author, Morph. Unt. V 23 ff., Bartholomae Stud. zur idg. Sprachgesch. I 74, and below §§ 285, 296.

The abstract ended in **-kmt-s* (in the nom. sing.): Gr. *fi-xás* *εἰ-xás* O.Ir. *fi-che*. The ordinal ended in **-kmt-to-* **-kmt'tymno-*: Gr. Boeot. *fi-xαστό-ς* Lat. *vī-cēsimu-s*.

Aryan. Avest. *vīsaiti*. Skr. *viśati*-*ś* is a singular abstract noun formed from the nom. acc. du. in **-śati*, after the analogy of *śaśti*-*ś* '60', *saptati*-*ś* '70' etc.: people said *viśatyā hārīṇām*, and with the case of the latter word assimilated *viśatyā hārībhiṣ* 'with 20 bay steeds' just as they said *śaśtyā hārīṇām* and *śaśtyā hārībhiṣ* 'with 60 bay steeds'. The later *viśat-* seems to be merely an ad-formate of the numbers 30 to 50 *triśāt-* etc.,

1) Danielsson (Epigraphica, Upsala 1890, p. 33) would now regard Heracl. *fei-xati* as *fi-xati* influenced by the form of Att. *εἰκοσι*, which he takes to stand for *ἰφικοσι*. The diphthong of *fi-* has no real support whatever in the other Indo-Germanic languages; still I can see no valid reason for denying that it represents an original proethnic form.

as on the other hand *višati*-š was the type for *trišati*-š which was used in more recent times along with *tri-šát*-. Avest. *vi-* may come from *vi-*; see the Author, Morph. Unt. V 27.

20th. Avest. *višastema*- instead of **višastema*-, see § 176 Rem. 2. Skr. *višati-tamá-s*, derived from *višati*- (cp. *šašti-tamá-s* § 178), and *višá-s* like *ekādaśá-s* 'eleventh' etc.

Armenian. *ksan* probably for **gsan* **gšsan*(*ti*) with *g*- = *u*-, -*s*- = -*k*-, -*an*- = -*u*-, see I § 232 p. 197. *ksan*, like the multiples of ten that followed it, received inflexion once more (as an *i*-stem), e. g. gen. dat. *ksan-i-ç*; and later it was also declined in the singular. Ordinal *ksan-erord*.

Greek. Dor. Boeot. *fixati*, and with *ei* Dor. *felxati* Ion. Att. *εἴκοσι* Hom. *ἐείκοσι*. 20th Boeot. *fixastó-ç* Att. *εἰκοστός*. Abstract: Boeot. *fixás* Thess. *ikás* Att. *eikás*. The quantity of *i* in the first syllable has not been ascertained. -*o*- in place of -*a*- was due to the following multiples of ten, its first source being the ending -*konta*; see § 176 Rem. 2 p. 31. Hesychius has preserved another form *ikantiv* (MS. *ikántiv*) with the -*v*- of -*konta*. The *v* *ἐφελευστικόν* may have been first added to *εἴκοσι* when it was used as a dative, cp. inscr. *ἀνδράσιν ἐνὶ καὶ εἴκοσιν* (Maassen, De littera *v* paragoga, 1881, p. 34).

Italic. *vi-ginti*. *viċesimu-s*, rarely *viġesimu-s*. Whether *vi-* represents Idg. **ui-* or **uei-* is uncertain; we find *veiginti* in *C.I.L.* I 1194, later than 105 B.C. It is also doubtful why the final -*i* of -*ginti* is long; was an original -*i* lengthened on the analogy of -*a* in *trīgintā* etc., or was -*oi* or -*ei*, the ending of the nom. acc. du. neut. of *o*-stems (see § 293), substituted for it? The -*g*- Thurneysen holds to be correct phonetically in *septingenti nōngenti (quadringenti octingenti)*, and then to have extended itself by analogy into other numbers (I § 499 p. 366); in considering this question, we must not forget that a media *g* seems also to be indicated by the *z*- of Alban. -*zet* 'group of 20' (*ñe-zét* 'one score', *dü-zét* 'two score' etc.) — see G. Meyer, Abh. zu M. Hertz' 70. Geburtstag 1888, pp. 90 f., and compare the mediae in Lat. *quadru-* § 168 p. 11, Gr. *ἑβδομο-ç* O.C.Sl. *sedmŭ* § 171 p. 19.

Old Irish. *fi-che* (gen. *fichet* dat. *fichit*) for **-kmt-s* (I § 243 p. 201, § 620 p. 467, § 634 pp. 474 f., § 657. 6 p. 509, § 685 p. 552); possibly *fi-* took the place of **uī-* or **ueī-* after the analogy of *tricha*. O.Cymr. *u-ceint* Corn. *u-gans*, the *u* of which has not been explained; cp. Thurneysen in Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVI 310 footnote 2. 20th Mid.Ir. *fichet-mad* (inferred from *cōicet-mad*).

Germanic. Goth. *tvōtīgjus*, dat. *tvōimtigum*. O.H.G. *zwein-zug* O.Sax. *twēn-tig*, the first part being a crystallised dative. 20th O.H.G. *zweinzug-ōsto*. As to **tezu-* for **dekmt-* see p. 31 footnote 1.

Balto-Slavonic. Lith. originally **dvi dēszimti* (dual), hence *dvideszimt* uninflected, and also a dialectic form *dvideszimts* through assimilation to *trisdeszimts* etc.; 20th O.Lith. *antra-s deszimta-s*, modern *dvideszimta-s*. O.C.Sl. *dŭva deseti* (dual, so *deseti* is masc.); 20th *dŭvadesetnŭ dvodesetnŭ*, and, following the fashion of stem-compounds, *dvodesetnŭ* (cp. *pęto-na-desetnŭ* § 175 p. 29).

§ 178. Multiples of Ten, from Thirty to Ninety.

Aryan. Traces of the old neuter plural phrases **tri komta* etc. survive in the first components of Avest. *capwar'-sat-* and Skr. *pañcā-śāt-* Avest. *pañcā-sat-*, since these followed the analogy of **tri-* (see § 176 p. 29), and also in the first part of Skr. *catvāri-śāt-*, in which **catvāri-* changed to *catvāri-* on the analogy of *vī-* and *tri-*. In protoethnic Aryan the feminine singular abstract nouns displaced the old plural phrases, and in the same period these same forms, in the numbers from 60 to 90, were themselves displaced by abstract nouns derived from the units, Skr. *ṣaṣṭi-ś* Avest. *xšvašti-ś* 'a group of six' (i. e. six tens), and so forth.

In the second member of 30, 40, and 50 the weak stem **-kmt-* = Skr. *-śāt-* Avest. *-sat-* has levelled out the others; Skr. *tri-śāt- catvāri-śāt- pañcā-śāt-*, Avest. *pri-sat- capwar'-sat- pañcā-sat-*; **-komt-* is found only in Avest. *pri-sas*, an indeclinable word, which corresponds to O.Ir. nom. sing. *tri-cha* (cp. Ascoli, Krit. Stud. 100). In Avestic the acc. in *-sat-em* was

used for the nom. as well, doubtless under the influence of the neuter *sate-m* '100'; hence the word was declined as an *o*-stem, gen. pl. *ṛisatanam*, *pañcāsata-gāya* 'space of 50 paces'. In Sanskrit the analogy of *viśati-ṣ* gave rise to *triśati-s*, which was used along with *triśāt-*.

With regard to the first member, the following are directly descended from Indo-Germanic forms: Avest. *caḥwar-* from **getuř-* (cp. I § 306 p. 242) and Skr. *pañcā-* Avest. *pañcā-* from **perəqe-*, see § 176 p. 29. Whether Skr. *tri-* represents pre-Aryan **trim-*, or is an ad-formate of *vi-*, is a doubtful point; Skr. *catvāri-* instead of **catvāri-* must count as an ad-formate of this kind. Avest. *caḥwar-sat-* was confused with compounds like *ātar-carana-*; hence alongside of *caḥru-māhya-* adj. 'every four months, connected with four months', and the like, were coined such compounds as *caḥwar-zanəgra-* 'four-footed'. This same *caḥwar-sat-* may therefore have suggested *ṛi-sat-* instead of **ṛi-sat-* or **ṛisat-*, and *pañca-sat-* (beside *pañcā-sat-*). But the *ṛi-* of the MSS. may be an incorrect mode of writing *ṛi-* or *ṛi-* (see the Author, Morph. Unt. V 27), and *pañca-sat-* may be a genuine product of the time when **perəqe komtə* was still spoken and had not yet been changed to **perəqe komtə* (see § 176 Rem. 1).

60 Skr. *ṣaṣṭi-ṣ* Avest. *xšvašti-ṣ*. 70 Skr. *saptati-ṣ* Avest. *haptāiti-ṣ* — the *ā* of the latter is due to that of *āstāiti-*; *a* is retained in *haptaiṇi-vant-* 'seventy-fold'. 80 Skr. *aṣṭi-ṣ* (cp. § 172 Rem. p. 19), Avest. *āstāiti-ṣ*. 90 Skr. *navati-ṣ* Avest. *navaiti-ṣ*. Skr. *ṣaṣṭi-ṣ* and Avest. *navaiti-ṣ* have not ceased to bear the more general sense of 'group of six', 'group of nine'.

Remark. We may assign a reason for the use of *ṣaṣṭi-ṣ* etc. in place of corresponding abstracts of the same kind as *tri-śāt-*. Such a use suggests that in protoethnic Aryan higher numbers could be expressed by a sexagesimal notation, in which the word *ṣaṣṭi-ṣ xšvašti-ṣ* 'threescore' held the most prominent place. Even in historical times the ancient Persians had a remarkable liking for the number sixty and its multiples, as the Romans had for *sexagintā* and *sescenti* (see Cantor, Mathemat. Beitr. zum Kulturleben der Völker, 1883, p. 361 f.) The original compound numeral for 60 was displaced by *ṣaṣṭi-ṣ* in protoethnic Aryan, and corresponding expressions for the following tens established themselves later by analogy.

In the phrases Skr. *triśāta hārīṇām*, *śaṣṭyā hārīṇām* 'with 30, 60 bay steeds' the cases were assimilated, giving *triśāta hārībhiḥ*, *śaṣṭyā hārībhiḥ*; and a further assimilation of the first word to the number of the second produced Skr. *pañcāśadbhir vaṇāḥ* 'with 50 arrows', the numeral being now regarded as an adjective. The Avestic *prisatanəm bawrinəm* 'triginta fibrorum' is similar (cp. Lith. *deszimtisa mėstosu* p. 23 footnote 1, Lat. *ducenti viri* § 180). It is improbable that the latter construction is immediately connected with the original neut. pl. phrases **trī komtā* 'three tens' etc.

Ordinals. Skr. *triśat-tamā-s catvāriśat-tamā-s pañcāśat-tamā-s* and *triśā-s catvāriśā-s pañcāśā-s* like *viśā-s* (§ 177 p. 33). *śaṣṭi-tamā-s saptati-tamā-s aṣṭi-tamā-s navati-tamā-s* and *śaṣṭā-s saptatā-s aṣṭā-s navatā-s* (observe that *t* distinguishes these from *śaṣṭhā-s* 'sixth' *saptātha-s* 'seventh', which have *th*); the last three are to be compared with *-śatā-* '100th' (§ 179). In Avestic only *prisata-* '30th' is actually found.

Armenian. *-sun* came from the stem *-komi-* (I § 79 p. 70), and is probably shortened for **-sonta*. Sometimes we have *-a-*, the 'vowel of composition', (cp. II § 28 p. 45). 30 *eresun* for **eri-a-sun*. 40 *kar-a-sun*; *kar-* probably stands for **qtuř-* (cp. *arm-ukn* 'elbow' = Skr. *ir-mā-* Avest. *ar^h-ma-*, I § 306 p. 241). 50 *yi-sun*, cp. I § 330 Rem. p. 265, and Bugge, Beitr. zur etym. Erläut. der armen. Sprache, p. 10; whether **perqē-* or **perqe-* be the form contained in this word it is impossible to decide. 60 *vař-sun*, cp. *veř* 'six' and *veř-tasan* '16'. 70 *evfan-a-sun*. 80 *uř-sun*. 90 *inn-sun*. The numerals in *-sun* remained for a long time indeclinable, and afterwards, like *ksan* '20' (§ 177 p. 34), became inflected; they were declined as *i*-stems, e. g. gen. dat. *eresn-i-ç*; later they were declined in the singular as well.

Ordinals: *eresn-erord karasn-erord* etc.

Greek. *-κοντα* was indeclinable from proethnic Greek onwards. Occasional exceptions to this rule, such as *τessερακόντων* (inscr. of Chios), *τριηκόντων* (Hesiod), *τριηκόντεσσι* (Anthol.) are re-formates of a late period, and so are *πέμπων* (§ 169 p. 13) and *δέκων* (§ 174 p. 22).

30. *τρια-κοντα* Ion. *τρίη-κοντα* instead of **τρι-κοντα*. **τρι-* first gave place to **τρια-*, since all nom. acc. pl. neut. took the termination *-ā* from consonant-stems (§§ 337 ff.); then *ā* was lengthened on the analogy of *τετρώ-κοντα* and *πεντή-κοντα*. Similarly we have *τρια-κάς*.

40. Dor. Ion. *τετρώ-κοντα* = Idg. **qetw̥-*. Att. *τετταρά-κοντα* Ion. Arcad. *τεσσαρά-κοντα* Boeot. *πιτταρά-κοντα*. Cp. § 176.

50. Att. Dor. etc. *πεντή-κοντα* = Idg. **penqē-*. Cp. § 176 p. 29. The *-η-* of this word passed on to the following multiples of ten, as in Latin the *a* of *quadra-gintā* passed on to *quingua-gintā* *sexā-gintā* and the rest.

60. Att. Dor. etc. *ἑξ-ή-κοντα*, Cret. *Feξήκοντα*.

70. Att. Ion. *ἑβδομ-ή-κοντα*, Heracl. Delph. *ἑβδομήκοντα*. It is not clear how *ἑβδομ-ή-* is to be explained (cp. *ἑβδομάς* *ἑβδομάκις* and *ἑβδομος*). Perhaps it contains an Idg. **septom-* (cp. **-d̥kom-t-* beside **-d̥k̥m-t-*). Cp. § 171 p. 17, and the Author, Morph. Unt. V 36 ff. *ἑβδομήκοντα* seems to be a modification of *ἑβδομηκοντα* due to the influence of *ἐνενήκοντα*. Thus modified it gave rise itself to the Epidaurian *ἑβδεμαῖος* (p. 19).

80. Hom. *ὀγδώ-κοντα* like Lat. *octō-gintā*. Att. Lesb. *ὀγδο-ή-κοντα* Heracl. *ὀγδοήκοντα* (cp. Heracl. *ὀκτώ* § 172 p. 20), like vulgar Latin *octua-gintā* for **octovā-*. *ὀγδο-η-* (cp. *ὀγδοάς* and *ὀγδοο-ς*) presents the same difficulties as *ἑβδομ-ή-*. See § 172 p. 20 for *ὀγδοο-ς*, and the Author, Morph. Unt. V 36 ff.

90. Hom. *ἐννήκοντα* Oetean *ἐνήκοντα* for **ένφ-η-* like Armen. *inn-sun*, cp. Hom. *ένν-ῆμαρ*; in the Homeric age the words used seem to have been *ένφ-ήκοντα* *ένφ-ῆμαρ* (the Author, *op. cit.* 41 ff. and 45). Att. Hom. Ion. *ἐνενήκοντα* Heracl. *ἐνενήκοντα* (cp. Heracl. *έννέα* § 173 p. 21) for **ένφεν-ή-κοντα*, from which we should infer an Idg. stem **en̥wen-* **nen̥wen-*, to which it is possible to refer Lat. *nōn-a-gintā* *nōn-u-s* and O.Ir. *nōicht-ech* 'of ninety years'. Cp. the Author, *op. cit.* 39 ff.

In the ordinals of the tens from 30 to 90 **-καστο-ς* became *-κοστό-ς* through assimilation to *-κοντα* in proethnic Greek (§ 176 Rem. 2 pp. 30 f.). *τριακοστό-ς*. *τετρακοστό-ς* and *τετταρακοστό-ς*. *πεντηκοστό-ς*. *ἑξηκοστό-ς*. *ἑβδομηκοστό-ς*. *ὀγδοηκοστό-ς*. *ἐνενηκοστό-ς*.

Italic. No evidence is forthcoming except in Latin. *-ginta* instead of **-gontā* owed the change of its final to the analogy of *o*-stems (cp. § 342); *-i-* (earlier *-e-*) instead of *-o-* may be due either to the vowel gradation seen in different cases of the Idg. neut. pl. **komt-ə*, or to the analogy of *vī-gintī* (§ 176 p. 30); as to *-g-* instead of *-c-*, the student may refer to § 177 p. 34. *tri-* is the old nom. acc. neut. *quadra-* is the Idg. **getuǵ-*; its *-ā-* passed on to the following tens, as the *-η-* of *πεντή-κοντα* did to *ἑξή-κοντα* and the rest. *quingūā-* (instead of **quinguē-*). *sexā-*. *septuā-* has been assimilated to *octuā-*. *octuā-* for **octov-ā-* (like Gr. *ὀγδο-ή-κοντα*) belongs to the popular language (cp. § 172 p. 21); the literary form is *octō-* (like Gr. *ὀγδω-κοντα*). It is uncertain whether *nōn-ā-* stands for pre-Italic **neuen-*, like Gr. *ἐν(F)εν-ή-κοντα*, or for pre-Italic **neup-*, like Gr. **ἐνφ-ή-κοντα* (Hom. *ἐννήκοντα*).

Ordinals. *trīcēsīmu-s* (like *vīcēsīmu-s*) and *trī-gēsīmu-s*. Only *-gēsīmu-s* occurs in the rest of the series, *quadrāgēsīmu-s* etc.

Old Irish. *-cha -ga* and *-ca* (see I § 514 pp. 375 f.) for **-komt-s*, gen. *-chat* dat. *-chit -chait*. 30 *tri-cha* with original short *i*, as Bret. *tregont* shows; **trecha* would be the regular form; the word may have taken its present shape under the influence partly of *tri* 'tria', which is used before substantives as an independent word, partly of *fi-che* '20'. *tri-* is the stem, in place of nom. acc. pl. neut. **trī-*. 40 *cethor-cha* either for **cetura-* (nom. acc. pl. neut., cp. Gr. *τετταρά-κοντα*) or for **cetrū-* (the stem, cp. Gall. *Petru-corius* and *tri-cha*); Mid.Ir. *cethracha*, which doubtless follows *cethri* 'four'. 50 *cōica*, perhaps by syllabic dissimilation (cp. Gall. *Leucamulus* for **Leuco-camulo-*, I § 643 p. 483); is the contained unit **penqē-* or **penqē-ʔ* see the Author, *Morph. Unt.* V 33. 60 *ses-ca*. 70 *sechtmo-ga -go*, which may stand for **sechtym-u-cont-* or for **sechtom-u-cont-* (cp. *cethorcha* for **cetrū-cont-* [ʔ] and O.Cymr. *trimuceint* '30'). Cp. the Author, *Morph. Unt.* V 38. 80 *ochtmo-ga* is certainly an ad-formate of *sechtmo-ga*. 90 Mid.Ir. *nōcha* or *nōcha*, O.Ir. perhaps **nōicha* (cp. *nōicht-ech* 'of ninety years'); was **nō(ī)ca* the older form (see I § 212 pp. 178 f. and

§ 513 p. 375) and did *tri-cha* cause the change from *c* to *ch*, or was it **nō(i)ncha*, where *ch* instead of *c* would shew that a vowel had dropped between *n* and *cha*? It remains a doubtful point whether the contained unit is **neyn-* or **neyen-* (cp. Gr. *ἐν(φ)εν-ή-χοντα*).

The Ordinals end in *-mad*, as 50th *cōicet-mad cōicat-mad*.

For expressions like *tri deich* '30', *cōic deich* '50' (cp. the Germanic and Balto-Slavonic) and *dā ficht* '40' *tri ficht* '60' (cp. Alban. *dū-zét, tre-zét*) see Stokes, Bezenb. Beitr. XI 167 f., and Pott, Die quin. und vig. Zählm. 99 ff.

Germanic. Goth. 30 *preis-tigjus*, acc. *prins-tiguns*, gen. *prijē-tigivē*. 40 *fidvōr-tigjus*. 50 *finf-tigjus*. 60 *saths-tigjus*. O.H.G. *dri-zug* (the spirant *z* is due to the preceding vowel, see I § 533 p. 390; yet on the analogy of *zwein-zug* and the following tens the word came to have *z* = *ts*, as the spelling *trīcig* etc. shews), *fior-zug*, *finf-zug*, *sehzug sehszug* (the latter a re-formate, cp. Lat. *sescentī* and *sexcentī*, § 180). As regards the origin of *tigu-* and *-zug*, see p. 31 footnote 1.

For 70, 80, and 90 we have in Gothic *sibuntē-hund ahtautē-hund niuntē-hund*, which are mostly indeclinable, though once we find a gen. in *-is*, *niuntēhundis*; in Old High German of the oldest period, *sibunzo ahtozo* (*-z-* instead of *-g-* is a re-formation) *niunzo* (not actually found, but this is a mere accident); in Old Saxon *ant-sibunta ant-ahtoda*; and in Anglo-Saxon *hund-seofontiz hund-eahtatiz hund-nizontiz*. These were all ad-formates of an original expression for 100, Goth. *taihuntē-hund* O.H.G. *zehanzo* A.S. *hund-teóntiz*, which will be explained in § 179. Probably the Indo-Germanic expressions for 70, 80, and 90 which answered to Goth. *preis-tigjus* etc. lost their original meanings in proethnic Germanic, and were then superseded by this new series which follows the analogy of *taihuntē-hund*. Yet in West Germanic there was a kind of reaction to the older type, and O.H.G. *sibunzo ahtozo niunzo* during the ninth and succeeding centuries were gradually made to conform to the type of the preceding tens, and transformed into *sibunzug ahtozug niunzug*; and similarly, in Anglo-Saxon, **hund-seofonta* became

hund-seofontiz, and the others of this set were changed in like manner. Cp. the Author, *Morph. Unt.* V 49 f.

The forms in *-zug* and *-zo* were still regarded as substantives in O.H.G., since they governed a genitive case; as *feorzug wehhōno*, *sibunzo wehhōno*; the present type is *in vierzig wochen* 'in forty weeks', like Skr. *pañcāśadbhir vānaiṣ* (§ 178 pp. 36 f).

No ordinals are found in Gothic. In O.H.G. we have *drīzugōsto* etc. like *zweinzugōsto*.

Balto-Slavonic.

Lithuanian. 30 *trīs dēszimty*s (stem *deszimti-*) and *dēszimts* (stem *deszimt-*), like O.C.Sl. *četyri desęti* beside *četyre desęte*. Each word of the expression was declined independently (with the gen. pl. of the word whose number was to be expressed), as acc. *trīs dēszimtis*, gen. *trijū deszimtū*. Similarly 40 *kėturios dēszimty*s (*dēszimts*), acc. *kėtures dēszimtis*, etc. These expressions are found in Old Lithuanian, and still survive as dialectic variants; but as a rule they became compounds, the unit coalescing with the ten. The accusative became the regular form in the first part, and in the second, *-deszimts* was crystallised in some dialects, as *trīs-deszimts kėtures-deszimts* etc.; whilst elsewhere (in the literary language) *dvi-deszimt* '20' set the type for the final member, and its *-deszimt* passed on to the rest of the series, as *trīs-deszimt* etc. Other kinds of change in the older language are discussed by Bezzenberger, *Beitr. zur Gesch. der lit. Spr.*, 181 f. — Ordinals. Old Lithuanian has such phrases as *penkta-s deszimta-s* (cp. *antra-s deszimta-s* '20th'), and such compounds as *penkta-deszimta-s*, '50th'. The forms now used, *trīsdeszimta-s kėturesdeszimta-s* etc., have been modified by association with the cardinal. Forms with the 'vowel of composition', like *keturiā-deszimta-s* '40th' *septyniā-deszimta-s* '70th', are also said to occur. See Bezzenberger, *op. cit.* 185 f.; Schleicher, *Lit. Gr.* 151 f.

Slavonic. 30 *tri desęti*. 40 *četyri desęti*, and masc. *četyre desęte*. 50 *peři desętū* = *πενράς δεκάδων*, 60 *šestř desętū* etc. — The Ordinals end in *-inū*, *tridesętinū*, *četyridesętinū* *peřidesętinū*

etc.; sometimes they contain the 'vowel of composition' -o-, as *sedmodesetĩnũ* beside *sedmĩdesetĩnũ* '70th'.

§ 179. Hundred. The Idg. cardinal was **kmtó-m* for **dkmtó-m* (§ 164 pp. 2 f.) 'group of ten (*sc.* tens)', a neuter subst. governing the gen. pl. In this word 'tens' is understood, as it is in Skr. *daśatĩ-ṣ*, which means both 'decas' and 'centum'. But in Goth. *taihuntē-hund* 'δεκάδων δεκάς' the original expression seems to have been kept without abbreviation.

Skr. *śatá-m*. Various constructions are found, — *śatēna hárīṇam*, *śatēna hárībhiṣ* and *śatá hárībhis* 'with 100 bay steeds'; and the Veda has *śatá púras* as well as *śatá púras* '100 cities'. *śata-* in composition, as *śatá-patra-s* 'having 100 wings', but also *śatám-ati-ṣ* 'offering a hundred helps, giving help an hundred-fold', Avest. *sate-m*.

Armen. *hariur*, of doubtful origin (cp. Ascoli, Kuhn-Schl. Beitr. V 212 f.).

Gr. *ἐκατόν*, which has become indeclinable and is used always as an adjective, as *ἐκατόν ἀνδράσι*. This is the sole form found in composition, *ἐκατο-* having entirely disappeared; examples are *ἐκατόμ-βη ἐκατόγ-χειρο-ς* (*ἐκατόστομο-ς* may be derived from **ἐκατοστομο-ς*, as laid down in I § 204 p. 171); — we even find such compounds as *ἐκατοντα-κάρηνο-ς* (cp. *ἐκατοντάς ἐκατοντάκις*), following *τριᾶκοντά-ζυγο-ς* and the like. Arcad. *ἐκατόν-βοια* like Ion. Att. *-κόσιοι*, cp. § 176 Rem. 2 p. 31. *ἐ-κατόν* is probably a confusion of two modes of expression, **ἄ-κατόν* (cp. Skr. *sa-hásra-m* 'one thousand') and **ἐν κατόν* (cp. Alban. *ñe kint* O.H.G. *ein hunt* 'one hundred'), which were used interchangeably like Skr. *dvi-śatá-m* and *dvē śatē* '200'.

Lat. *centum*, like *ἐκατόν*, is crystallised and used as an adjective; but *centi-* (*centu-*) is found in compounds, as *centi-manu-s*, though we also have *centum-pondiu-m centum-peda* etc. (cp. Skutsch, De nominum Lat. compositione, p. 37).

O.Ir. *cēt*, declined as a neuter *o*-stem. Also *cōic fichit*.

Goth. *hund* O.H.G. *hunt* n. only in 200 and the following hundreds: Goth. *toa hunda* O.H.G. *zwei hunt* etc., whence *ein hunt*, but only in late O.H.G. The word for hundred in

Gothic was *tai-huntē-hund* (sometimes distorted into *taihuntai-hund*), in Anglo-Saxon *hund-teóntig* instead of **-teónta*, in the earliest Old High German *zehanzo* (*hunt* being dropped), lit. 'δεκάδων δεκάς'; *taihunt-* = δεκάδ-, common ground-form **dek-md-*, cp. Wheeler, *Der griech. Nominalaccent* p. 38, and in this work vol. I p. 199 footnote 1 and § 469.7 p. 346. I regard this, as I have already said, as being the oldest Indo-Germanic mode of designating a hundred, and I consider the old Germanic expressions for 70, 80, and 90 to be re-formates following the analogy of the number 100, Goth. *sibuntē-* being equivalent to Gr. ἑπτάδων, and *niuntē-* to Gr. ἑννεάδων. See § 178 p. 40, and the Author, *Morph. Unt.* V 11 ff., 139 ff., and 268. O.H.G. *zehanzo* with *a* like *zehan*, see § 174 p. 23. With regard to O.Sax. *ant-* in *ant-sibunta*, which is a distorted form of *hund-*, see the Author, *op. cit.* p. 142, and what is said in § 352 of this volume on Norse Runic *pri-taunta*.

Lith. *szimta-s* (which has become masculine, see § 403) and O.C.Sl. *sūto* are in living use as substantives. In *sūto* the *š* is strange; perhaps the word was borrowed (cp. the Author, *Techmer's Internat. Ztschr.* I 251; G. Meyer, *Alban. Stud.* II 13 f.); we should expect **sęto*, which seems to be represented in *tysesta* for **ty-seť-ia*; see § 181.

For the Ordinal, the original proethnic expression has not been clearly determined. Only two branches of the language agree in a formation which could be regarded as proethnic: Skr. *-śatá-* Lith. *szimta-s*.

Skr. *śata-tamá-s* Avest. *satō-tema-* (for the *-ō-* cp. II § 73 p. 178). Sanskrit has also *śatá-* in composition, as *ekaśatá-s* '101st'.

Armen. *hariur-ord*, *hariur-erord*.

Gr. ἑκατ-οστό-ς following *τριακοστό-ς* etc., cp. also ἑκατοντα-χάκηρο-ς on the last page.

Lat. *cent-ēsimu-s* following *trīcēsimu-s* etc.

O.Ir. *cēt-mad*.

O.H.G. *zehanzug-ōsto*.

Lith. *szimta-s* (*szimtās-is*); it is certainly wrong to assume

that this stands for **szimta-ta-s*, as Bezzenberger does, or for **szimt-ta-s*, with Pott and Schleicher. O.C.Sl. *sūt-inŭ*.

§ 180. Two Hundred to Nine Hundred.

Cardinal and Abstract Series. The parent language had two methods of expressing these multiples of a hundred. The unit might be prefixed to **kmtó-m*, both being in the same case and in the dual or plural number; as **duoi kmtoi* du. '200', **tri kmta* pl. '300' and so forth. This usage is found in Aryan, Irish, Germanic, and Balto-Slavonic. The other mode was to make a singular compound, whose first part was the stem of the unit; as **dxi-kmtó-m* 'the state of being 200', *tri-kmtó-m*, etc. This appears in Aryan, Greek, and Latin.

Aryan. Skr. 200 *dvé śatē* and *dvi-śatá-m*, and later a re-formate *dviśatī* f.¹), 300 *trīni śatāni* and *tri-śatá-m triśatī* etc. Avest. 200 *duyē sātē* (for *duyē* see Bartholomae, Handb. § 92), 500 *panca sata*, 900 *nava sata*.

Armenian. 200 *erku hariur* and *erkeriur*, 300 *ereġ-hariur*, 400 *ġoreġ-hariur* etc.

Greek. A group of compounds formed with *-κατιο-* (so Dor. and Boeot., *-κασιο-* Arcad., *-κοσιο-* Ion. Att., as to the first *o* of which see § 176 Rem. 2 p. 31 and § 179 p. 42) was derived from the neuter abstract series by adding *-ιιο-*. For example, *τετρακατιο-* 'connected with the state of being 400, consisting of 400' is derived from **τετρακατο-ν* 'the state of being 400'; cp. Skr. *-śat-ya-*, as *śaśtrīśacchatya-s* 'consisting of 136' *śatīn-* (Ved.) 'forming a group of 100, hundredfold' (where *-in-* stands for from *-ιιο-* *-en-*, see II § 115 pp. 357 f.); and cp. also Goth. *pūsundi* O.C.Sl. *tysešta* '1000' (§ 181), which is probably to be derived from **tūs-kmt-ιιο-* 'containing many hundreds', and the same suffix *-ιιο-* in *χιλιο-* Skr. *sahasr-īya-* (§ 181). Hence the use of the singular, for example, in Thucydides I 62 *τὴν διακοσίαν ἵππων* 'cavalry consisting of a group of 200' and Xenophon Cyr. IV 6 2 *ἵππων ἔχων διαχιλίαν τριακοσίαν*. This series of

1) Kluge holds that these compounds in *-śatī* are original forms, of which the Greek and Latin words in *-centi* and *-κατιο-* are trans-formates (Paul's Grdrss. I 406). This view is untenable.

derivatives in *-io-* then superseded constructions corresponding to Skr. *dvē śatē* and *dviśatā-m*, which must have once existed in Greek, precisely as *χίλιοι* has ousted **χέσλο-ν*, which answered to the Skr. *sahāsra-m*. 200 *διακόσιοι*; Ion. *διηκόσιοι* instead of **δι-κόσιοι* by assimilation to 300 *τρια-κόσιοι* Ion. *τριηκόσιοι*. This latter form itself may have arisen from a blending of **τρι-κόσιοι* with **τρία κατά* (Skr. *trīṇi śatāni*), the *α* being lengthened after the analogy of *τριά-κοντα* (cp. § 178 pp. 37 f.); or, as seems to me more probable, it was transformed from **τρι-κόσιοι* after the analogy of *τριά-κοντα*, as the Homeric *πεντηκόσιοι* undoubtedly has been assimilated to *πεντή-κοντα*. 400 *τετρακόσιοι*. 500 *πεντακόσιοι* instead of **πεντε-κόσιοι*, like *πεντά-πηχες* etc., see § 169 p. 13. 600 *ἑξακόσιοι*. like *ἑξά-πολις* etc., see § 170 p. 16. 700 *ἑπτακόσιοι*. 800 *ὀκτακόσιοι*, like *ὀκτά-πους* etc., see § 172 p. 20. 900 *ἐνακόσιοι*. Cp. the Author, *Morph. Unt.* V 7 ff.

Italic. Only Latin has any examples. The neuter abstract series is represented by O.Lat. forms with *-centum -gentum*, *du-centum* 'a group of 200', etc. Their original character is seen most clearly when they govern the genitive case, in descriptions of weight and measure with *aeris*, *aurī*, *frūmentī* and the like, as *argentī sescentum* (Lucilius). And in one instance *nōngentum* is used as a crystallised adjective, precisely as *centum* is, *C. I. L.* IV 1136 *locantur balneum Venerium et nongentum tabernae pergulae cenacula*. *ducentum* became the plural adjective *ducentī* in very much the same way as Gr. **δεκαχειλον ἀνδρῶν* becomes *δεκάχειλοι ἄνδρες* (Hom.), and Skr. *pañcāśatā vāṇāṇām* becomes *pañcāśadbhir vāṇaiṣ*, etc. (§ 178 pp. 36 f.). *nōngentu-s* 'belonging to 900' (Plin. XXXIII 2 § 31) is an instructive form; it is related to *nōngentu-m* as *tri-viu-s* 'connected with three ways' to *tri-viu-m* 'place where three ways meet'. *du-centī* like *du-plex* etc., § 166 p. 7. *trē-centī*, cp. § 167 p. 8. *quadrin-gentī* instead of **quadru-*, following *septin-gentī*. *quin-gentī* (*quincentum* Fest.) for **quinque-cento-*. *sescentī* like *misceo* for **mic-sceō* (I § 503 p. 369), and, once more assimilated to *sex*, *sexcentī*, cp. O.H.G. *sehs-zug* '60' instead of *sehzug*, which is

also found (§ 178 p. 40). *septin-gentī*. *octin-gentī* instead of **octi-* or **octō-* following *septin-gentī*. *nōn-gentī*, and in Columella *nōn-in-gentī* following *septin-gentī*. The -*g-* and -*c-* have been discussed in § 177 p. 34, where we concluded that the sound represented by *g* is probably Idg. *ǵ*; and that if the voiced character of the consonant is really so old, these Latin numerals are based upon proethnic stem-compounds, **dui-kmtō-m* and so forth. Cp. the Author, *op. cit.* 3 ff.

Old Irish. 200 *da cēt*, dat. *dib cētaib*, 300 *tri cēt* etc.

Germanic. 200 Goth. *tva hunda* (dat. *twáim hundam*) O.H.G. *zwei hunt*, 300 Goth. *þrija hunda* O.H.G. *thriu hunt* etc. O.H.G. also has such phrases as *zuiro zehanzug* 'twice 100', *finfstunt zehanzug* 'five times 100', cp. Gr. *διο-χίλιοι*.

Lith. 200 *dù szimtù* or *dùszimtu*, 300 *trỹs szimtai* or *trỹ(s)szimtai* etc. In Bretken we find *szimtas* crystallised in the singular form: *du szimts vyru* '200 men', *szeszi szimtas vyru* '600 men' etc. O.C.Sl. 200 *dŭwě sŭtě*, 300 *tri sŭta* and so forth.

Ordinals.

Sanskrit. Here the words are associated with the neuter abstracts: 200th *dviśatá-s* and *dviśatatamá-s*, 300th *triśatá-s* and *triśatatamá-s* etc.

Armen. 200th *erkeriur-erord* etc.

Gr. *διᾱκοσι-οστó-ς*, *τριᾱκοσι-οστó-ς* etc. are re-formates like *ἑκατ-οστó-ς*, see § 179 p. 43.

Lat. *ducent-ěsimu-s* *trecent-ěsimu-s* and so forth (besides *nōngentěsimu-s* Priscian vouches for *nōningentěsimu-s*, which is like *nōningentī*, for which see above).

Remark. Prisoian has preserved certain forms which do not occur elsewhere, namely *ducěsimus* *treccěsimus* *quadrigěsimus* *quingěsimus* *sescěsimus* *septigěsimus* *octigěsimus* *nōngěsimus*. These cannot be really an old series, simply for the reason that -*cěsimo-* must represent **-cent + tūmo-*, and -*cent-* (instead of -*cento-*) cannot have been really an old expression for 100. They look as though the names for the multiples of ten, *vi-cěsimu-s* and the rest, had been altered by the stem being substituted for the old case or quasi-case, the meaning of so many hundreds being given to the new word.

O.Ir. and O.Germ. No forms preserved.

Lith. 200th *duzsimtās-is* etc. O.C.Sl. 200th *dvosūfīnū* (where the 'vowel of composition' has found its way into the word). 300th *trisūfīnū*, and so forth.

§ 181. Thousand. The different languages do not agree in their modes of expressing a thousand; hence we cannot be sure how it was expressed in the parent language. See § 164 p. 2.

**ghéslo-* is the form indicated by Skr. *sa-hásra-m* Avest. *ha-zare-m*, Gr. Lesb. *χίλλ-ια* Dor. *χήλιοι* Ion. *χείλιοι* (I § 565 p. 423); Att. *χίλιοι* may come from Idg. **ghzłó-*, see Thurneysen, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXX 353. Skr. *sa-hásram* 'one thousand' like Gr. *ἑκατόν* 'one hundred', see § 179 p. 42; *sahásram fšīnām* and *sahásram fšayas* '1000 bards', like *śatām fšīnām* and *śatām fšayas*; and, with the number assimilated, *sahásrāny ádhirathāni* '1000 waggonloads' like *śatā púras*. In Greek, **ἐννεαχιλο-ν* 'a group of 9000' and **δεκαχειλο-ν* 'a group of 10,000' became plural adjectives: Hom. *ἐννεάχειλοι*, *δεκάχειλοι* (cp. § 180 p. 45), Idg. **ghesl-iō-* 'consisting of 1000': Skr. *sa-hasr-īya-* 'consisting of 1000, thousandfold', e. g. *sahasriyō bhāgās* 'a share consisting of a thousand, thousandfold share', Gr. *χίλιο- χείλιο-*, like *ἑππος δισχίλιā* (see p. 44), and further *χίλιοι ἄνδρες* like *τριᾰκόσιοι ἄνδρες* (see p. 45). Ordinals: Skr. *sahasra-tamā-s*, Gr. Att. *χίλι-οστό-ς*.

Armen. *hazar* is borrowed from the Iranian.

Lat. *mille mīlia* (*meilia* in Lucilius); it is often connected with Gr. *μύριοι* (see L. Havet, *Mém. de la Soc. de ling.*, III 415, and Thurneysen, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXX 353); but I do not consider that this connexion has, been proved. *mill-ēsimu-s* like *cent-ēsimu-s*.

O.Ir. *mīle* (I do not know whether the ordinal *mīl-mad* has been found) was probably borrowed from the Latin.

Goth. *þūsundi* f., in one place neuter, (in *tva þūsundja* '2000'; but this form may be regarded as a nom. du. fem. in Idg. *-ai, see § 286), O.H.G. *dūsunt thūsunt* f. and n. Lith. *tūkstanti-s* gen. -*czio* (Lett. *tūkstāt-s*), ordinal *tukstantys-is*; O.C.Sl. *tysešta tysašta* f. for *-*entjā* *-*ontjā*, ordinal *tyseštīnū*. On the strength of the Frankish *thūs-chunde thiūs-chunde* (from

the dialect of the Sali, one of the three great branches of the Franks) O.Icel. *þúshundrað* and West-Goth. *thyu-phadus* 'chiliarch, leader of a thousand' (cp. *þúsundi-faþs* in Wulfilā), it has been prettily suggested that this word, common to Germanic and Balto-Slavonic, is a compound of an adjective **tūs-* and the word for 100. **tūs-* would be a word connected with Skr. *tavás-* 'strong, strength' *tuviṣ-ṭama-* 'strongest', showing the weak form of the stem, cp. Skr. instr. *bhīṣ-ā* from *bhiyás-* 'fear'. The meaning of this compound would be 'a group of many hundreds'; see Scherer, *Zur Gesch. der deutsch. Spr.*² 590, Bugge in Paul-Braune's *Beitr.* XIII 327, and Kluge, *Paul's Grundr.* I 406. The *-n-* of the Lithuanian and Lettic words (cp. Pruss. *tūsinto-ns* acc. pl.) is enough to shew that some analogical transformation must have affected them; perhaps they were associated with the participle of the present (Lett.) *tūkstu* 'I swell'. Cp. the Author, *Morph. Unt.* V 10 f.

MULTIPLICATIVES AND DISTRIBUTIVES.

§ 182. Multiplicatives.

1. Numeral Adverbs and Adverbial expressions. The parent language had adverbs ending in *-s* for twice, thrice, and four times.

'Twice' **dwi-s* (**duwi-s*), cp. **dwi-* in composition and used independently § 166 p. 7. Skr. *dvīṣ*, Ved. *duviṣ*, Avest. *biṣ*. Gr. *δίς*. Lat. *bis*, O.Lat. *duis* also, see § 166 Rem. 1 p. 7. Goth. *twis-* 'apart'. Mid.H.G. *zweis*, O.H.G. *zuir-or* *zuir-o*, O.Icel. *twis-var* 'twice', and further O.H.G. *zweis-k* *zweis-ki* adj. 'twofold', O.Icel. *twis-t-r* 'divided into two parts' Engl. *twis-t*, i. e. a cord or thread of two strands.

'Thrice' **tri-s*. Skr. *triṣ*, Avest. *friṣ*. Gr. *τρίς*. Lat. *ter* perhaps for **ters* and this for **tris* (I § 33 pp. 33 f.); beside which we find *trīnu-s* for **tris-no-* (§ 183). O.Ir. *tress-* 'third'. doubtless for **tris-to-* (II § 81 p. 247). O.H.G. *drir-or* O.Icel. *þris-var* 'thrice', cp. *zuir-or* *twis-var* above mentioned; O.H.G. *dris-k* *dris-ki* 'ternus'.

'Four times'. Skr. *catúr* for **caturṣ* (I § 647. 7 pp. 493 f.)

Avest. *caṇruš*, cp. Skr. *catur-daśa* as contrasted with Avest. *caṇru-dasa* etc. discussed by Wackernagel in Kuhn's Ztschr. XXV 283 f. Lat. *quater*, the ending transformed by association with *ter*: cp. *quaternu-s*: *ternu-s*.

There seems to have been another mode of expression in the parent language, to which are due the following: Skr. *sa-kṛt* 'once, one time' *pāñca kṛtvas* 'five times', Lith. *vėnq kařat* 'once' *dū kartū* 'twice' *tris kartūs* 'three times' O.C.Sl. *dŭva kraty* 'twice' *peti kratū* 'five times'.

Uses peculiar to single languages:

Skr. *eka-vāram* 'once' *tri-vāram* 'thrice' from *vāra-* 'the right moment for something, one's turn'. Avest. *biž-vaṇ* 'twice' *priž-vaṇ* 'thrice', neuters of forms with the suffix *-uent-* (cp. below, under 2); *prisat-a-pwem* '30 times' (suffix *-tuo-*).

Gr. *ἄ-παξ* 'once'; the second part is connected with *πῆγνυμι* 'I make fast, strengthen' *πάσσαλο-ς* 'peg', and probably had at first much the same meaning as another word belonging to the same root, namely O.H.G. *fah* 'part, portion' A.S. *fæc* 'space of time, time' (cp. Mid.H.G. *zwi-vach*, *manec-vach*.) The adverbs from 'four times' onwards end in *-κι* or *-κις* (Dor. *-κιν*): *τετρακι*, *πεντάκι* etc. The same *-κι* occurs in *οὐ-κί πολλά-κι*; it was doubtless a nom. acc. sing. neut. with the meaning 'hoc' (cp. Lith. *szi-s* O.C.Sl. *st* 'hic', § 409); cp. Osthoff, Morph. Unt. IV 241 f., and the Author, Gr. Gr.² p. 131.¹⁾

Lat. *semel*; Wackernagel, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXX 316, conjectures that this word comes from **sm-mēli* and is connected with Goth. *mēl* 'time' (Mod.H.G. *-mal*). The adverbs from 'five times' onwards end in *-iēns -iēs*: *quinguiēs sexiēs* etc. (and *totiēs quotiēs*), Umbr. *nuvis* 'novies'. Many conjectures have been made as to the origin of this ending; the most likely of them is Pott's, connecting it with Skr. *kṛyant-* 'how great? how much? how manifold?' *īyant* 'so great, etc.' (cp. the Author, Morph.

1) If *-κι* were the interrogative pronoun **qi-*, as is assumed by Wackernagel (Kuhn's Ztschr. XXV 286 f.) and J. Schmidt (Pluralb. 352), all the dialects but Thessalian must have had *-τι* in place of it. I therefore oppose this view. For Thessa. *κί-ς*, see my Gr. Gr.² pp. 54 f.

Unt. V 14). Thurneysen's view (Arch. für lat. Lexicogr., V 275 f.) as to *-iens* is probably to be accepted; he regards it as a pro-ethnic Italic transformation of **-ient*, so that *kiyat*, the neuter of the Sanskrit form, would exactly correspond to it. Osc. *petiro- -pert* 'quater', cp. Lat. *semper*.

O.Ir. *oen-fecht oenecht* 'once' (*fecht* 'way, course'), *fo dē* 'twice', *fo thrē* 'thrice' etc.

Goth. *ainamma sinþa* 'once' *todim sinþam* 'twice' etc. O.H.G. *eines* (gen. sing.) 'once', *drīto-stunt fior-stunt* etc. (*stunta* 'section of time'); also expressions with *warb*, as *sibun warb* (*hwarba* 'a turning round'); with *spurt* 'stadium', as *drim spurtim*; and with *māl* 'point of time', as *z'einemo mālē* 'one time, once', *zu drin mālēn* 'thrice'. And see further: J. Grimm, D. Gr. III 231 ff., and Rumpelt, Die deutsch. Pron. und Zahlw. 167 ff.

Lithuanian has also a set of phrases with *syki-s* 'blow, stroke', as *penkis sykiūs* 'five times', cp. the Upper German *schlag* 'blow' = *mal*. O.C.Sl. has phrases with *-š(ǵ)di -šdi* (from *šid-* 'to go'): *dvašdi* 'twice' *trišdi* 'thrice' etc. (cp. Leskien, Handbuch p. 95).

2. Adjectives.

With *-uent-* (II § 127 p. 404): Avest. *vīsaīti-vant-* 'twenty-fold' *prisaṇ-want-* 'thirtyfold' *xšvašti-vant-* 'sixtyfold', Gr. τετραῶς *-ἄντος*, a coin worth four *χαλκοῖ*, for **τετρα-φεντ-*, of which *τριάς* is an ad-formate.

The following are etymologically connected: Gr. *ἀ-πλό-ς* *δι-πλό-ς* etc., *δι-πάλτο-ς* *τρι-πάλτο-ς* and *δι-πλάσιο-ς* *τρι-πλάσιο-ς* etc., Lat. *sim-plu-s du-plu-s tri-plu-s* etc., Goth. *ain-falþ-s fidur-falþ-s* O.H.G. *ein-falt zwi-falt dri-falt* etc. These are related to Goth. *faltan* 'to fold' Skr. *puṭa-s puṭa-m* 'a fold' (cp. I p. 209 footnote 1), as Lat. *sim-plex du-plex* etc. to *plectere plicāre* (J. Schmidt, in Kuhn's Ztschr. XVI 430, gives an explanation which may, I believe, be reconciled with this, although at first sight it seems to be different); but the second *r* of Umbr. *tri-brisine* 'triplicate' (*-br-* for *-pr-* quite regular, I § 499 p. 366) as compared with *tri-pler* 'triplicis' *du-pla* 'duplas', has not been explained. Gr. *-πλό-ς* in *ἀ-πλό-ς* etc. we may conjecture to

be akin to *πλοῦ-το-ς*, and to have been early associated in the popular mind with *-πλο-ς*.¹⁾

There remain a large number of other formations answering to Modern German adjectives in *-fach -fältig* 'fold'. Of these a few examples may be given. Skr. *cātur-vaya-* 'fourfold', *dāśa-gva- daśa-gvīn-* 'tenfold', *tri-vārtu-ṣ tri-vṛt-* 'threefold', Gr. *τρί-φατο-ς τρι-φάσιος* 'threefold'; Lith. *dvi-linka-s* 'twofold' (*liñki-s*, gen. *liñkio*, 'a bending'), O.C.Sl. *dvo-gubī -gubīnū* Lith. *dvi-guba-s* Pruss. *dvi-gubbu-s* 'twofold' (O.C.Sl. *gū(b)naŕi* 'to bend, incline, fold, move', Lett. *gub-stu* 'I crouch, bow' Lith. *gūba* 'stack, rick').

§ 183. Distributives. The oldest mode of expressing distributives was to repeat the numeral, as Skr. *pāñca-pañca* 'five each' (Rig-Veda III 55 18), *ēka-ēka-s (ēkāika-s)* 'one each, one at a time', *pūrvas-pūrva-s pūrva-pūrva-s* 'the first on each occasion' (cp. II § 53 p. 99), *dvan-dvā-m* 'two at a time, a pair', Armen. *mi mi* 'singuli' *tasn tasn* 'deni', Aesch. Pers. 981 *μυρία μυρία πεμπαστάν* = *κατὰ μυριάδας πεμπάζοντα*. Cp. Pott, Ztschr. der deutsch. morg. Ges., XII 458 ff., Doppelung pp. 156 ff.; Lobeck, Pathol. I 184; Winer, Gr. des neutest. Sprachidioms⁷ p. 234; Wölfflin, Zur distributiven Geminatio, Archiv für lat. Lex. II 323.

Adverbs: Skr. *-śās*, as *ēka-śās* 'singly, one after another' *dvi-śās* 'by twos, in pairs' *śata-śās* 'by hundreds': cp. Gr. *ἐ-κάς* 'by itself, apart, afar' *ἀνδρα-κάς* 'man by man'.

Adjectives with the suffix *-no-*. Lat. *bīnu-s* for **bis-no-*, *trīnu-s* for **tris-no-* and *ter-nu-s*, *quater-nu-s*, *sēnu-s* for **sex-no-*, etc. (cp. J. Baunack, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXV 257 ff.). O.Icel. has corresponding forms, *tvenner þrenner ferner* pl. 'two, three, four at a time' for pr. Germ. **tviiz-na-* etc., compare Mid.H.G. *zuirn* m. 'thread of two strands' O.H.G. *zuirnēn zuirnōn* 'to twist'. Goth. *twei-h-nāi* 'two at a time, two each', perhaps by a fusing of two suffixes *-go-* and *-no-*. Lith. *dvyntū* du. 'twins'.

1) In the derivation of *-πλο-ς* from *-πλοο-ς* by 'hyphaeresis' I have no belief whatever. Cp. the Author, Ber. der sächs. Ges. der Wiss. 1839, pp. 51 and 52.

Lith., with the suffix *-jo-*, *tre-jì* 'three at a time' *ketver-i* 'four at a time', and by ad-formation *penk-erì szesz-erì* etc. Cp. Avest. *tūirya-* 'fourth' *ā-xtūirya-* 'to be spoken four times' (used of a certain prayer).

THE CASES.¹⁾

General Remarks.

§ 184. A noun or pronoun can express Case, Number, and Gender.

1) On the Indo-Germanic cases in general: Bopp, *Vergl. Gr. I* § 112 ff. p. 245 ff. Schleicher, *Compendium* p. 497 ff. Fr. Müller, *Grdr. der Sprachw.* III 529 ff. Bopp, *Über das Demonstrativum und den Ursprung der Casus* (Abhandl. der Berl. Akad. der Wiss., 1826). Scherer, *Zur Gesch. der deutsch. Spr.* 382 ff. Düntzer, *Die Declination der idg. Sprachen nach Bedeutung und Form entwickelt*, 1839. Schleicher, *Über Einschreibungen vor den Casusendungen im Indogermanischen*, *Kuhn's Ztschr.* IV 54 ff. Grassmann, *Über die Casusbildung im Indogerm.*, *ibid.* XII 241 ff. Ludwig, *Über den vocalischen Ausgang der Bildungssuffixe*, *ibid.* XV 443 ff. Stenzler, *Über die verschiedenen Conjugationen und Declinationen in den Idg. Sprachen, bes. im Lat.*, *Abhandlungen der Schlesischen Gesellsch. für vaterländ. Cultur, Philosoph.-hist. Abtheil.* 1864, Heft I. Hübschmann, *Zur Casuslehre*, 1875. Bergaigne, *Du rôle de la dérivation dans la déclinaison indo-européenne*, *Mém. de la Soc. de ling.* II 358 sqq. Bréal, *Sur le nombre des cas de la déclinaison indo-européenne*, *ibid.* III 322 sqq. Penka, *Die Entstehung der syncretistischen Casus im Lat., Gr. und Deutschen*, 1874. *Id.*, *Die Nominalflexion der idg. Sprachen*, 1878. Whitney, *General Considerations on the Indo-European Case System*, *Trans. of the Am. Phil. Assoc.*, XIII 88 ff. De la Grasserie, *Ét. de gramm. comp.: Des relations grammaticales considérées dans leur concept et dans leur expression ou de la catégorie des cas*, Paris 1890. Leskien, *Die Partikel -am in der Declination, ein Beitrag zur Analyse der idg. Casusendungen*, *Ber. der sächs. Gesellsch. der Wiss.*, 1884, p. 94 ff. Wenck, *Zur idg. Casusbildung*, Borna 1884. The Author, *Zur Geschichte der stammabstufenden Declinationen*, *Curtius' Stud.* IX 361 ff. Osthoff, *Zur Frage des Ursprungs der germ. n-Declination, nebst einer Theorie über die ursprüngliche Unterscheidung starker und schwacher Casus im Idg.*, *Paul und Braune's Beiträge* III 1 ff. Hillebrandt, *Zur Lehre von den starken und schwachen Casus*, *Bezz. Beitr.* II 305 ff. Regnaud, *Examen du mouvement vocalique dans la déclinaison des thèmes indo-européens en u, i, r et questions connexes*, 1883. Collitz, *Die Flexion der Nomina mit dreifacher Stammabstufung im Altind. und im Griech.*, *Bezz. Beitr.* X 1 ff. Strachan,

The Cases. The original language had seven cases: Nominative, Accusative, Genitive, Ablative, Dative,

Abstufung in Case-endings, *ibid.* XIV 173 ff. L. Havet, Le renforcement dans la déclinaison en *A*, *Mém. de la Soc. de ling.* II 9 sqq. *Id.*, Sur la déclinaison des thèmes féminins en *A*, *ibid.* II 387 sqq.

Aryan. Bartholomae, Zur ar. Flexion der Stämme auf *-r*, *-n*, *-m*, *-j*, *-v*, *Arische Forschungen* I 25 ff. *Id.*, Die ar. Flexion der Adjectiva und Partizipia auf *nt-*, *Kuhn's Zeitschr.* XXIX 487 ff. Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar* p. 80 ff. Boehtlingk, *Die skr. Declinat.*, St. Petersburg. 1844. Lanman, *On Noun-Inflection in the Veda* (*Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* X.), 1880. Dutens, *Essai sur l'origine des exposants casuels en Sanscrit*, Paris 1883. Hanusz, *Über das allmähliche Umsichgreifen der n-Decl. im Altind.*, 1885. F. G. P. Storek, *Casuum in lingua Palica formatio compar. cum Sanscritae linguae ratione*, Monast. 1862. Bartholomae, *Handbuch der altiran. Dialekte*, p. 65 ff. Osthoff, *Das determinierende ā bei Casusformen im Altiranischen*, *Morph. Unt.* II 76 ff. Horn, *Die Nominalflexion im Avesta und den altpers. Keilinschriften*, I: *Die Stämme auf Spiranten* 1885. Bartholomae, *Die gathische Flexion der ā-Stämme*, *Bezz. Beitr.* XIII 89 f.

Armenian. Fr. Müller, *Beitr. zur Declination des armenischen Nomens*, 1864.

Greek and Latin. Henry, *Précis de grammaire comparée du grec et du latin*,² p. 192 sqq. Hartung, *Über die Casus, ihre Bildung und Bedeutung in der gr. und lat. Sprache*, 1831. Grotefend, *Data ad Hartungium de principiis ac significationibus casuum epistula*, Gött. 1835. Schmidt-Stettin, *Über die Anordnung der Declination der Nomina im Griech. und Lat.*, *Höfer's Ztschr. für die Wiss. der Spr.*, III 310 ff. Leo Meyer, *Gedrängte Vergleichung der griech. und lat. Declination*, 1862. Ebel, *Starke und schwache Formen griechischer und lateinischer Nomina*, *Kuhn's Ztschr.* I 289 ff. Leo Meyer, *Die einsilbigen Nomina im Griech. und Lat.*, *Kuhn's Ztschr.* V 366 ff. Schwarzmann, *Über Ursprung und Bedeutung der griech. und lat. Flexionsendungen*, *Ehingen* 1865. Düntzer, *Die urspr. Casus im Gr. und Lat.*, *Kuhn's Ztschr.* XVII 33 ff. Wegener, *De casuum nonnullorum Graecorum et Latinorum historia*, 1871. Bornhak, *Über die Casuslehre der gr. und lat. Sprache*, *Ztschr. für d. Gymn.* 1872, p. 307 ff. Chaignet, *Théorie de la déclinaison des noms en grec et en latin d'après les principes de la philologie comparée*, Paris 1879. Petroni, *Dei casi nelle lingue classiche e particolarmente del locativo*, Naples 1878.

Greek. Kühner, *Ausführl. Gr. der griech. Spr.*, I² p. 280 ff. G. Meyer, *Gr. Gr.*² p. 299 ff. The Author, *Gr. Gr.* (J. Müller's *Handb. der Klass. Altertumsw.* II²) p. 116 ff. Pezzi, *La lingua greca antica*, p. 178 sqq. F. C. Serrius, *Wissenschaftliche Entwicklung über Ursprung und Bedeutung der griech. Casus*, 1839. Stolz, *Beitr. zur Decl. der griech. Nomina*, 1880. Moisset, *Étude de la déclinaison grecque par l'accent*, Par. 1882. Gatto, *Morpho-*

Locative, and Instrumental. It has always been the custom to define and arrange the whole mass of recorded forms under

logia greca: Osservazioni sulla declinazione dei nomi con tema in *a*, Torino 1882. E. J. Haupt, De nominum in *-ei*; exeuntium flexione Homerica, 1883. A. Torp, Den græske Nominalflexion, Christiania 1890 (published after this work had gone to press, and so not available for use).

Italic. Lindsay, The Early Latin Declension, *Class. Rev.* II 129 ff. and 273 ff. Kühner, *Ausführl. Gr. der lat. Spr.*, I p. 172 ff. Stolz, *Lat. Gr.* (J. Müller's *Handb. des Klass. Alt.* II²), p. 332 ff. F. Neue, *Formenlehre der lat. Sprache*, I² und II² 1 ff. K. L. Struve, *Über die lat. Declination und Conjugation*, 1823. Ek, *De formis casuum Latinorum*, Gotoburgi 1839. F. Bücheler, *Grdrss. der lat. Decl.* (1866), new edition by Windekilde, 1879; French translation (*Précis de la decl. lat.*) by L. Havet, with additions by the author and the translator, Par. 1875. Stoesser, *Lat. Decl. der Substantiva und Adjectiva auf Grund der Ergebnisse der vergleich. Sprachforschung*, 1872. Merguet, *Die Entwicklung der lat. Formenbildung mit beständiger Berücksichtigung der vergl. Sprachforschung*, 1870, p. 7 ff. Fumi, *Note glottologiche*, I: *Contributi alla storia comparata della declinazione latina*, Palermo 1882. Walter, *Zur Declination der u-Stämme im Lateinischen*, Kuhn's *Ztschr.* IX 370 ff. Stolz, *Zur lat. Decl.*, *Wiener Stud.* VI 136 ff. Aug. Müller, *De priscis verborum formis Varronianis*, 1877, p. 22 sqq. Schuchardt, *Lateinische und Romanische Declination*, Kuhn's *Ztschr.* XXII 153 ff. H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *La déclinaison latine en Gaule à l'époque mérovingienne*, Par. 1872. W. Meyer, *Die Schicksale des lat. Neutrums im Romanischen*, 1883. E. Appel, *De genere neutro intereunte in lingua Latina*, 1883. Suchier, *Der Untergang der geschlechtlosen Substantivform*, *Arch. für lat. Lex. und Gr.*, III 161 ff. G. Koffmane, *Lexicon lateinischer Wortformen*, 1874. Georges, *Lexikon der lat. Wortformen*, 1889 (not yet completed). — Zeyss, *De substantivorum Umbricorum declinatione*, *Tilsit* 1846–1847. C. Stephany, *De nominum Oscorum declinatione cum Latinis comparata*, Rostock 1874.

Keltic. Zeuss-Ebel, *Gr. Celt.* p. 220 sqq. Stokes, *Celtic Declension*, *Bezz. Beitr.* XI 64 ff. Windisch, *Die irischen Anlautsgesetze*, Paul and Braune's *Beitr.* IV 204 ff. Stokes, *Bemerkungen über die ir. Declinationen*, Kuhn and Schleicher's *Beitr.* I 333 ff. and 448 ff. Ebel, *Celtische Studien: Die Declination*, *ibid.* I 155 ff., II 67 ff. *Idem*, *Neutra auf -as im Altir.*, *ibid.* VI 222 ff. C. A. Serrure, *Essai de grammaire gauloise: Les déclinaisons*, in *Le Muséon* VI 489 ff. and 511 ff.

Germanic and Balto-Slavonic. Leskien, *Die Declination im Slavisch-Litauischen und Germanischen*, 1876.

Germanic. Grimm, *D. Gr.* I² (1870) p. 508 ff. Delbrück, *Die Decl. der Subst. im Germanischen, insonderheit im Gotischen*, *Ztschr. für deutsche Phil.*, II 381 ff. Scherer, *Zur Gesch. der deutschen Spr.*² 546 ff. Wilken, *Zur deutschen Declination*, *Germania* XIX 18 ff. Kluge, Noreen, Behaghel, *Paul's Grdrss. der germ. Phil.* I 384 ff., 490 ff.,

these seven heads. But since meaning, and not form, is the basis of this classification, it often happens that forms etymologically distinct are grouped together, as in the Lat. gen. sing. *equi* and (O.Lat.) *equas*; whilst others which are really connected are separated, as in Skr. *mē* dat. and gen., or the *bh-* suffixes, which have one part, and that the most important, in common.

Details of case-usage will be found in the Syntax; this is the place only for a few general remarks. The Nominative implied that the noun idea was the central point of the action expressed by the verb. The Accusative brought the noun into some dependent relation to the verb, the exact relation being determined by the sense of the verb and noun in any given instance

and 612 ff. Burghauser, *Germ. Nominalflexion*, 1888. Kahle, *Zur Entwicklung der consonantischen Declination im Germ.*, 1887. Braune, *Got. Gr.* p. 37 ff. Ebel, *Bemerkungen zur got. Decl.*, Kuhn's *Ztschr.* IV 138 ff. Treitz, *Über die Decl. der starken Substantiva im Gotischen*, Kuhn's *Ztschr.* XVI 344 ff. Braune, *Althochd. Gr.* p. 148 ff. Dietrich, *Historia declinationis theotiscæ primariæ e fontibus describitur*, Marburg 1859. Primer, *On the Consonant Declension in Old Norse*, *Am. Journ. Phil.* II 30 ff. and 181 ff.

Balto-Slavonic. C. G. Smith, *De locis quibusdam grammaticæ linguarum Balticarum et Slavonicarum*, II: *De nominum declinatione*, Havniæ 1857. Leskien, *Spuren der stammabstufenden Declination im Slav. und Lith.*, *Arch. für slav. Phil.* III 108 ff. Schleicher, *Lit. Gr.* p. 170 ff. Kurschat, *Gr. der littau. Spr.* p. 229 ff. Bezenberger, *Beitr. zur Gesch. der lit. Spr.*, p. 120 ff. Brückner, *Zur Lehre von den sprachl. Neubildungen im Lit. (über Decl.)*, *Arch. für slav. Phil.* III 233 ff. Pauli, *Preussische Studien*, II: *Formenlehre*, Kuhn und Schleicher's *Beitr.* VII 515 ff. Bezenberger, *Zur lettischen Declination*, in his *Beitr.* XV 294 ff. Miklosich, *Vergl. Gr. der slav. Spr.* III² 1 ff. Leskien, *Handb. der albulg. Spr.* p. 53 ff. Scholvin, *Die Declination in den pannonisch-slovenischen Denkmälern des Altkirchenslav.*, 1877. Th. Vetter, *Zur Gesch. der nominalen Decl. im Russischen*, 1883. Przyborowski, *Vetustissima adjectivorum linguæ Polonæ declinatio*, Posen 1861. Baudouin de Courtenay, *Einige Fälle der Wirkung der Analogie in der Polnischen Declination*, Kuhn und Schleicher's *Beitr.* VI 19 ff. Stephan, *Smal, Stockij*, *Über die Wirkungen der Analogie in der Declination des Kleinrussischen*, *Arch. für slav. Phil.* VIII 194 ff., 409 ff. und IX 58 ff. Oblak, *Zur Gesch. der nominalen Declination im Slovenischen*, *ibid.* XI 395 ff., 523 ff. and XII 1 ff., 358 ff.

Works and Essays treating of single cases will be cited below.

(accusative of object, of result, and so forth). The Genitive expressed some relation between noun and noun, this also being determined by their sense (genitive of origin, of object, and so forth); it also attached a noun to a verb in such a way that only a part (greater or less) and not the whole of it was affected or mastered by the action of the verb; and thirdly, it formed adverbs of time and place. The Ablative denoted that the noun was the source from which the verbal action came. The Dative denoted that the noun was that for which the action of the verb held good, or to which it was directed. The Locative gave the sphere in which something was or some action took place, the goal of motion and the place where a moving thing comes to rest. Lastly, the Instrumental expressed that with which something was (accompaniment), or with which something was done (means).

The Vocative is traditionally classed with these as an eighth case. But this was merely a method of address, or call, standing outside the sentence as far as syntax was concerned, and therefore not properly a case at all.

Numbers. There were three numbers, Singular, Plural, and Dual. The Singular expressed unity, and this number served for both single and collective ideas. The Plural denoted a number of similar things, and was also used where the same thing had a variety of forms or phases (as Skr. *mṛtyávās* Gr. *θάνατοι* 'kinds of death'); it further denoted anything complicated, anything which consisted of parts or sections (e. g. Skr. Ved. *dhāmdśas* Lith. *dūmai* 'smoke'). The Dual was used of two complementary things, commonly where by nature or convention they formed a pair. Further discussion of these points will be found in the Syntax.

Genders. Lastly, there were three Genders in the parent language, Masculine, Feminine, and Neuter. The gender depended not so much on what we call case-suffixes as on the stem of the word, and it has accordingly been discussed under Formative Suffixes; see especially II § 57 Rem. p. 106, § 145 p. 458. More will be said of this in the Syntax.

§ 185. The manner in which particular relations of case, number and gender were expressed was in most instances the same: the stem received an accretion sound of which brought with it some one of these meanings. But we cannot always tell exactly what the accretion was. In a certain number of forms, the point where the new part joined on to the old is quite clear, so that we may use a hyphen to divide the ending from the stem; e. g. in the nom. sing. **nāy-s* (= Skr. *nāi-ṣ* Gr. *vaī-ς*) and **ēkyo-s* (= Skr. *āśva-s* Lat. *equo-s*), in the nom. sing. neut. **jugo-m* (= Skr. *yugā-m* Lat. *jugu-m*), and in the loc. pl. **nāy-su* (= Skr. *nāu-śú*, cp. Gr. *vav-αι*). In others it is a moot point how far we are justified in making a division: examples are the dat. sing. **ēkyōi* (= Gr. *ἱππῳ*, cp. Avest. *haomai* dat. 'the soma plant') and in the nom. pl. **ēkyōs* (= Skr. *āśvas*, cp. Goth. *vulfōs* 'wolves'). These forms might, it is true, be analysed **ēkyō-i* and **ēkyō-s*, -ō- being explained as a lengthening of -o- (ablaut), and as a matter of fact the -i and the -s were no doubt regarded in the unreflecting consciousness of the speaker as exponents of the relation in which these words stood to their sentence, even though the length of the stem-vowel served as a further mark to distinguish these cases from others, as from the nom. and acc. sing. Still, there is no reason why they should not have come from **ēkyōai* and **ēkyōes* by vowel-contraction (cp. I § 115 p. 107). If so, -ai and -es would have been the proper case-endings at a period earlier than that which came just before the gradual dissolution of the parent language.¹⁾

But these accretions to the stem were not indispensable; case, gender, or number could be expressed by the stem alone. For example, **ēkyā* (= Skr. *āśvā* Lat. *equa*) was nom. sing., cp. loc. pl. Skr. *āśvā-su*; **me* (= Gr. *μὲ* Goth. *mi-k*) was acc., cp. Lat. *mi-hī* Skr. *mā-hyam*; **dhēmen* and **dhāmen* (= Skr.

1) Johansson (Bezz. Beitr. XIV 156) refuses to allow the rules for vowel contraction in the proethnic language which were given in the passage of the first volume of this work cited above. I freely admit that if that paragraph were to be written over again, I should state most of these contractions with more reserve.

dhdman, Gr. infin. *θέμεν*) were loc. sing., cp. dat. sing. Skr. *dhdman-ē* Gr. inf. *θέμεν-αι*; **pflu* (= Skr. *purú* O.Fris. *fulu*, cp. Gr. *πολύ* Goth. *filu*) and **dusmenes* (= Skr. *durmanas* Gr. *δυσμενής*) were nom. acc. neut., cp. nom. sing. masc. Skr. *purú-ḥ* Gr. *πολύ-ς* and acc. sing. masc. Skr. *durmanas-am* Gr. *δυσμενέ-α*.

There was another mode of expressing these three relations. This was by giving to the ending of the stem a particular grade of Ablaut. For example **pātēr* (= Gr. *πατήρ* Lat. *pater*) and **dusmenēs* (= Skr. *durmanās* Gr. *δυσμενής*) were singular nominatives, marked as such partly by the *ē* (*-tēr- -ēs-* being one grade of the formative suffix) which is wanting to the other cases; **genos* (= Skr. *jānas* Gr. *γένος*) was distinguished as nom. acc. neut. partly by its *o* (the *os*-grade of the formative suffix), which at the same time showed that the form was a substantive, cp. Gr. *ψεῦδος* as contrasted with *ψευδής*. In this instance, as in so many others, a difference which arose naturally from the working of what we call the Laws of Sound has been turned to account in distinguishing varieties of usage. The same remark holds good for some of the words whose form was distinguished by a special inflexional suffix. To take an example: in **pāter-ni* and **pāter-es* (= Skr. *pitār-am* *pitār-as* Gr. *πατέρ-α* *πατέρ-ις*), the acc. sing. and the nom. pl. were expressed partly by the inflexional suffix and partly by the ablaut-grade of the formative suffix *-ter-*, which distinguished them from other cases with *-tr- -tṛ- -tēr-*. In root-nouns, in the same way, this or that case was marked partly by ablaut-differences in the root-syllable (see II § 160 pp. 479 ff.). Cp. II § 7 pp. 15 f.

Thus it becomes clear that in treating of declension, case-suffixes are by no means all we have to do with. We must also take account the different shapes of the stem.

The chief relations of ablaut within the stems of words, so far as they affect declension — this we may call Case-Ablaut — have already been considered under the head of Stem-Formation. To this part of the Grammar we shall often have occasion to refer in what follows.

One special point must be mentioned. Forms which show strong-grade vocalism have been called Strong, and those with vocalism of the weak grade have been called Weak. On the same principle, we speak of Strong and Weak Cases; the Strong including the nom. acc. and voc. of all numbers (excepting the nom. and acc. sing. and du. neut., and perchance the acc. pl. masc. and fem. as well; see § 325), and the loc. sing.; while all the other cases are Weak.

But two cautions should be given.

1. This classification of the cases holds only for consonant-stems; e. g. Skr. *ukṣán-* Goth. *auhsan-* 'ox', Skr. *pitár-* Gr. *patér-* 'father'. It does not hold for stems in *u*, such as Skr. *sūná-* 'son'.

2. It holds good primarily only for the proethnic stage of Indo-Germanic. Sanskrit has kept these old distinctions between the cases fairly well; but in the other languages form-association and re-formation have changed and effaced them to a great extent; compare, for example, Greek *πατέρων* for the older *πατρῶν*.

Remark. In Sanskrit grammar, the Weak cases are subdivided into Middle and Weakest, according as the case-suffix begins with a consonant or a sonant; e. g. instr. pl. *ukṣá-bhiḥ* *pitṛ-bhiḥ* and instr. sing. *ukṣñ-ā* *pitṛ-ā*. Cp. I § 398 p. 245, §§ 311 f. pp. 247 ff.

Gender will of course be discussed in the following pages only in so far as it is expressed by peculiarities in the case-endings.

§ 186. One difficult question must not be entirely passed over in this place. How did the case-endings, as we are able to restore them for the end of the proethnic period, come to have the meaning which they had?

From the principles laid down in the first paragraphs of Volume II, we must assume that forms with a case-suffix, such as **ekyo-s* **ekyo-m*, are compounds which once were phrases. What the final of each word of this kind actually was, before it became the sign of a case and the type after which new words could be formed at will, we have not the means of discovering by etymological research; the forms which have been trans-

mitted from the parent language as fully developed cases do not give enough evidence. Conjectures there are in plenty, not a few of them reasonable enough to deserve mention here; principles which can be seen in action during later times often throw light upon what must have happened in times gone by.

In those cases which expressed some relation in space, the inflexion may have been generally a demonstrative with some local meaning.

With regard to the *-m* of the acc. sing. (**ekyo-m*), we must remember that neuter forms which have it (as **jugo-m*) serve for the nominative as well. Thus *-m* can hardly have had a proper accusative meaning to begin with. We may conjecture that *-m* was first used with *o*-stems only; that where an *o*-stem could have a form in *-s* (such as **ekyo-s*), the *m*-form came to be contrasted with this in some vague indeterminate way, its meaning being narrowed to that of an accusative case; and that afterwards *-m* was regarded as an accusative-suffix proper, and used as such with other classes of stems. It is tempting to identify this with the particle *-m* which appears in so many Cases, especially in pronominal forms (as Skr. *ahám* 'ego' *mám* 'me'). See Gaedicke, *Der Acc. in Veda*, 17¹); Leskien, *Ber. der sächs. Ges. der Wiss.* 1884, p. 101; Torp, *Beitr. zur Lehre von den geschlechtl. Pron.* 1888, p. 23.

Remark. In a similar way, the nominative *-s* became a sign of the masculine. It certainly had nothing to do originally with the contrasting of masculine and feminine, but was used indifferently with either; then in the class of *o*-stems it was brought into contrast with the feminine, because words of that class had corresponding feminines without *s* ending in *-ā* and *-ī* (**ekyo-s* 'horse': **ekyā*, and **uļgo-s* 'wolf': **uļgī*). It is clear that to the Greeks *s* denoted the masculine, because they added *-s* to old feminine nominatives, such as **veavīa* ('youth') when they were used to designate male persons, as *veavīas*; (§ 190 p. 67). Here *-s* came to denote the masculine gender, as we are supposing that *-m* came to denote the accusative case, and the masc. *veavīas* bore the same relation to the 'feminine' *νόστις* *πόρις* *ραῦς* as the acc. *ἵππο-ν* to the 'nominative' *ζυγό-ν*.

The *-ī* of the nom. pl. **to-ī* (= Gr. *το-ί* Skr. *tē*) cannot

1) Gaedicke's suggestion for the origin of this *-m* (p. 18) seems to me improbable.

be separated from the *-i-* which precedes so many plural case-suffixes (Gr. *το-ῖ-αι* Skr. *tē-ṣu*, Goth. *þá-i-m* O.C.Sl. *tě-mi* etc.). Thus it is an obvious conjecture that this *-i* was at first a sign of the plural, not of the nominative. J. Schmidt regards **toḷ* as arising from the juxta-position of the two pronominal stems *to-* and *i-*: 'this' + 'that' = 'these, the (pl.)' (Kuhn's *Ztschr.*, XXV 6). If so, **ekhois(u)* (= Skr. *áśvēṣu* Gr. *ἰννοσι*, cp. O.C.Sl. *vlŭcěchŭ*) and similar noun-forms were suggested by the analogy of the pronouns.

Another element with a plural meaning was *s*. This is most clearly seen in the *bh*-suffixes, as **-bhis* beside **-bhi*, **-bhos* beside **-bho*, Skr. *-bhyas* beside *-bhya* (*tú-bhya* 'tibi') and the *m*-suffixes which are connected with them. See §§ 367 and 379. It may be assumed without hesitation that this *s* is the same thing as the *-es* of the nominative plural (Gr. *νόδ-ες*). On the other hand, it is a question whether *-ns* in the accusative plural has this *s* or not (§ 325); *-ns* is usually looked upon as the acc. sing. *-m* made plural by adding *-s*, but it has not been explained why *-ms* was not kept, as it should have been, in Lithuanian and Prussian (cp. Lith. dial. *vilkuns* Pruss. *deiwns*)¹). We may follow Torp in regarding the *s* of the Sanskrit pronouns *nas*, *vas* etc. as the same plural suffix (see § 436).

In several of the dual cases, *u* is found (e. g. Skr. *vfkanu* beside *vfka*). This may be regarded as having been an independent word meaning 'both, two'. See § 285.

It has often been conjectured that *bh* in the *bh*-suffixes above mentioned was something of the nature of a formative suffix. It may be worth while comparing a similar change in Middle High German, where in the gen. dat. sing. *herzen* (nom. acc. *herze*) the *-en*, which was originally a formative suffix (II § 114 p. 356), was changed to a case-ending. This *bh*- has been compared with the suffix *-bho-* treated in II § 78 pp. 216 ff. But considering *ámu-phi* beside *ámu-φω*, whose second part cannot

1) The Prussian ending *-mans* for **-mam-s* (if this analysis is right) cannot be brought in evidence, since there are special circumstances in the case. See § 367.

be separated from Goth. *bái* 'both', and remembering that *bh*-belonged specially to the suffix of the instrumental (sociative, comitative), we are forced to ask whether the dual **bhōu* **bhō* and these *bh*-suffixes should not all be derived from a root which had the sense of being paired or together. Cp. § 274.

Within the separate languages, adverbial words (postpositions and the like) often coalesced with fully formed cases so completely that they were absorbed into the case-ending. Examples are: Avest. loc. pl. *vehrkaēšv-a* § 356, Gr. *Ἀθῆναις* i. e. *Ἀθῆναι*-*δε* § 327, Lith. *tamim-pi* § 423, Goth. *mi-k* § 442. These processes, which are perfectly easy to recognise, support the following assumptions. (1) An adverb *-e*, perhaps connected with the Skr. postposition *ā*, is to be seen in Skr. dat. *vfkaṃy-a* and in the loc. Lith. *rañkos-e* *rañkos-e* O.C.Sl. *kamen-e*, see §§ 246, 257, 264, 356. — (2) *-su* and *-si* in the loc. pl., e. g. Skr. *vfkeṣu* Gr. *λύκοισι*, are merely the loc. pl. *-s* with the particles *u* and *i* affixed to it, see § 356. — (3) There are similar affixes in the nom. sing. Osc. *poi* 'qui' Lat. *quī* (ground-form **qo-i*) and O.Pers. *hauw* Gr. *ὄν-(το-ς)* (ground-form **so-u*), see §§ 414 and 415. — (4) A particle **em* **om* **m* was attracted to certain fully formed cases. This was most frequent amongst the pronouns, and was not confined to one case. Examples are: loc. sing. Skr. *āśvāyam* (§ 264), instr. sing. O.C.Sl. *raḡa* (§ 276), instr. etc. Gr. *θεό-φιν* (§ 281), dat. instr. du. Skr. *vfka-bhyām* O.Ir. *dib n-* (§ 296), nom. Skr. *ahām* O.C.Sl. *azū* (§ 439) Skr. *vay-ām* (§ 441), acc. Skr. *mām* O.C.Sl. *mę* (§ 442). On page 60 we saw that it was natural to identify with this particle the *-m* of acc. nom. Skr. *yugā-m* Lat. *jugu-m*.

Where an Indo-Germanic case shows no accretion of any kind in the form of a suffix, as **ekua* (§ 185 p. 57), we have no right whatever to assume that a suffix has dropped off.¹⁾ The cases of nouns sprang up when these were used in phrases along with other words. But it was not always necessary that the

1) The vocative singular of course had no suffix. This is implied in what was said in § 184, p. 56.

relation of a noun to its sentence should be definitely expressed. Sometimes it was clear from the context without further aid, and then the stem, as we call it, could appear alone. The more generally case-suffixes joined themselves to words by composition, the more sharply defined became the use of forms without any suffix; and in the end they became cases as clearly marked as those which had a suffix, this result being possibly hastened by their having special grades of ablaut (as **pəter* Gr. *πατήρ*).

It may sometimes, however, be the case that what appear to be forms without proper case-suffixes are only so in appearance. In Modern High German, certain names of places, such as *Baden*, *Bergen*, *Hohenbuchen* and *Unterwalden* are really dative forms, the case-suffix *-n* having been carried back to the nominative and retained in other cases as though it belonged to the stem. Something of this kind may have happened with the suffixless locatives in *-en -yen -men* (Skr. *mūrdhán* etc.). These may really contain a case-suffix *-n* (*-en* or the like) with a locative meaning; then the original stems will have been some shorter form (Gr. *αἰέν* being related to *αἰφο-* in much the same way as *οἶκε* to *οἶκο-*), these forms, really locatives, having been made the foundation of the other cases. Similarly, the *-r* of Skr. *uṣar* 'in the morning', and the other forms of that kind, may have been a locative-suffix which eventually became part of the stem, as it is in Skr. gen. *uṣr-ás* Gr. loc. *ἦρ-α* etc. See Johansson, Bezz. Beitr. XIV 164 ff., and Bartholomae, *ibid.* XV 14 ff. and 25 ff.

§ 187. The case-endings of Masculine and Feminine Pronouns were in the parent language different from the corresponding endings of the noun; cp. e. g. nom. acc. neut. **to-d* (= Skr. *tá-d* Gr. *τό*) and nom. acc. neut. **neyo-m* (= Skr. *náva-m* Lat. *novo-m*). These two systems of cases, the Noun and the Pronoun, influenced each other in the proethnic period; and all through the subsequent history of the languages analogical re-adjustments of this kind have gone on in a greater or less degree.

Thus there was a distinction between the declension of

noun and pronoun; but still greater was the distinction between personal pronouns and nouns. In tracing the history of separate languages, it may often be seen that case-endings pass from nouns, and from pronouns masculine and feminine, to personal pronouns; but the reverse is hardly to be found.

In the present division of this work, which deals with the formation of the cases of nouns, reference will be made to pronouns so far as their cases influenced those of nouns by analogy. Secondly, where in any case-form there was no original difference between noun and pronoun, the pronominal form is cited wherever a particular language has kept the original ending in a pronoun only, or where the original ending is seen to best advantage in a pronoun because it may have suffered less from phonetic change (e. g. Goth. *þō* beside *juka*, § 338).

§ 188. The Functions of more than one case were often attached to one form. Thus in the proethnic language itself, there was in most classes of stems a single form for the genitive and ablative singular, as Skr. *nāv-ās* Gr. *νη-ός* 'of a ship' and 'from a ship'; and in all stems only one form for the dative and ablative plural, as Skr. *nāu-bhyās* Lat. *nāv-ibus* 'to ships' and 'from ships'; perhaps *o*-stems had no more than one form for the genitive and locative singular, as Lat. *bellī* (§ 239). This multiplicity of functions was especially common in personal pronouns, as we shall see.

In later periods this often came about by what is termed syncretism; several different case-forms, each with its own meaning, are replaced by one, which unites the meanings of them all. Thus the case which in Greek grammar is called the dative includes the meanings of dative, locative, and instrumental; but the forms which are classed as datives in Greek are some of them genuine datives, as *οἴκῳ*, some locatives, as *νη-ῖ*, *ναυ-οῖ* (*οἴκοι* in N.W. Greek, Boeotian, etc.), and some instrumental forms, as *οἴκοις*. Thus certain dative forms served as locative and instrumental, certain locatives as dative and instrumental, and certain instrumentals as dative and locative, each over and above its own proper sense. Similarly in Latin,

the case which is called ablative combined the meanings of ablative, locative, and instrumental; whilst the forms classed as ablative were some of them, as *equō(d)*, true ablatives, some locative and instrumental forms, as *homin-e*. The origin of these syncretic or mixed cases lies almost entirely in the accidents of usage; we shall accordingly leave to the Syntax a detailed discussion of syncretic cases and kindred questions. But looking at the cases historically we must begin with the Indo-Germanic case-system, and discuss each form in the separate languages with reference to this. Thus we call Greek *ρη-ϊ* 'locative', although the same form served as dative and instrumental besides.

As the singular form Skr. *nāv-ās* Gr. *ρη-ός* was both genitive and ablative in the proethnic language, so there were instrumentals in *-bhi*, as Gr. *ναῦ-φι*, which served alike for singular and plural, both then and later; see §§ 274, 281, 379. The nom. acc. neut. too, in the proethnic stage, seems often to have had the same formation for singular and plural; see §§ 223, 337, 340, 342.

§ 189. The subject of Case Formation is not confined to cases proper, but includes adverbs as well. The history of Adverbs in their special uses will be set forth in the Syntax. We are here concerned with their form; and we shall discuss them after the following fashion.

There are two classes of adverbial words. One consists of words which once were ordinary cases, but became isolated and thus crystallised; as Gr. *Ἀθήνησι, οἴχοι, ἄμα, τοῖ*, Lat. *meritō, modo, bene, facile, multum*. Sometimes these are the sole evidence for a case-formation in some language or dialect; thus in Greek the old ablative in *-ōd* only survives in crystallised adverbial forms (§ 241). Then, but not otherwise, do they concern us here. The second class embraces words which never belonged to a regular paradigm; they were isolated words, used in such phrases as their meaning suited, but having no more than one or two other words at most connected with them closely enough to form such a grammatical group as we call a Paradigm. Most of them were built up on some pronominal

stem, as Gr. ἐν-τός ἐκ-τός, Lat. *in-tus*, Skr. *kū-tas*. However, these were often associated in meaning with the cases of certain complete systems, and raised to the rank of true cases; thus this same **-tos* became a widely used abl.-gen. suffix in Sanskrit, Armenian, and Greek (§ 244). The suffixes of adverbs of this second class are accordingly included in the discussion which here follows, so far as they were in this way attached to any case-system.

This part of our subject also includes Infinitives. We shall see in the Syntax how these forms, originally living cases, came to be used as they are. Here Infinitives belonging to any of the separate languages must be cited at least when they represent cases which have dropped out of living use in that particular language, as Gr. δόμεν-αι (§§ 245, 251) and δόμεν (§§ 256, 257).

THE CASES.¹⁾

Nominative Singular Masculine and Feminine.²⁾

§ 190. I. Stems without any Case-suffix used as Nom. Sing. Masc. and Fem.

1. *a*-stems. Pr.Idg. **ek̑a* 'mare'. Skr. *āśva* 'mare'; Avest. *haēna* O.Pers. *hainā* 'hostile host'. Gr. *χώρα* 'land'. Lat. *equa*; Umbr. *muta mutu* 'multa', Osc. *toito* 'civitas' (I § 105 pp. 98 f.,

1) One or two kinds of Indo-Germanic inflexion — e. g. that represented by Skr. (*dhiyq-*)*dhās*, dat. *-dh-ē* — are themselves rare, and teach us nothing of the case-suffixes which cannot be learnt from the others. To avoid excessive detail, I have either passed these over entirely, or only just touched upon them by the way.

In order to present before the student a complete paradigm of the cases of a given word, it has often been necessary to fill up gaps in the tradition by making certain forms after the analogy of other words. In a work like the present, I hold this to be not merely allowable but necessary.

2) C. Maass, *Vocales in stirpium terminationibus positae nominum Ital. Graec., imprimis vero Germ. post quas potissimum consonantes in sing. nominativo perierint*, Breslau 1873. The Author, *Erstarnte Nominative*, Curtius' Stud. IX 257 ff. J. Schmidt, *Heteroklitische Nominative Sing. auf -ās in den ar. Sprachen*, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVI 401 ff. *Id.*, Idg. *ō* aus *ōi* in der Nominalinflexion, with an Excursus: *Zur Bildung des Nom. Sing.*, *ibid.* XXVII 369 ff. Osthoff, *Der got. Nom. Sing. der männlichen -ja-Stämme*, *ibid.* XXIII 89 f.

and § 655. 2 p. 502). O.Ir. *tuath* 'folk' (I § 657. 2 p. 507). Ogam inscr. *inigina* 'girl, daughter' = O.Ir. *ingen*; Gall. *Dēva*. Goth. *giba* 'gift', cp. *sō* 'that (f.), she' *ainō-hun* 'any one (f.)', (beside *aina*); O.H.G. *buoz* 'improvement' (cp. below), A.S. *ziefu* 'gift'. Lith. *rankà* O.C.Sl. *raĭka* 'hand'; cp. Lith. *geró-ji* beside *gerà* 'bona' (I § 664. 3 p. 523).

Avestic. Forms in *-ē*, as *kainikē* 'girl, virgin' *ber'xāē* 'blessed' and Prussian forms in *-ai*, such as *mensai* 'flesh, meat' (Lith. *mėsà*) show a pronominal ending; see § 414. Compare also § 202.

Greek. Masculines like *νεανία-ς* 'young man' *γενέτη-ς* 'begetter' were originally feminine, and received their *-ς* through being assimilated to such nominatives as *θεός-ς* (II § 79 pp. 229 f., § 80 pp. 239 f., § 157 p. 472); cp. the corresponding re-formation in the gen. sing., § 229. But the form without *-ς* remained in use as a vocative, as *Ἐρμείᾱ, αἰναρέτη*, cp. O.Ir. voc. pl. *fīru* = **uirōs* beside nom. pl. *fīr* = **uiroī* (§ 314). This suggests the simplest mode of explaining masculine nominatives in *-ā* like Boeot. *Καλλιά, ὀλυμπιονίκᾱ* and Leucad. *Φιλοκλείδᾱ* (cp. Megar. *τοῦ Ἀριῶς*, § 229); these may be called vocatives used as nominatives. Cp. the Author, Gr. Gr.² p. 117, and J. Schmidt, Pluralbildung 354. As regards such feminines as *τόλμᾱ* 'daring' *μέριμνα* 'care', see the Author *op. cit.* p. 102. Masculine forms like *ἰνπότηᾱ* = *ἰνπότης* 'charioteer' will be explained in § 202.

Some curious masculine nominatives have been preserved in Italic. These are Latin '*hosticapas*' (hostium captor) and '*paricidas*' beside *scriba agricola* etc., and Oscan *Kataς* 'Caha' *Maρ]ας* 'Mara' Tanas 'Tana' beside Santia 'Xanthia, *Ξανθίας*. The record is too scanty to enable us to decide whether these were imitations of the Greek forms in *-ās* or independent of them.

Old High German shows traces of a few, but only a few of these nominatives in Idg. *-ā*: e. g. *buoz*, *hwīt* 'while'; most of them, however, are abstracts in *-ungō-*, as *samanunc* 'assembly, gathering', cp. also *siu* 'this, that (f.), she' like Skr. *siyā syā*. See I § 661. 1 and 2, pp. 516 ff. The common

forms in *-a*, as *geba* 'gift' *sipp(e)a* 'kinsman', are accusatives used as nominatives (§ 213).

§ 191. 2. *-i- iē-stems*¹⁾. Pr.Idg. **bhṛghyt-i*, fem. of **bhṛghont-* 'projecting, exalted, high'. Skr. *bṛhatī*, Avest. *barenti* 'ferens'. O.Ir. *Brigit* 'exalted lady' (= Skr. *bṛhatī*), *inis* 'island', I § 657. 2 p. 507, cp. also *s-i* 'ea' = O.H.G. *s-i*. Goth. *frijōndi* 'friend (f.)'. A.S. *thiwi thiū* 'maid' = Goth. *þivi*, O.H.G. *herzohin* 'duchess' *wirtun wirtin* 'hostess' (II § 110 p. 339), cp. also O.H.G. *s-i s-i* 'ea' (the latter, like Goth. *si*, shortened by being used in a position where it lost its accent). Lith. *vežanti* 'vehens' for **vežanti* (cp. dial. *geresnų-ji* 'better (f.)'); O.C.Sl. *vezqšti* 'vehens' instead of **vezqti* (II § 110 p. 337).

Aryan. In Sanskrit, these stems occasionally followed the analogy of stems in *-i- -i-* (II § 109 p. 334): *vyktī-ś* 'she-wolf' *naptī-ś* 'grand-daughter, daughter'. Similarly in O.Pers. we have *harauvatiš* (i. e. *-i-ś*) 'Arachosia' as compared with Avest. *haraxwaiti* Skr. *sārasvatī*.

Greek has lost the forms in *-i*. Those which actually occur have *-χα -ια*, as *φέρουσα* 'ferens' for **φεροντ-ια*, *πότιν-ια* 'lady', *ἀληθεια* 'truth' for **ἀλαθιτ-ια*; these I hold to be reformates following the accusatives in *-χαν -ιαν* § 216).

Remark. J. Schmidt (in Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVII 291 and 309, Pluralb. 59 f.) sees in the Greek *-χα -ια* the original ending of the nom. sing. of

1) The strong-grade form of the suffix of which *-i-* was the weak grade in the Indo-Germanic declension is hard to determine, as I have already said (II § 109 p. 333), adding that *-iē-* seemed to me the most probable. But in numerous instances *-iā-* forms are found amongst the cases, — in Greek, Italic, Germanic, Balto-Slavonic, and possibly Celtic (gen. sing. *inse*, § 230); hence it is perhaps more correct to place the variation between *-iē-* and *-iā-* in the protoethnic period. There is, however, another possibility. *-iā-* as well as *-iē-* might become *-i-* in unaccented syllables, so that perhaps our *i- iē-class* is to be split up into two original classes. Then the *i-*: *iā-class* would be parallel to the *i-*: *iō-class* (Lith. *mėdis* gen. *mėdžio*). But in that case we should have to postulate two distinct declensions in *-iā-*, one varying between *-iā-* and *-i-*, the other having invariably *-iā-*. I leave others to investigate these difficult questions more closely. Johansson has tried, but comes to no certain conclusion whatever (Kuhn's Ztschr. XXX 398 ff.).

these stems, and believes that the *-ī* of the other languages arose from a contraction of **-ia-*. Against this view, see my Gr. Gr.³ p. 102, and Morph. Unt. V 58 f.

Such words as these were often associated with stems in *-īā* (*σσιῖά*), and *-īα -īα* gave way to *-īā -īā*; e. g. *ἑταῖρᾱ* 'companion' instead of *ἑταιρα* for **ἑταρ-īα*, fem. of *ἑταρο-ς*, Att. *ἀληθειᾱ* (Ion. *ἀληθειῖη*) beside *ἀλήθεια*, and so on. Cp. in O.H.G. *herzohinna* instead of the older *herzohin* (see below).

Latin, too, has lost the *-ī*. In *faciē-s pauperiē-s, -īē-* has spread from the other cases, and *-s* has been added through assimilation to *re-quiē-s diē-s rē-s. avia* (from *avo-s*) is perhaps like *māter-īa* beside *māter-iē-s* (cp. II § 109 p. 333, and the footnote on the last page). As regards the fem. *suāvi-s* (Skr. *svādvi-ī*) see II § 109 p. 334: was *suāvi-s* the result of a form **suāvīm* for **suāduīm* (cp. § 216)?

Germanic. O.H.G. *herzohinna* instead of *herzohin*, O.Sax. *thiwa* instead of *thiwi*, and similar forms were produced by an assimilation to the nominative of *īā*-stems (as O.H.G. *sipp(e)a* = Goth. *sibja* 'kin', see § 190 p. 68).

Lith. *žėmė* Lett. *feme* Pruss. *semmē* O. C. Sl. *zemlja* 'earth' pr. Balt.-Slav. **žem-īē* arose by the intrusion of *-īē-* from the other cases.

§ 192. 3. All polysyllabic *n*- and *r*-stems show the formative suffix in the 3rd or 4th (strong) grade, which contrasted the nominative with the other cases, and so connected the difference in ablaut with a difference in case; e. g. Gr. *ποιμήν πατήρ* as against *ποιμέν-α πατέρ-α*, and so on. We have to postulate even for the proethnic language pairs of forms, some ending in *-ēn -ōn* and *-ēr -ōr*, others simply in *-ē -ō* in both classes of stems. The cause assigned has been the varying conditions of sentence position, *-n* and *-r* being supposed to disappear before certain consonants. But this theory is far from certain, in spite of Meringer's arguments (Zeitschr. für österr. Gymn. 1888, p. 137), especially in view of Johansson's new theory of the origin of *n*-stems and some of those in *-r* (Bezz.

Beitr. XIV 163 ff.) which has been mentioned already on page 63 of this volume.

a. *n*-stems.

Forms in Idg. *-n*. Pr.Idg. **k(u)uðn* 'dog'. Armen. *šun* 'dog' *akn* (gen. *akan*) 'eye' *anjn* (gen. *anjin* for **-en-os*) 'soul' I § 651.1 p. 497). Gr. *κύων* 'dog' *ποιμήν* 'herdsman'. It is a question whether Lat. *pecten lien flāmen* are old *n*-nominatives or not; see II § 114 p. 352. O.H.G. *gomo* A.S. *zuma* m. 'man', and doubtless Norse Run. *Haringa* for **-ðn*; Goth. *tuggō* O.Icel. *tunga* f. 'tongue' for **-ðn* (Goth. *raþjō* = Lat. *ratiō*), O.H.G. *zunga* A.S. *tunze* f. for **-ēn* (I § 659.5 p. 513, § 661.4 p. 519, and II § 115 pp. 361 f.).¹⁾ Lith. dial. *szun* (beside *szū*) 'dog' O.C.Sl. *kamy* 'stone' (I § 92 pp. 86 f., § 663.1 p. 521, and § 665.2 p. 524).

Forms without *-n*. Pr.Idg. **k(u)uð* 'dog'. Skr. *śvā śuvā*²⁾ Avest. *spā* 'dog', O.Pers. *xšayārša* 'Xerxes' (*xšaya-* 'ruler' and *aršan-* 'mas'). Dubious relics of this kind are seen in Gr. *εἰκώ* *ἀηδών* beside *εἰκὼν* 'image' *ἀηδών* 'nightingale', and so forth; the genitives belonging to these nominatives, *εἰκῶς ἀηδῶς* etc., would then be ad-formates of the class *Ἀητῶ Ἀητοῦς* (G. Meyer, Gr. Gr.² pp. 315 f.). Lat. *homō homo*, Umbr. *karu* 'pars' = Lat. *carō*, tribřišu i. e. **tri-prikiō* 'triplicitas' (abl. *tribrisine*).³⁾ O.Ir.

1) Kluge (Paul's Grundr. I 366) equates O.H.G. *-a* A.S. *-e* with pr. Germ. **-ðn*, and O.H.G. *-o* A.S. *-a* with pr. Germ. **-ēn*, admitting at the same time that the phonetics of this are 'strange'. Possibly he was driven to postulate these changes by the acc. O.H.G. *geba* A.S. *giefē*; for Osthoff's hypothesis that *-ið-* had become *-iē-* in protoethic Germanic — a hypothesis which offered a possible explanation of these forms (*sunt-ia* for **-ið-n* and hence *geba*) — has too slight a foundation to build upon. I hope to settle the question of *geba giefē* in a different way (§ 213), and so I am content with the equation O.H.G. *-a* A.S. *-e* = pr. Germ. **-ēn*, O.H.G. *-o* A.S. *-a* = pr. Germ. **-ðn*.

2) The accentuation of the Vedic *śvā du. śuvānāu* (the texts have *śvā śvānāu* with the *udātta*) is to be restored not only on the authority of Gr. *κύων*, but from the accent of *śūn-as śūn-ē* etc., *śūn-* being related to *śuvān-* as *yūn-* to *yūrān-*. In both words the accent, which in the weak cases fell upon the suffix (orig. **śūn-ās* like Gr. *κυν-ός*, and **yūn-ās*) was changed on the analogy of the strong cases.

3) See also the Author, Ber. der sächs. Ges. der Wiss., 1890, p. 207.

cū Mod.Cymr. *ci* 'dog' (for a disyllabic **kuō* through the intermediate stage of **kuū*), O.Ir. *esc-ung* 'eel' *air-mitiu* 'honour' = Lat. *mentio* (I § 657. 2 and 3, p. 507); Gall. *Frontu Alingu*. Goth. *guma* 'man' should doubtless be derived from **gumē* (not **gumō*) on account of O.Icel. *gume gumi*. Lith. *szũ* 'dog' *akmā* 'stone'.

In the following words we have re-formates in place of original *-*īō(n)* *-*īē(n)*, the suffix having been levelled down to the weak form of it: Skr. *arcī* (stem *arcīn-* 'beaming') Avest. *kaini* (stem *kainin-* 'girl'), Gr. *δελφίν* (stem *δελφίν-* 'bellyfish, dolphin'), Goth. *managei* (stem *managein-* 'crowd'). See II § 115 pp. 358 ff.

In several languages there were re-formations following the analogy of nominatives in -s. Avestic: e. g. *ver^hpra-jā* 'victorious' beside -*ja* = Skr. *vytra-hā* (note that an old nom. *-*ghṛ-s* would necessarily have become *-*γḍ*); cp. Bartholomae, Ar. Forsch. I 31, Handbuch § 215 Anm. 2, § 220. Greek: e. g. Lac. *ἄρσης* = *ἄρσην* 'male', *δελφίς* beside *δελφίν* (cp. II § 115 p. 359). Lat. *sanguis* for **sanguins* 'instead of *sanguen*. Osc. *úittiu* 'usio, usus' and *statif* 'statio, statua', for *-*īōns* and *-*īns* according to II § 115 pp. 359 f. O.Ir. *aru* 'kidney' doubtless for *-*ōns*, *menme* 'mens' for *-*ens*; see II § 114 pp. 352 f., § 117 pp. 373 f. Similar re-formations of *r*-stems are described on the next page.

b. *r*-stems.

Forms in Idg. -*r*. Pr. Idg. **mātér* 'mother', **dōtōr* 'giver'. Armen. *mair* 'mother'. Gr. *μήτηρ*, *δῶτωρ*. Lat. *māter*, *soror dator*; Umbr. Iu-pater 'Juppiter' aḥ-fertur 'infertor, flamen', Osc. *censtur* 'censor'. O.Ir. *māthir* 'mother', *siur* 'sister' (I § 657. 6 p. 509). In Germanic, with **ēr-*, O.Icel. *moðer* *moðir*, and probably O.H.G. *muoter*; also Goth. *fadar* 'father' if Streitberg is right in holding that pr. Germ. -*ēr* became -*ar* in Gothic, as -*ēi* -*ēu* became -*ai* -*au* (cp. § 263 Rem.).¹⁾ The explanation

1) Streitberg, D. germ. Compar. auf -*ōz-*, pp. 22 f. This law would enable us to explain Goth. adv. *þar* as compared with O.H.G. *dār*, unaccented *der*, as follows. Starting from pr. Germ. **pēr*, we should have

of Goth. *svistar* A.S. *sweostor* 'soror', Goth. *brōþar* A.S. *brōðor* O.H.G. *bruadar* 'brother' (Gr. *φρότωρ*) is doubtful. These may have come from *-ōr*, or perhaps they were accusative or vocative forms; cp. II § 122 pp. 381 f.

Remark 1. In any case, A.S. *mōdor dohtor* O.Swed. *fap̄ur mōþor* are re-formates. I take this opportunity to call attention to a question which appears to me to need more thorough investigation. How far did Idg. *-er-* in unaccented final syllables become *-ar-*; and where *-ar-* seems to correspond to Idg. *-er-*, ought we not sometimes to assume that it came from *-or-* (or *-ar-*)? See the Author, Curt. Stud. IX 374 and 378; Paul in his Beitr. VI 246 f. and 253 f.; J. Schmidt, Pluralb. 197 f.; Kluge, Paul's Grundr. I 361.

Forms without *-r*. Pr.Idg. **matē*, **dōtō*. Skr. *mātā* Avest. *māta* 'mother', Skr. *bhrātā* O.Pers. *brata* 'brother', Skr. *datā dātā* Avest. *dātā* 'giver', Skr. *hanātā* 'murderer' O.Pers. *ja(n)tā* 'slayer, foe'. Lith. *motė motė* 'woman, wife' *sesė* 'sister', O.C.Sl. *mati* 'mother'.

Remark 2. Joh. Schmidt and other scholars assume that *-r* was dropped in Balto-Slavonic (Schmidt, in Kuhn's Ztschr. XXV 22, Pluralbild. 193 f.). I am still unable to regard this as proved. Cp. I § 663 Rem. pp. 521 f.

Re-formation in the separate languages gave rise to Avest. *atar-š* 'fire' (II § 122 p. 383), Gr. *μάρας* instead of *μάραρ* 'blessed'. There were similar re-formations in the *n*-stems, for which see last page.

§ 193. 4. Polysyllabic *s*-stems show in the formative suffix the same case-ablaut as do stems in *n* and *r*; but it would appear that in the proethnic speech the *-s* of the formative suffix was never missing. The ending in *s*-stems will then be *-ēs* as opposed to *-ēn -ē, ēr ē* in the others.

Pr. Idg. **dus-menēs* 'ill-disposed'. Skr. *durmanās* 'dejected, troubled', Avest. *dušmanā* 'thinking evil', O.Pers. *aspacana* (doubtless connected with Skr. *cānas-* n. 'pleasure'), Skr. *yaśās* 'glorious' (I § 649. 7 p. 496). Gr. *δυσηνής* 'ill-

Goth. *þar* (cp. also *jáinar aljar*) and O.H.G. *der* as equivalents. The form *þar* would then have driven the accented **þēr* from the field in Gothic. O.H.G. gen. *unsēr* follows *jenēr*, § 455.

disposed, hostile' *ψευδής* 'false, deceitful'. Lat. *pūbēs pūber*, *dē-gener* (with *-r* for *-s* from the other cases).

Pr. Idg. **aṃsōs* 'dawn'. Skr. *uṣṣas*. Gr. Hom. *ἠώς* Att. *ἕως*. Lat. *honōs honor* (with *-r* from the other cases).

Pr. Idg. comp. **ōk(i)ṣōs* 'quicker'. Avest. *asyd̥*. Lat. *ōcior* (*-r* from the other cases). O.Ir. *sinu* 'older' *māo mō* 'larger'. For Skr. *ḍṣiyās ḍṣiyan* instead of **ḍṣiyas* and O.C.Sl. *sladījŕ* 'sweeter' instead of **sladīja*, see II § 135 p. 430.

Pr. Idg. part. perf. act. **uḗidṃs* or **uḗidṃés* 'knowing'. Avest. *vīdōd̥*. Gr. *εἰδώς*. By re-formation, Skr. *vid-vās vid-vān* instead of **-vās*, Lith. *dā-vēs* 'having given' *mīr-ēs* 'dead' instead of **-vēs *-és* and O.C.Sl. *da-vŕ mīr-ŕ* instead of **-va *-a* (or **-vē *-vi*, **-ē *-i*). Along with these the parent language seems to have had a nominative in **-us*: Skr. Ved. *vidúṣ* Avest. *vīdūš*, with which may be classed Osc. *sipus* 'sciens' and O.C.Sl. *mīrŭ*. See II § 136 pp. 439 ff.

Remark. It remains doubtful whether the proethnic language had nominatives without *s* belonging to stems in dental explosives, as well as the above. See § 198 p. 79.

§ 194. II. Forms with *-s* as the sign of the Nominative.

1. *o*-stems. Pr. Idg. **uḷgo-s* 'wolf'. Skr. *vṛka-s*, Avest. *vehrkō* (*vehrkas-ca* 'lupusque'), O.Pers. *kāra* 'people, host' (see I § 556.3 pp. 411 f., § 558.4 p. 415, § 646.3 pp. 490 f., and Bartholomae in Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 572 f.). Armen. *gail*, *mard* 'homo' = Skr. *mṛtá-s* (I § 651 p. 497). Gr. *λύκος*. Lat. *lupu-s*; *equo-s*, *vir* for **vir(o)-s*, *satur* for **satur(o)-s*, *morti-fer* and *-feru-s* (the latter being a re-formate), *ager* for **agr(o)-s*; Umbr. *pihaz* 'piatus' Ikuvin's 'Iguvinus', *ager* 'ager' katel 'catulus', Osc. *húrz* 'hortus' Púmpaiians 'Pompeianus', *famel* 'famulus'; see I § 655.5 and 9, pp. 505 and 508 (the conditions of syncopation in Latin have not yet been properly made out, cp. *mors* for **mort(i)-s* and the like, § 195). O.Ir. *fer* 'man' for **uīro-s*, *ailē* 'alius' for **ali(i)o-s* (I § 34 p. 34, § 139 Rem. p. 125, § 657.3, 5 and 10, pp. 508 and 509 f.), Gall. *tarvo-s* 'bull', *Andecamulo-s*.

Goth. *vulf-s*, *vair* 'man' for **uir(a)-z*, O.H.G. *wolf*, *acchar* 'tilled land' = Goth. *akr-s* (I § 660.6 p. 516¹), § 661.2 and 5, pp. 517 and 519), cp. also Goth. *hva-s* O.H.G. *hwe-r we-r* 'who?'; in the Salic Law *focla* = **fogla-(z)* 'bird', Norse Run. *daga-κ* 'day' = O.Icel. *dag-r* Goth. *dag-s*; Goth. *harji-s* 'host' for **harja-z*, which became **hari-s* and took *j* afresh from the oblique cases (I § 660 Rem. 3 p. 515; Kauffmann, Paul-Braune's Beitr. XII 539; Streitberg *ibid.* XIV 181). Lith. *vilka-s*; for the loss of *-a-* in the last syllable, see I § 664.2 pp. 522 f. On O.C.Sl. *vlūkū*, see below.

Stems in *-jo-* sometimes made their nom. sing. in *-i-s -ī-s* (*-i- -ī-* are weak-grade forms of *-jo-*), and the corresponding acc. sing. masc. and neut. in *-i-m* (§§ 212, 227). O.Lat. *ali-s* *Cornēli-s* beside *aliu-s* *Cornēliu-s*, Osc. Pakis 'Pacius'. Goth. *un-nuts* 'useless' for **-nuti-z*, *hairdei-s* 'herdsman'; A.S. *secg* 'man' instead of pr. Germ. **sag-i-z*. Lith. *žōdi-s* 'word' *mōji-s* 'sign' *gaidỹ-s* 'cock' beside *vēja-s* 'wind' *svēccia-s* 'guest' and the like. We should doubtless class here O.C.Sl. *kraji* 'rim, edge', and *konji* 'horse' instead of **konī*, the *n* having been softened (palatalised) on the analogy of the genitive and other cases. Cp. II § 63 p. 122, and Streitberg, as cited, 166 ff.

Remark 1. The student will observe that in Slavonic there is nothing to represent the nominative in **-jo-s* (as Lith. *vēja-s* Lat. *aliu-s*). This ending would regularly become **-je*, which has the look of a vocative; and this is perhaps the reason for its absence. Cp. § 201 Rem. 2.

Remark 2. Perhaps such *i*-stems as Skr. *sārathi-ś* 'charioteer' Avest. *māzdayasni-š* 'belonging to the worshippers of Mazda' Lat. *decemjugi-s* (II § 93 p. 284) were originally *jo*-stems.

O.C.Sl. *vlūkū* is an accusative form, which took the place of **vlūko*. The nom. and acc. in *-jo-*, *-i-*, and *-u*-stems

1) Braune (Goth. Gr.³ § 78 Anm. 2) has a different theory of the phonetic law affecting Goth. *vair*. This view has recently received the support of W. Schulze (Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 271), who explains *stuir* as a dissyllable. But this explanation is unsupported by the evidence (see Osthoff Paul-Braune's Beitr. XIII 454 f.), and furthermore it is opposed by the form *fidvōr* for **fidvōr-(i)z* (§ 320), whilst *akrs*, which Braune himself holds to be dissyllabic (§ 27), should not have been brought in evidence at all. I therefore keep to my own explanation, as above cited.

came eventually to be the same, **-i-s* and **-i-m* becoming *-ī*, and **-u-s* and **-u-m* becoming *-ū*; and this appears to have caused the substitution of *olūkū* for **olūko*. There may have been another factor in the change. If the *-o* (standing doubtless for **-o-d*) which we find as the ending of the nom. acc. neut. of adjectival stems in *-o-* appeared in this language before the nom. sing. masc. **-o(s)* had given place to *-ū*, the nom. masc. and the nom. acc. neut. must both have come to end in *-o*; and the wish to keep the two genders distinct may have been an additional reason for substituting *-ū* for *-o* in the nom. masc.; cp. § 227. Another explanation of *-ū*, by no means convincing, is given by Kozlovskij in the Archiv für slav. Phil. X 657.

§ 195. 2. *i*-stems. Pr. Idg. **oyi-s* 'sheep'. Skr. *ávi-ś*; Avest. *aži-ś* 'snake, dragon', O.Pers. *šiyati-ś* 'place of pleasure, dwelling-place' (= Lat. *quies*, gen. *quētis*). Armen. *sirt* 'heart' = Lith. *szirdi-s*, *iž* 'viper' = Skr. *áhi-ś* (I § 651 p. 497). Gr. *ōphi-s* 'snake, dragon'. Lat. *ovi-s*, *turri-s*; *acer* for **acri-s*, and by the side of it a re-formate *acri-s*, *mors* = Skr. *mṛti-ś* 'death' — this syncopation of *-i-* is common in the final syllables of *ti*-stems (its conditions have not been fully made out, nor have those of syncope in *o*-stems, as has been pointed out in § 194, p. 73); Umbr. *pacor* 'pacatus, propitius', Osc. *cevs* 'civis' aīdil 'aedilis', see I § 33 pp. 33 f., § 633 pp. 472 f., § 655. 5 and 9, p. 503 and pp. 504 f. O.Ir. *faith* 'vates' for **yati-s* (I § 657. 5 and 10, pp. 508 ff.); Gall. *rati-s* 'fern' = Ir. *raith*. Goth. *anst-s* 'favour' *baúr* 'son' for **bur(i)-z* (like *vair* § 194 p. 73), O.H.G. *anst* 'favour' *chumi* 'approach, coming' = Goth. *gum-s*, O.H.G. *wini* 'friend', but *Fridu-win Liob-win* (I § 660. 1 p. 514, § 661. 2 and 5, pp. 517 and 519); Norse Run. *gasti-r* 'guest' = O.Icel. *gest-r* Goth. *gast-s*. Lith. *nakti-s* O.C.Sl. *noštā* 'night' (I § 665. 4 p. 525).

Observe Skr. *vē-ś* 'bird' beside *vī-ś* Lat. *avi-s*, and these root-nouns of corresponding structure — Avest. *yao-ś* 'leagued, confederate, friendly, allied' *gao-ś* 'crying aloud'. And perhaps we should add Lat. *ci-s ī-s cis-dem* beside *ī-s* = Goth. *i-s*; see § 416.

§ 196. 3. *u*-stems. Pr. Idg. **sǵnu-s* 'son'. Skr. *sūnú-ṣ*; Avest. *bāzu-ṣ* 'arm', O.Pers. *kūrū-ṣ* (read *kūruṣ*) 'Cyrus'. Armen. *zard* 'ornament', *marh* 'death' (II § 105 p. 319), see I § 651 p. 497. Gr. *πῆχυν-ς* 'lower arm' *ῥῆν-ς* 'sweet'. Lat. *manu-s*. O.Ir. *bith* 'world' (I § 657. 5 and 10, pp. 508 ff.); Gall. *Esu-s* (cp. *Esu-nertus*). Goth. *sunu-s*, O.H.G. *sunu suno, situ sito* 'custom' (= Goth. *sidu-s*), *fridu frido* 'peace', without *-u* or *-o* *Sigi-frid*, *hand* 'hand' (= Goth. *handu-s*), cp. the *i*-stems § 195. Lith. *sūnù-s* 'son' *saldù-s* 'sweet', O.C.Sl. *synŭ* 'son' (I § 665. 4 p. 525).

In Iranian there are by-forms in *-āu-ṣ* (with corresponding acc. sing. *-āvam* and nom. acc. pl. *-āvas*), such as Avest. *bāzāu-ṣ*, O.Pers. *dahyāu-ṣ* 'neighbourhood'; these we may conjecture to be re-formates containing the loc. sing. in *-āu*; see § 261. For Avest. *per'nāyu* beside *per'nāyu-ṣ* and the like, see Bartholomae Ar. Forsch. I 36 and J. Schmidt Pluralbild. 76 ff.

§ 197. 4. *ā- u-* and *ī- i-* stems (cp. II § 109 p. 334). Pr. Idg. **bhrū-s* 'eyebrow' **sʷekrū-s* 'socrus'. Skr. *bhrū-ṣ*, *śvaśrū-ṣ*, *tanū-ṣ* 'body', *dhi-ṣ* 'thought', *nadī-ṣ* 'river'; Avest. *ber'zai-āi-ṣ* (acc. *-āi-m*) 'having great insight'. Gr. *ὀφρ-ς*, *ρέκν-ς* 'corpse', *κῆ-ς* 'weevil', *πόλι-ς* 'city'. Lat. *sū-s*, *vī-s*; *socru-s* has become a *u*-stem, because stems in *-ā-* and those in *-u-* had the same endings in the acc. gen. and dat. singular (§§ 217, 233, 254). O.Icel. *sy-r* O.H.G. *sā* 'sow' (I § 661. 5 p. 519); polysyllables are treated as *u*-stems, O.H.G. *swigar* 'socrus' (also *swiger* following *muoter*), Goth. *asilu-qairnu-s* f. 'μύλος ὀνικός, millstone' O.H.G. *quirn* as contrasted with O.C.Sl. *žrŭny* f. 'mill'. O.Pol. *kry* Mod.Slov. *kri* 'blood' = O.C.Sl. **kry* (whose place was taken by *krŭo-ī*), O.C.Sl. *svekry* (I § 665. 4 p. 525).

Nominatives formed in the same way from stems in *-ǵn-*, *-ǵ-* *-ǵl-*, and *-ǵr-* *-ǵr-* (I § 312 pp. 250 f., II § 160 pp. 485 f.). Skr. *jā-s* 'being' for **ǵǵ-s*, *gō-ṣā-s* 'winning cattle', Avest. *xā* 'spring, source' (cp. acc. Ved. *khām* § 217), Skr. *pār* 'stronghold' for **pǵ-s*, *gīr* 'praise' for **ǵǵ-s*. No doubt Gr. *ὠμο-βρώς*, *χρώς* are further examples.

§ 198. 5. Stems whose suffix ends in an explosive.

a. The Suffixes *-t- -tat- -tūt-*. Skr. *viśva-jī-t* 'gaining everything by victory' *sarvā-tāt* 'completeness' (I § 647. 7 pp. 493 f.), Avest. *haurva-tās* 'wholeness, a being in good condition' (I § 473. 2 p. 349). Gr. *θής* 'hired labourer' for **θῆ-τ-ς*, *νύ-ξ* 'night' for **νυκ-τ-ς*, *όλό-της* 'wholeness, completeness'. Lat. *com-es* (gen. *com-i-t-is*) *nox* (gen. *noc-t-is*), *novi-tās*, *juven-tās*. O.Ir. *cing* (gen. *cinged*) 'hero, warrior' = Gall. **Cinges* (stem *Cinget-*), O.Ir. *óitiu* 'youth' for *(*ǵ*)*ovētū(s)* = Lat. *juventūs*.

In Germanic, such forms as Goth. *naht-s* 'night' *mēnōþs* 'month' O.H.G. *naht mǎnōd* are re-formates, since *-ts* became *-ss (-s)* in proethnic Germanic (I § 527 p. 382). They may have been due to an attempt to restore the stem, which had been preserved in the other cases; cp. Goth. instr. pl. *frijōnd-am* beside *tigum*, § 379. As regards nominatives like O.H.G. *nefo* for **nefō(ð)*, see p. 79.

The Suffix *-nt-*. Pr. Idg. *-nt-s, -nt-s')*, as **bhr̥ghont-s*, possibly **bhr̥ghent-s* (see II § 125 Rem. 2 pp. 395 f.) 'prominent high'. Skr. *bṛhán* Avest. *ber'zas* (I § 647. 7 pp. 493 f.; Bartholomae, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 501 ff. and 517); Skr. *dádat* 'giving' for **dadat-s* Avest. *stavas* 'praising' for **stavat-s*. Gr. *ἄεις* 'blowing' = Skr. *vān*, common ground-form **uēnt-s*, *ὀδούς* 'tooth'; as to *-ων* in *φέρων* and the like, see below. Lat. *ferēns*, *dēns*, *stāns* = Gr. *στάς*; Umbr. *zerēf serse* 'sedens' (I § 655. 9 p. 504). O.Ir. *care cara* 'friend' (gen. *carat*), cp. *tri-cha* 'group of 30' (gen. *tri-chat*) = Avest. *pri-sqs* (I § 657. 10 pp. 509 f.). Lith. *vežās* 'vehens' dial. *vežans vežus*, Pruss. *sīdans sīdons* 'sitting'; O.C.Sl. *vezý* 'vehens', in the first instance for **vezuns*, according to I § 84 p. 80, § 92 pp. 86 f., § 219 pp. 186 f.

In Sanskrit, *tyān* 'tantus' *kīyān* 'quantus' are re-formates which followed certain words of kindred meaning, such as *tvā-*

1) An error must be corrected in II § 125, p. 395. In that place, following the traditional view, I wrongly allowed myself to regard **-ōn* as an original nominative ending as well as **-ōnts*. This correction I have already made in my Greek Grammar² p. 109.

-vān 'one who is as thou art' (see below). In Avestic participles, besides *-as* (*-ants) and *-as* (*-ats), we find *-ō* = Ar. *-as, which is the commonest ending of such participles as concern us here; e. g. *per'sō* 'asking' *hištō* 'standing'. Bartholomae (Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 557 ff.) considers this formation in the light of Vedic forms like *pra-mṛṇá-s* beside *pra-mṛṇān* 'destroying' *viśvam-invá-s* 'penetrating everything' beside *invan*, and assumes that a certain number of adjectival compounds in Idg. *-ó-s, used like participles, were brought into close relation with the corresponding verbs, the result being that true participles in *-nt-* took the ending of these adjectives through association with them. The analogy seems to have gone further; and, in Avestic, nominatives in *-vō* were formed even from stems in *-vant-*, as *par'na-vō* 'furnished with a feather' (see Geldner, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXX 515).

Greek has forms like *φέρων* 'bearing' *ιδών* 'seeing', besides those in *-ούς* (for *-οντ-ς). Now *-ων* can come neither from *-ont-s or *-ōnt-s nor from *-ōnt, and for *-ōn as an Idg. ending in *nt*-stems there is no further evidence that can be trusted.¹⁾ I therefore offer the following conjecture as to its origin. I suggest that there were two influences at work. (1) The relation of the masc. *ἰδμων πίων*, and similar forms, to the neuter in *-ον*, *ἰδμων πίων*, caused a masc. *-ων* to spring up in connexion with *-ον* (for *-οντ), beginning with participles used strictly as nouns, e. g. *μέλλων* 'future' *ἐκών* 'willing'. (2) The relation of the vocative to the nominative in *κύων δαίμων* and the like, voc. *κύον δαίμον*, gave rise to substantival nominatives like *γέρων* (voc. *γέρον* for *-οντ).

In Germanic, forms like Goth. *frijōnd-s* O.H.G. *friunt* 'friend' are re-formates of the same kind as Goth. *mēnōps* O.H.G. *mānōd*; see last page. Similarly, Pruss. *dīlant-s* 'working' and Lett. *āugāt-s* 'growing', for *-ant(i)-s.

The Suffix *-ment-*. Skr. *tvā-vāś* *-vān* Avest. *hwa-vāś* 'one like thee', Skr. *āma-vāś* *-vān* 'pressing on mightily, powerful' for

1) Lith. *sėdun* and Lett. *sėdu* (J. Schmidt, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVII 392) cannot be quoted as proving that Idg. had this ending.

**vāns*, but Avest. *ama-vā* for **vās*. Pr. Ar. **vāns* in **tvā-vāns*, we may conjecture, took the place of **vās* under the influence of *-vant-am -vant-as*; but pr. Ar. **uās*, which was preserved in Avest. *ama-vā*, belongs to the suffix *-ues- -uos-*. Cp. II § 127 p. 405, § 136 p. 441, § 208. Gr. *στονό-εις* 'wailing, lamentable' for **-fεντ-ς*.

Remark 1. Bartholomae (Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 499 ff., 518 f.) postulates Idg. **uēnt-s*; in which I cannot follow him. It may be remarked in passing that, granted pr. Ar. nom. **vās*, the change of *-rant-* to *-van-* stems (Skr. *ṛk-vant-* and *ṛk-ran-* 'singing' Avest. *ama-vant-* and *ama-van-*, and so forth) is more easily explained than it is on Bartholomae's theory, pp. 540 f.: *-vās* had another form *-vā*, its sentence doublet, and this resembled the ending of stems in *-van-* (§ 391). Cp. the reverse process in Ved. *varimāt-ā* from the nom. *varimā* (stem *varimān-*) 'width, distance'.

Suffixes in *-d*, pr. Idg. nominative ending *-ts*. Skr. *śarāt* 'autumn', stem *śarad-*. Gr. *φρυάς* 'fugitive', stem *φρυαδ-*, *ἀσπίς* 'shield', stem *ἀσπιδ-*. Lat. *lapis*, stem *lapid-*, *palūs* stem *palūd-*.

All these examples ended in pr. Idg. *-ts*. But we have also certain forms, especially in Germanic, which seem unquestionably to point to a proethnic nominative singular without *s*. Such are Goth. *mēna* O.H.G. *māno*, and doubtless Lith. *mėnà* for **mēnōt* beside Goth. *mēnōþ-s* O.H.G. *mānōd* (II § 123 pp. 393 f.), O.H.G. *nefo* for pr. Germ. **néfōd* beside Lat. *nepōs* (see *loc. cit.*), A.S. *hæle* for pr. Germ. **χalēþ* beside *hæled* (*loc. cit.*), O.H.G. *zan* 'tooth' for pr. Germ. **tanþ* (in I § 527 p. 382 erroneously traced back to pr. Germ. **tan(t)-s*) beside Skr. *dán* Gr. *ὀδός*. Other examples are given by Kluge, Paul's Grundr. I 390 f. Here there are two possibilities between which I do not feel able to decide at present. There may have been double forms from the very first, one with *s* and one without; this view may be supported by the ablaut in **χalēþ* (in consideration of this, Kluge *op. cit.* p. 385 even postulates an Idg. nom. **pōd* beside acc. **pod-m*). Or *s* may have disappeared when the words were used in this or that environment in the sentence (cp. the disappearance of *s* in such sound-groups as *st-*, I § 589.3 pp. 445 f., § 645 p. 490). And compare Bartholomae, Stud. zur idg. Sprachgeschichte, I 65.

Remark 2. If *-u* in O.H.G. *hwemu* is the direct and regular representative of pr. Germ. **-ōt* = Idg. **-ōd* (§ 241), the *-o* of *māno nefo* must have arisen by an assimilation of these words to the nominative ending of *n*-stems, such as *gomo*.

b. Suffixes in *-k* and *-g*. Skr. *uśtk-* (stem *uśtj-*) 'demanding', Avest. *usixš* (stem *usij-*) a kind of demon; for Skr. *spát* 'spy' and the like see I § 401 Rem. 2 p. 297, § 404 Rem. 3 p. 299. Gr. *μειραξ* (stem *μειραx-*) 'girl' *φάλαγξ* (stem *φάλαγγ-*) 'phalanx'. Lat. *senex* (stem *senec-*) *bibāx* (stem *bibāc-*). O.Ir. *aire* 'princeps' for **ariak-s*, gen. *airech*, *ail* 'rock, stone' for **alek-s*, gen. *ailech*, *nathir* 'water-snake' gen. *nathrach*; Gall. *esox* = Mid.Ir. *eu* (gen. *iach*) 'salmon' (I § 657. 10 pp. 509 f.).

§ 199. 6. Perhaps all Root-Nouns had *-s* in the proethnic language (cp. § 197). Examples:

Pr. Idg. **nau-s* 'navis': Skr. *nāu-š* Gr. *ναῦ-ς*. **d(i)ǵēu-s* 'heaven, daylight': Skr. *d(i)yaú-š*, Gr. *Ζεύ-ς*, O.H.G. *Zio* for **i(i)ey(z)* (Streitberg, Die germ. Comp. auf *-ōz-*, 18). **gōu-s* 'ox, cow': Skr. *gāu-š* Avest. *gāu-š*, Gr. *βοῦ-ς*, O.Ir. *bō* (I § 657. 10 pp. 509 f.). I leave it an open question whether Gr. *Ζῆς*, Lat. *diēs* and Gr. Dor. *βῶς*, Lat. *bōs* O.H.G. *kuo* O.Sax. *kō*¹⁾ were framed on the model of the acc. sing. (§ 221), or whether they represent proethnic sentence doublets **d(i)ǵēs* and **gōs*. See II § 160 p. 481 f., and Streitberg *op. cit.* 12. In composition we have Skr. *-gu-š*, as *su-gú-š* 'having fine cattle', inflected as a *u*-stem, e. g. nom. pl. *su-gávas* du. *su-gū*.

**uōq-s* 'voice, speech': Skr. *vāk* Avest. *vāx-š*, Gr. *ὄψ*, Lat. *vōx*. **rēk-s* (*✓rēg-*) 'ruler, king': Skr. *rāt* (like *spát* § 198), Lat. *rēx* O.Ir. *rī* (gen. *rīg*, Gall. nom. *Dumno-rīx*); Goth. *reik-s* (nom. pl. *reik-s*) instead of **reihs* (I § 527 p. 381) is doubtless borrowed from the Celtic. Avest. *barš* 'height, high' (gen. *barš-z-ō* *berš-z-ō*), O.Ir. *brī* (gen. *breg*) 'mountain', Goth. *baúrg-s* 'stronghold, fort, town' (gen. *baúrg-s*) instead of the regular **baúrhs*, from *✓bhergh-*. Skr. *ápāṇ* Avest. *apaš*

1) A.S. *cū* O.Icel. *kýr* must be added to this list, if in these *ū* stands for *yo*. But *op.* II § 160 p. 482.

for pr. Ar. **apānək-s* 'turned backwards' (I § 647. 7 pp. 493 f.; Bartholomae, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 501 ff. und 517 f.). Avest. *af-s* (stem *ap-*) 'water', Skr. *stūp* (stem *stubbh-*) 'roaring'.

We may doubtless add **mās-s* 'mouse', which became **mās* in the proethnic stage (§ 356 Rem.): Gr. *μῦς* Lat. *mūs* (II § 160 p. 485).

The Greek *χθών* 'earth' (cp. Skr. *kṣā-s*, II § 160 p. 482) may be an ad-formate of *τροῦγών* and the like; *χάιν* *χῆν* 'goose' and *μῆν* 'month' are undoubtedly re-formatives, taking the place of **χανς* **χās* and Ion. etc. *μεῖς* for **μηνς* respectively (II § 132 p. 415, § 160 p. 485); similarly *φώρ* 'thief' *χῆρ* 'hedgehog' on the analogy of *δάτωρ* *δοτήρ* etc.

For the ground-form of Skr. *pāt* Gr. Dor. *πῶς* *πός* (Hom. *τρι-πος*) Att. *πούς* Lat. *pēs* 'foot', see § 198 p. 79: were there once parallel forms **pōd* (**pēd*) and **pot-s* (**pet-s*)? *ov* in *πούς* has not yet been satisfactorily explained.

Vocative Singular Masculine and Feminine.¹⁾

§ 200. No special vocative forms are found in the Indo-Germanic languages except for singular nouns masculine or feminine. From the proethnic period onwards, the nominative has served for the vocative in the plural and dual, whilst in the neuter gender the form used for nominative and accusative has been used for the vocative in all three numbers.

Genuine singular vocatives naturally enough had no case-sign at all; see § 184 p. 56. In the proethnic language the accent was thrown back to the first syllable of the word, as **māter* 'mother' = Skr. *mātar* Gr. *μητήρ*; this remains a general rule in Sanskrit, but in no other language. But the forms had a word accent of their own only when they stood first in a clause. In any other position it is probable that they were often enclitic, which is the rule in Sanskrit; e. g.

1) Benfey, Über die Entstehung des indogerm. Vocative, Abhandl. der Ges. der Wiss. zu Göttingen XVII (1872) pp. 3 ff. Bezzenberger, Zur lett. Declination: Einige Vocativformen; in his Beiträge, XV, 296 ff.

Brugmann, Elements. III.

idám indra śṛṇuhi 'Hear this, Indra!' See I § 669 p. 534, and § 672 p. 538.

In all other branches of the language but the Aryan this practice of accenting the first syllable underwent many changes. Sometimes it was overborne by special rules in special languages. Thus in Greek and Latin certain changes were necessary in order that words should conform to the trisyllabic law; hence Gr. *Ἀγάμεμνον* instead of **Ἀγαμεμνον*, Lat. *álumne*, *amplissume* instead of **álumne*, *ámplissume* (I § 676 p. 541, § 681 p. 548). Or the accent followed that of other cases from the same stem; thus Gr. *δαῖφρον* instead of **δαίφρον* follows *δαῖφρων* (intelligent) *δαῖφρονος* etc., *αὐτοκράτωρ* instead of **αὐτόκρατωρ* follows *αὐτοκράτωρ* ('having unlimited power') *αὐτοκράτορος* etc., *διογενής* instead of **διόγενες* follows *διογενής* ('born of a god') *διογενέος* etc. Elsewhere other factors less easy to detect may have been at work, as in the accentuation of the Lithuanian vocative — e. g. *vilkė* ('wolf'), *naktė* ('night').¹⁾

But even in the singular the parent language would seem to have sometimes used the nominative form as a mode of address: compare, for example, Skr. Ved. (Rig-V. I. 2. 5), *vāyav indraś ca cētathah* 'Vāyu and Indra, ye take care', Gr. Hom. (I 276) *Ζεῦ πάτερ . . . Ἡελίος τε . . . ὑμεῖς μάρτυροί ἐσσι*. And in most languages the forms of the nominative usurped more and more the place of the vocative; sometimes the proethnic vocative form belonging to some class of stems died out completely before the date of the oldest extant specimens of a given language. This happened in Latin to the vocative of *a*-stems. The genuine vocative forms are most faithfully preserved in Sanskrit. Yet even there in certain monosyllabic stems the vocative was regularly expressed by the nominative form, although accented as a vocative would be; e. g. *dīyāu-ś*; written *dīyāuś* (nom. *dīyāu-ś*),²⁾ as contrasted with Gr. *Ζεῦ*; *bhū-ś* ('earth'),

1) Bezzenberger's conjectures given in the essay cited in the footnote on the last page seem to me highly uncertain.

2) For this accentuation, see Bartholomae, *Stud. zur idg. Sprachg.*, I 82 f.

but Gr. ἰχθῦν ('fish'). Perhaps we may follow Collitz (Bezz. Beitr. X 32) in recognising the Idg. vocative of *gāu-* in the voc. *-gō*, only found in composition (e. g. *bhāri-gō*).

Remark. In Sanskrit, the rules regulating the accent of the vocative singular held good for plural and dual nominative forms when these were used as vocatives (cp. the sing. *diyāu-* just cited); e. g. *pitaras* (nom. *pitāras* 'fathers'). There is no reason why this should not be regarded as a genuine proethnic tradition, although it is true that no such practice can be proved for any European language: in Attic ὦ πατέρες, for example, might have been expected, since we have ὦ πατέρ.

§ 201. 1. *o*-stems. Pr. Idg. **ulqe*. Skr. *vṛka*; Avest. *vehrka*, O.Pers. *martiya* 'homo' (I § 649. 1 p. 495). Gr. λύκς, ἄδελφε beside ἀδελφός-ς 'brother', δαιμόνι 'wonderful one'. Lat. *lupe puere*, *filie* and *fili* from *filiu-s* (cp. below); Umbr. *Tefre*, *Fisovie*. O.Ir. *fir* for **uire*, *maicc* 'son' for **makue*, *cēli* 'comrade' doubtless for **cēlije* (I § 657. 3 p. 500). Goth. *vulf*, *hairdi* 'herdsman', O.H.G. *wolf*. Lith. *vilkė*, *žōdi* (*žōdi-s* 'word') *gaidỹ* (*gaidỹ-s* 'cock'), cp. below; O.C.Sl. *vlŭče*.

Remark 1. As regards *-ā* instead of *-a* in Vedic, as *vṛṣābhā* 'bull', see Lanman, Noun-Inflection p. 339, Oldenberg, Die Hymnen des Rigveda, I 393 ff., Wackernagel, Das Dehnungsgesetz der griech. Comp. (Basel 1889) pp. 12 f., Bezzenberger in his Beiträge XV 296 f.

It cannot be proved that in the Latin vocatives from *io*-stems *-ī* is contracted from *-ie*. Probably we have here the weak-grade *-i-*, as we certainly have in Lith. voc. *gaidỹ* and in the Italic nominatives in *-i-s* *-i-s*. Cp. II § 63 p. 122, III § 194 p. 74, and Streitberg, Paul-Braune's Beitr. XIV 201.

In Lithuanian the ending *-ai* is also found. This occurs in names of men, as *tėvai* 'father' *Jōnai* 'Johannes' (cp. Bezzenberger in his Beiträge, XV 299). Can it be that *-i* is the same particle as we see in pronominal nominatives in *-oī* (§ 414)? Avest. voc. *haēnē*: nom. *hwōi* (§ 202) points to this conclusion. Brückner (Archiv für slav. Phil. III 276) compares the emphasising *-ai* in *tas-aī toks-aī gražūs-ai*, and the like.

For O.C.Sl. *junŭče* beside nom. *junŭčŭ* 'young bull', etc., see I § 147 p. 134. *io*-stems whose nominative did not end in *-čŭ*

-ā, had the ending of *u*-stems in the vocative (§ 203), as *kraju* (nom. *kraṣṭ* 'border') *maṣu* (nom. *maṣ* 'man').

Remark 2. The following may be suggested as a conceivable reason for the latter change of inflexion. Nominatives such as *kraṣṭ konṣ* are parallel to the Lith. *mōji-s šōdi-s* and to the Lat. *ali-s*. Can there have been nominatives in *-je = Idg. *-jo-s in O.C.Sl., corresponding to Lithuanian nominatives like *vēja-s* ('wind') *svēczia-s* ('guest'), and to *aliu-s* and the like in Latin? Then the vocative in *-je will have been transformed in order to avoid confusion with the nominative which had the same ending, while this nominative afterwards took the ending of that class of nouns whose nominative ended in -(i)-s. Cp. § 194 p. 74.

§ 202. 2. *a*-stems. Pr. Idg. **ekṣa*, cp. II § 59 pp. 108 f. Skr. *ām̐ba* 'mother' doubtless belongs here; for the Ar. voc. in *-aṣ (Skr. -ē Avest. -ē) see below. Gr. Hom. *νύμφᾱ* 'nymph'; -ā is more commonly kept in masculine words, as *δέσποτα* 'master' *οὐβῶρα* 'swineherd'. O.C.Sl. *raḱo*. And probably we must place in this class Lith. *rankà*, and with -a dropped, *mótyn* from nom. *mótyna* 'mother', *Máriuk* from nom. *Mariukà*, and the like; see I § 664 p. 522, and J. Schmidt, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVII 382.

In Aryan the common ending was *-aṣ: Skr. *dāsvē* Avest. *haēnē*. The origin of this ending is uncertain. I think it most probable that a deictic particle has attached itself to this case, — the same deictic -i which is found in the nom. sing. in -aṣ, Avest. *puōi ber*xāē* Pruss. *stai mensai* (see § 190 p. 67, § 414). Cp. Lith. *tėvai* § 201.

Remark 1. Bopp (Vergl. Gr. I* 297) and J. Schmidt (Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVII 381 f.) compare Skr. *dāsvē* with Gr. *Πυθοί*. Others assume a re-formation on the analogy of *i*-stems (Skr. *árē*).

Another fact may have had something to do with the practically complete disuse of -a in the vocative of Aryan *a*-stems. In Aryan, Idg. -a and -e both became -a; hence the same form represented both **ekṣa* f. and **ekṣe* m.

In Greek, such forms as *ἘQUESTĀ αἰναρέτη*, which were properly nominative, came to be regarded as vocative in contradistinction to nominatives with *s*, *ἘQUESTĀ-s αἰναρέτη-s*, and were used as such. See § 190 p. 67.

Masc. vocatives in -ā were sometimes used as nominatives, e. g. *innōrá* 'horse-driver', *Θυέται*; cp. the Lat. vocative *Jū-piter Juppiter* (§ 210), which also passed current as a nominative. See

the Author, Morph. Unt. II 199 f., Curt. Stud. IX 259 ff., G. Meyer Gr. Gr.² pp. 318 f.

Remark 2. Other explanations, to my mind not convincing, of *ἰννότα* are given by Fick and Bezenberger in Bezz. Beitr. III 159 and 174, and by Johansson in Kuhn's Ztschr. XXX 426. J. Schmidt (Pluralb. 401 ff.) assents to my view, provided that there was at least one stem which originally had *-ā* in both nom. and voc. properly without the action of form-association; otherwise he thinks the explanation impossible. This indispensable stem he sees in *εὐρύσσοια*, originally, as he thinks, a neuter substantive meaning 'wide-eye'; *εὐρύσσοια Ζεὺς* would then mean 'wide-eye heaven', the meaning being afterwards changed to 'wide-seer Zeus'. This ingenious explanation of *εὐρύσσοια* is probably right; but the Lat. *Jūpiter* proves that it is wrong to suppose that the nominative use of vocatives like *ἰννότα* must have begun with this particular word. The reverse should rather be assumed; it is more likely that the change of meaning in *εὐρύσσοια Ζεὺς* to 'wide-seer Zeus' was made easier by a previous use of vocatives like *νεφεληγερέτα, μητίετα* and so forth before *Ζεὺς*; as though they were nominative; the same thing preserved the ending of *εὐρύσσοια* before *Ζεὺς* from being inflected in any way, whilst *εὐρύσσοια* before *Ζῆν* was doubtless preserved by the analogy of the masc. accusative in *-a*, as *αἰθρο-α*.

From *Στρεψιάδης* in Attic we have the voc. *Στρεψιάδες* on the analogy of vocatives of *es*-stems like *Σώκρατες* (§ 209). Cp. in the gen. sing. *-άδους* instead of *-άδου* (§ 229).

Italic. Lat. *equa* is a nominative form. Perhaps the reason why the vocative in Idg. **-a* was dropped in Latin is that **-a* became *-e*, and thus *-a*-stems had the same ending as those in *-o*- (I § 97.3 p. 91). Again, Umbr. *Tursa* (a goddess) must be a nominative form if the instrumental *-e* of Umbrian, e. g. in pure 'igne', represents Idg. **-a*; see § 274.

Whether the Irish *tuath* is a true vocative, representing **tūtā*, or a nominative, cannot be determined.

Goth. *giba* O.H.G. *geba* are nom. or acc.; see § 190 p. 67.

§ 203. 3. *i*- and *u*-stems. The ending varied. Sometimes it was **-oḡ* or **-eḡ* and **-ou* or **-eu*, sometimes **-i* and **-u*.

a. **-oḡ* or **-eḡ*: Skr. *āvē* Avest. *ažē* (beside *aži*); Lith. *naktė* O.C.Sl. *nošti*. **-i*: Avest. *aži* (beside *ažē*); Gr. *ὄφι*; Goth. O.H.G. *anst*.

O.Ir. *faith* may represent either of the two ground-forms (see I § 657.1 and 4, pp. 507 f.).

b. **-ou* or **-eu*: Skr. *sūnō*; Lith. *sūnaũ*, O.C.Sl. *synu*. **-u*: Avest. *bāzu*: Gr. *πῆχv*, Goth. *sunu*, O.H.G. *situ sito*. And we should follow Wackernagel (Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIV 301 ff.) in referring Gr. *ἰνπεῦ* to **ἰνπέεuv*, and comparing it with Skr. *áśvayō* (nom. *áśvayú-ṣ* 'craving horses'). As regards *ἰνπη(F)ος* and so forth see § 261.

For Avestic heteroclite forms in *-ō*, as *rašnuvō* (stem *rašnu-* 'righteousness, justice'), see Bartholomae Ar. Forsch. I 56 f.

In Gothic *-au* is common beside *-u*. But the MSS. show a peculiar liability to confuse *u* and *au* in all the singular cases, which points to a transition from *ū* to *ō* (*au*); hence it is not safe to infer a vocative form *-áu* = **-ou* or **-eu*. Cp. Leo Meyer, Got. Spr. p. 574; Leskien, Die Decl. im Slav.-Lit. und Germ. 76; Braune, Got. Gr.³ p. 44.

§ 204. 4. *ī- iḡ-stems* (cp. p. 68 footnote 1). The forms to be considered are Skr. *bḡhati* Avest. *barenti*, Gr. *φέρονσα*, Goth. *frijōndi*, which are hardly enough to enable us to restore the proethnic form. Ar. *-i* from nom. *-ī*, as in *a-stems* *-a* is the voc. ending from nom. *-ā*. O.C.Sl. *zemlje* from nom. *zemlja* like *raḡo* : *raḡa*.

§ 205. 5. *ī- iḡ-stems* and *ā- uḡ-stems*. The proethnic type is perhaps represented by Gr. *ἰχθῦ* Hom. *Θέτι* and O.C.Sl. *svěkry*; O.H.G. *sū* and *swigar* (for **svēkrū*) may also be genuine vocatives.

Ved. *nádi* (*nadī-ṣ* 'river') and *śvāśru*, like *bḡhati* (§ 204). In monosyllabic stems the nominative was regularly used as vocative, e. g. *dhī-ṣ*, *bhā-ṣ* (§ 200 p. 82).

§ 206. 6. *n-stems*. Pr. Idg. **k(u)ḡon*. Skr. *śván*. Gr. *κίον*, *Ἀπόλλων*.

In the Avesta, where *-m* is written instead of *-n*, the reason is probably to be found in sentence-position and varying surroundings (cp. Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. XV 40 and Stud. zur idg. Sprachgesch. I 72). Examples: *pri-zafem* (*pri-zafan-* 'having three mouths'), *āpraom* instead of *āpravem* (I § 158 p. 141) = Skr. *átharvan* 'fire-priest'.

In Greek we find *-ov* only in barytone stems; and even in these the nominative form may be used, as it must be in stems which are oxytone. Nor do we ever meet with *-εν*, but always *-ην*, the ending of the nominative.

The Lithuanian vocative is the nominative form, *szũ* 'dog', *pẽmũ* 'herd-boy'; also *szunẽ* *pẽmenẽ*, declined as *i*-stems.

§ 207. 7. *r*-stems. Pr. Idg. **māter*. Skr. *mātar*, Avest. *mātar*⁶. Gr. *μητερ*. Lat. *māter*, *Jūpiter Juppiter*. O. Ir. *māthir*. O. H. G. *muoter*. Pr. Idg. **bhrātor*, **dōtor*. Skr. *dātar*, Avest. *dātar*⁶. Gr. *φῶτορ*, *δῶτορ*. Goth. *brōþar*, O. H. G. *bruodar*.

Whether the Germanic forms are really vocative and not nominative, as Lat. *dator*, *soror* and O. Ir. *siur* were, cannot be decided. As to the Germanic forms, cp. § 192 b. with Rem. 1 pp. 71 f.

§ 208. 8. Stems ending in an explosive.

nt-stems. Pr. Idg. **bhr̥ǵhont*. Skr. *bṛhan*, *dādat* for **dedyt* (I § 647. 7 pp. 493 f., III § 198 p. 77). Gr. *γέρον*.

Avest. *ber⁶za* from the nom. sing. in *-ō*; see § 198 pp. 77 f.

Greek. Like *γέρον* we have *ἄλαν*, from nom. *Ἀλῆς* for **Ἀλφαντ-ς*. Hom. *Πολυδάμᾱ* was formed from the nom. *Πολυδάμᾱς* (for **-δαμαντ-ς*) on the model of *αἰναρέτη*: *αἰναρέτης* and the like.

Goth. *frijōnd* O. H. G. *friunt* as though they were *o*-stems, cp. nom. *frijōnd-s* *friunt* § 198 p. 78.

Stems made with the suffix *-uent-*. In Aryan, the vocative of these stems like the nominative has *-ues-* in place of *-uent-*: Skr. Ved. *āma-vas* Avest. *ama-vō* (this form is not actually found, but it is to be inferred on the strength of *drvō* = *druvō* for **drug-vō*, from Gāthic *drug-vant-* 'deceitful', see I § 453 p. 335). It was not until a later period that *-van* drove out *-vas* in Sanskrit. Cp. § 198 p. 78, and also II § 127 p. 405, § 136 p. 441, Bartholomae Kuhn's *Ztschr.* XXIX 519 and 531 f. In Greek, *Fivr*-stems had no special form for the vocative, but the nominative was used.

As regards the other explosive stems; in Sanskrit it is impossible to say whether the forms in question are vocative

or not, since they may equally well be regarded as nominative. Examples are: *máruť* (wind-god) *púru-kṛť* 'rich in deeds' *ákṛtta-ruk* 'possessing uninterrupted brilliancy'. Iranian apparently offers us no forms which can pass for vocatives; the nominative is used instead, e. g. in Yasna 33. 8 *haurvatás* ('safety, weal'). Turning to the European languages, we find no language but Greek that has clearly marked vocative forms, and even Greek has only one or two: *ávā* for **ávax* (**ávaxr*) from *ávax* 'lord', *γύναι* for **γυναιx* beside acc. *γυναιx-u* 'woman'. The following may really belong to *i*-stems: *παῖ* (*παῖδ-*, *παῖδ-* 'child') and *τραπεζί* (*τραπεζίδ-* 'royalty').

§ 209. 9. *s*-stems.

Pr. Idg. **dus-menes*. Skr. *dúrmanas*, Avest. *dušmanō*. Gr. *δυσ-μενής*, *Σώ-κρατις*; Lesb. *Θεόγεγε* on the analogy of *-ā* in the voc. of *a*-stems, cp. § 237 a.

Stem **ausos-* 'dawn': Skr. *úśas*. The Gr. *ἡοῖ* like *αἰδοῖ*, followed the feminines in *-u* *-w*.

Comparative: pr. Idg. **ōk(i)nos*: Skr. Ved. *āśtiyas*. Part. perf. act. pr. Idg. **ueid-uos*: Skr. Ved. *vidvas*.¹⁾ Later Sanskrit has the re-formates *āśtiyan*, *vidvan*, see II § 135 p. 429, § 136 p. 441. Lat. *ōcior* is nominative in form.

§ 210. 10. Pr. Idg. **d(i)iey* 'heaven': Gr. *Zεῦ*, Lat. *Jū-piter Juppiter* (used also as nom.); but in Sanskrit we find *dyāu-š* *diyaū-š*, the nominative form, *diyaū-š* having taken the accent of a vocative. Cp. Gr. *ἰχθῦ* as contrasted with Skr. *bhā-š* § 205. For Skr. *-gō* from nom. *gāu-š*, see § 200 p. 83.

Accusative Singular Masculine and Feminine.²⁾

§ 211. In the parent language there was only one suffix for this case, the suffix *-m*, consonant or sonant as the case might require (cp. I § 645. 2 p. 489).

1) For *bhōš* *bhagōš*, which do not belong here, see Bartholomae, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 531.

2) Lindfors, Dissert. de accusativo Latinorum, Lund. 1841. Gædike, Der Accusativ im Veda, 1880.

To illustrate:

-m in pr. Idg. **ulgo-m* 'lupum': Skr. *vfka-m*, Gr. *λύκο-ν* (I § 652.3 p. 498), Lat. *lupu-m*, O.Ir. *fer n-* 'virum' (I § 657.5 and 8, pp. 508 f.), Goth. *vulf* for pr. Germ. **ulfa-n*, but also *pan(-a)* = Skr. *tā-m* 'the, that' with pr. Idg. *-n* retained (I § 214 p. 182, § 659.5 p. 513, § 660.1 p. 514, III § 417)¹), Lith. *vilka*, but also dialectic *ta-n* = Skr. *tā-m* and the like (I § 218 p. 185), O.C.Sl. *vlūkū* (I § 219 p. 187).

-n in pr. Idg. **bheront-n* 'ferentem': Gr. *φέρων-α* (I § 233 pp. 197 f.), Lat. *ferent-em* (I § 238 p. 199), O.Ir. *carit n-* (I § 243 p. 201, § 657.5 and 8, pp. 508 f.), Goth. *tunþ-u* 'dentem' for pr. Germ. **-un* (I § 214 p. 182, § 244 p. 202, § 659.5 p. 513), Lith. *vėžiant-i* 'vehentem' (I § 249 p. 204), O.C.Sl. *kamen-ī*²). As to Ar. *-am*, e. g. in Skr. *bhārant-am*, where we should expect *-a*, and as to Cyp. *ἀ(ν)δρα(ν)τ-αν* Thess. *κτον-αν* as contrasted with Att. *ἀνδραντ-α κτον-α*, see I § 231 Rem. p. 196, § 646.2 p. 490³), and the Author's Gr. Gr.² pp. 118 f. For Umbro-Samnitic *-om* instead of (Lat.) *-em*, see § 218.

Wheeler (Der griech. Nominalaccent, 20 f.) conjectures that there was *-n̄* as well as *-n*, which he sees in Skr. *pār-ā* 'forth, further, beyond, over' = Gr. *πέρ-α* 'ultra', and in other adverbial words.

§ 212. 1. *o*-stems. Pr. Idg. **ulgo-m*. Skr. *vfka-m*: Avest. *vehrke-m*, O.Pers. *kāra-m* 'people, host'. Gr. *λύκο-ν*. Lat. *lupu-m*, *equo-m*; Umbr. *poplom* *puplum* *puplu* 'populum',

1) In the first volume of this work **ulfa* **zasti* **sunu* were assumed as forms of the last stage of the protoethnic period in Germanic. Perhaps we should rather say **ulfa* **zasti* **sunu*, with a nasalised vowel. The reason is that Runic inscriptions show forms like *hornā*, *staina* etc., but where pr. Germ. *-a* had no nasal following, it has already dropped. See Kluge, Paul's Grundr. I 359.

2) In vol. I § 219 p. 186 and § 665.2 p. 525 I have erred in stating that *-e* is the regular form assumed by Idg. *-n̄*. It should be *-i*. As regards *matere* 'matrem' see § 218 p. 95.

3) Another reason for discarding pr. Ar. **-a* = **-n̄* may have been a fear of confusion with the instrumental, which would come to be the same in form with the accusative in those systems of declension which had no ablaut.

Osc. *húrtúm* 'hortum' *ταυροῦ* 'taurum'. O.Ir. *fer n-* 'virum' (I § 34 p. 34), *aile n-* 'alium' (cp. *aile* nom. § 194). Goth. *vulf*, O.H.G. *wolf*; Norse Run. *staina* = Goth. *stáin* 'stone'; Goth. *þan-a* O.H.G. *de-n* 'the, that' with the sign of the acc. retained (§ 417). Lith. *viľka* (dial. *ta-n* 'the, that', etc.), O.C.Sl. *vlŭkŭ*.

io-stems in the accusative, as in the nom. and voc. sing. (§§ 194, 201), sometimes show the weak-grade form *-ĩ-* instead of *-io-*. Lat. *Cornēli-m*, Umbr. *Fisim* 'Fisium'. Goth. *haiŗdi?* Lith. *žōdĩ*, *gaĩdĩ*, O.C.Sl. *krajĩ*, *konjĩ*, the latter instead of **konĩ* with *n* palatalised on the analogy of the genitive and other cases.

Armenian *z gail*, *z mard* (*z* is a prefix) I now regard with Osthoff as nominative forms on account of *tasn* 'ten';¹⁾ see § 174 pp. 22 f. In the same way, the accusative of all stems in this language is doubtless really a nominative form.

§ 213. 2. *a*-stems. Pr. Idg. **ekŭa-m*. Skr. *ásŕa-m*; Avest. *haēnam* O.Pers. *hainā-m*. Gr. *χῳῶα-ν*. Lat. *equa-m* (I § 655. 4 p. 503); Umbr. *totam tota* Osc. *tovtam* 'civitatem' Osc. *viam vía* 'viam'. Gall. *loga-n* 'tumulum'. Lith. *raňka*, O.C.Sl. *raķa*.

O.Ir. *tuaith n-* is ambiguous.

Remark 1. This points to a palatal vowel in the ending, and the case may originally have ended in **-i-m* **-ŋ* or **-i-m*. In any case the gen. *tuaithē* took its ending from stems in *-iā-* and *-i-* *-iē-* (*soillse* and *inse*; see § 229). It is conceivable, then, that *tuaith n-* has been re-formed on the analogy of *inis n-*, which perhaps contains Idg. **-im*, whose by-form, too, *insi n-*, matches with *soillsi n-* (§ 216). But there is a more likely hypothesis, which Thurneysen suggests. In many stems, amongst which are these very stems in *-iā-* and *-i-* *-iē-*, the dative and accusative (leaving aside the *n-* of the latter) came to have the same form; this may have caused the dative *tuaith* to pass for an accusative as well, whilst the like ending of *tuaithē* and *soillse inse* (which was doubtless older) gave a further stimulus to the process. This view is supported by acc. *mnāi n-* beside dat. *mnāi*. It seems certain that *soillsi n-*, *nūi n-* ('novam') do not stand for **-iān*, but took their ending from *insi n-*, which may be compared with Gr. *νότιαν* and Lith. *žēmę* (§ 216).

In Germanic, some would trace *-ā-m* in such adverbs as Goth. *ga-leikhō* O.H.G. *gi-līhho* 'similar, like'; see Osthoff, Kuhn's

¹⁾ In so doing I give up the view set forth in vol. I § 202 p. 169, § 651 p. 497, and by Hübschmann, Armen. Stud. I 88.

Ztschr. XXIII 90 ff., Morph. Unt. I 271. But there are other explanations of these adverbs more likely to be true; see §§ 275, 276. In Gothic, the case in actual use, *giba*, was really a nominative form¹⁾; as genuine accusatives may be given *þō* f. 'the, that', *hvō* f. 'which?', *ainō-hun* f. 'any one' (cp. *hveildō-hun* 'lasting an hour'). Perhaps the nominative *giba* came to be used as accusative just because these two cases assumed the same form in *þō* etc.; as in Russian the fem. nom. in *-a* was used instead of the acc. in *-u* (O.C.Sl. *-a*) because nominative and accusative singular were identical in other classes (Vetter, Zur Gesch. der nom. Decl. im Russ., 45 f.).

O.H.G. *geba* A.S. *giefe* pre-suppose **gebē**. None of the explanations hitherto offered seems to me satisfactory. I conjecture that Idg. *-iē-* is hidden in the ending of O.H.G. *gutinne* (later *gutinna*) A.S. *gydenne* 'goddess' O.H.G. *sunte* 'sin' (later *suntea suntia*). Of this *-iē-* the weak form *-ī-* is found in O.West.Ger. *Vatvī-ms* 'Vatviabus', and perhaps in O.H.G. *digīm* dat. pl. 'prayers' etc., see § 382. These forms, *gutinne* and so on, will then have the ending **-iē-m* which is contained in Lith. *žėmę* O.C.Sl. *zemlja*, and possibly in Lat. *faciem* Mid.Ir. *insi n-* (§ 216), and *geba giefe* are ad-formates of these. For *-e* in *gutinne* cp. Braune, Ahd. Gr. § 58 Anm. 1, and § 209 Rem. 3. The genitive singular shows a similar instance of form association, § 229; so also the nominative plural, § 315.

Remark 2. West-Germ. *-ā* may stand for pr. Germ. unaccented *ē* only if the vowel came to be the final sound of the word through the West Germanic loss of the consonant (cp. also the 1st. and 3rd. sing. O.H.G. *salbōta*). We have *ē*, not *ā*, in O.H.G. *chiminneōdēs* etc.; see Kluge in Paul's Grundr. I 363. And compare what is said above, p. 70 footnote 1.

§ 214. 3. *i*-stems. Pr. Idg. **oyi-m*. Skr. *āvi-m*; Avest. *aži-m*, O.Pers. *šiyāti-m* 'dwelling-place'. Gr. *ōqi-v*. Lat. *turrim*;

1) Burghauser (Germ. Nominalflex. 21) conjectures that pr. Goth. **gebō** first lost its nasal on the analogy of **vulfa *ansti sunu*, and then became *giba* quite regularly. This must surely fall to the ground, since we have to assume nasalised forms in protoethnic Gothic for these words too: they will be **vulfa* *ansti* *sunu** (or **vulfā *anstī *sunū*). See p. 89 footnote 1.

Umbr. *ahim-em* 'in actionem' *uvem* 'ovem' (I § 33 p. 33). O.Ir. *faith n-* (I § 657.5 pp. 508 f.); Gall. *Ucueti-n*. Goth. *anst*, O.H.G. *anst chumi*; cp. Goth. *i-n-a* O.H.G. *i-n* 'eum', like *pa-n-a de-n* (§ 212). Lith. *nāktī* (dial. *szī-n* 'hunc'), O.C.Sl. *noštī*.

Armen. (2) *sirt* is a nom. form, like (2) *gañ* and (2) *zard* §§ 212, 215.

In Latin *i*-stems and consonant stems were fused into one class (II § 93 p. 281, III § 396); which caused the ending *-i-m* to give way to *-em* = Idg. **-m*, except in a few survivals of the old type (besides *turri-m* there are e. g. *siti-m*, *tussi-m*, *resti-m*): e. g. *ovem*, *mentem* through assimilation to *comit-em* *nāv-em* and so forth (I § 33 Rem. 1 p. 33).

§ 215. 4. *u*-stems. Pr.Idg. **sānu-m*. Skr. *sūnú-m*; Avest. *bažu-m*, O.Pers. *magū-m* (read *magu-m*) 'magician'. Gr. *πῆχυν-ν*, *ῥόβυν-ν*. Lat. *manu-m*; Umbr. *trifo* *trifu* 'tribum' (I § 49 p. 42). O.Ir. *bith n-* (I § 657.5 p. 508). Goth. *sunu*, O.H.G. *situ sito*. Lith. *sūnu*, O.C.Sl. *synū*.

Avest. *nasāum* 'corpse' i. e. *nasāvem*, cp. the nom. *-āu-š* (§ 196 p. 76), probably a re-formate containing the loc. sing. in *-āu*, see § 261. O.Pers. *dahyāum* (beside *dahyūm*), which was influenced by association with the nom. *dahyāu-š*, at least to begin with, as in Greek *ναῦν* follows *ναῦς*, etc. (§ 221).

Armen. (2) *zard* is nom., like (2) *gañ* and (2) *sirt*; §§ 212, 214.

Greek. Hom. *εὐρέ(φ)α* 'broad' instead of *εὐρύ-ν* on the analogy of the acc. pl. *εὐρέ(φ)-ας*.

§ 216. 5. *i- iē*-stems (cp. p. 68 footnote 1). Three endings are met with: (1) *-i-m*: Skr. *bṛhatti-m*, Avest. *barenti-m* O.Pers. *haraumatim* i. e. *-īm* 'Arachosia' (= Skr. *sārasvatī-m*); Gr. *πόλι-ν*; and perhaps Mid.Ir. *inís n-*. (2) *-iñ* *-i-m*: Gr. *πότι-αν*, *φέρουσαν φερωντι-αν* (cp. below). (3) *-iē-m*: Lith. *žėmė* O.C.Sl. *zemlĭq*; and we must doubtless add O.H.G. *gutinne* A.S. *zydenne* (§ 213). — Lat. *faciem* and Mid.Ir. *insi n-*, *Brigti n-* may belong to either (2) or (3); then Ir. *-i n-* = **-iñ* = Gr. *-αν*, or it may = **-iēn* (*i* = *ē*). Lat. *suāvem*

must have been preceded by **svāvi-m*; was this for **svāvi-m*? Cp. *socrum* § 217.

We may fairly suppose that two forms only came down from the parent language, *-i-m* and *-(i)ḡ-ṇ*, the first where a sonant began the following word, the second before a consonant (cp. 3. pl. opt. **s-(i)ḡ-ṇt* = O.Lat. *sient* beside **s-i-* in *simus* and **s-(i)ḡ-* in *siēs*). Possibly this *-(i)ḡ-ṇ* gave rise to *-(i)ḡ-ṇs* in the acc. pl. (§ 328). In the same way, stems in *-i-* *-iḡ-* have sometimes *-i-m* (Gr. *κῆ-ν*) and sometimes *-iḡ-ṇ* (Skr. *dhīyam*) in the acc. sing., see § 217. In Greek *-iḡ-ṇ* became *-iav -xav*, *-v* being added on the analogy of *-iv -āv* = *-i-m -ā-m* etc. And as we assumed in § 191 (p. 68), *-iav -xav* called into existence nominatives in *-ia -xα*, where such are found in place of those in **-i*.

The third ending *-iē-m* arose because *-iē-* forced its way in from other cases. An acc. in *-iē-m* sprang up by the side of the gen. in *-iēs* and so on, because *iā*-stems had acc. *-iā-m* beside gen. *-iā-s*.

Goth. *frijōndja* (nom. *frijōndi*) is a re-formate following *sibja* 'kindship' (nom. *sibja*) and *giba*, cp. gen. *frijōndjōs* like *sibjōs gibōs*, *frijōndjái* like *sibjái gibái*. Thus the relation of O.H.G. *gutinne* and Goth. *frijōndja* is similar to the relation of Gr. *ἀλήθειαν* to *ἀληθείαν* (gen. *ἀληθείας*), and of Lith. *žėmė* (nom. *žėmė*) to *vėžanczią* (nom. *vėžanti*). Cp. p. 68 footnote 1.

§ 217. 6. *i-* *iḡ-* and *ū-* *uḡ-* stems and stems in *-f*, *-l*, *-ḡ*. In pr. Idg. *-i-m -ū-m* before a sonant, *-iḡ-ṇ -uḡ-ṇ* before a consonant in the following word.

1. *-i-m -ū-m*. Skr. Ved. *tanū-m* Avest. *tanū-m* 'body' (beside Skr. *tanūv-am* Avest. *tan(u)vēm*), Avest. *ber'zai-āim* 'having great insight'. Gr. *κῆ-ν πόλι-ν*, *ὄρεῦ-ν νέκῦ-ν*. Lat. *vi-m* (I § 655.4 p. 503), Umbr. *sim* 'suem' (I § 57 p. 46); Lat. *socrum*, too, may quite regularly stand for **socrū-m* cp. § 197 p. 76. O.H.G. O.Icel. *sū* 'sow'. O.C.Sl. *ljuby* 'love' in the phrase *ljuby dějati (tvoriti)* 'to commit adultery' may belong here.

Remark. I should offer this explanation of *ljuby* with greater confidence, but that the masculine nominatives *kamy* and *plamy* (stem *kamen-* 'stone', *plamen-* 'flame') are used for the accusative as well, where there can certainly be no question of original neuters in *-*ōn*. In Russian, *stekry* is found as an accusative (Vetter, *Zur Gesch. der nom. Decl. im Russ.*, 67); but this may be explained like *starina* and similar forms used as accusatives (*ibid.* 45).

2. *-i-ŋ -u-ŋ*. Skr. *dhīy-am* 'thought' *bhrūv-am* 'eyebrow', Ved. *nady-am* 'river' *tanūv-am* Avest. *tan(u)v-ēm* 'body' (beside Skr. *tanū-m* Avest. *tanū-m*), O.Pers. (*h*)*izuv-am* 'tongue' (see Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. XIV 245 f.). Gr. *ιχθῦα* (Theocr.) *ὀφθα* (Oppian) and the like; these certainly reproduce the type of formation which we are discussing, but they may be later ad-formates of *ιχθῦας ὀφθα*, as Hom. *εὔρεα* follows *εὐρέας* (§ 215). Lat. *su-em*. Lith. *žuv-i* 'fish'; O.C.Sl. *krŭv-ŭ* 'blood' (cp. nom. O.Pol. *kry* § 197 p. 76), *svekrŭv-ŭ* 'socrum' (beside *svekrŭv-e*, the genitive form, cp. *mater-e* § 218).

A similar double formation should be assumed to have originally belonged to stems ending in long sonant liquids and nasals (II § 160. 4 pp. 485 f.). Skr. *gīr-am* 'praise' for **gīr-ŋ* (cp. *gīh* Rig-V. X 99. 11 in Lanman, Noun-Inflection p. 488), *pūr-am* 'stronghold' for **pūr-ŋ*; but *jā-m* 'being' for **gā-m*, similarly *khd-m* 'source' *gō-šd-m* 'winning cattle'. It is easy to see why in the first set of instances the form in *-m* (**gā-m*, **pūr-m*) gave way, and in the others the form in *-ŋ* (**gīr-ŋ*).

§ 218. 7. *n-* and *r-*stems.

Pr. Idg. **k(u)on-ŋ*. Skr. *śvān-am*; Avest. *spān-em* (sometimes the stem takes a weak form, following some of its other cases, as *aršn-em* beside *aršān-em* 'male, man'), O.Pers. *asmān-am* 'heaven'. Gr. *κύν-α* (instead of **κυν-α*, following *κυν-ός* etc.), *τέκτον-α* 'carpenter', *ποιμέν-α* 'herdsman'. Lat. *homin-em* *homōn-em*, *edōn-em*; *carn-em* follows *carn-is* etc. O.Ir. *coin n-*, *arain n-*. Lith. *szūn-i* (like Gr. *κύν-α*), *ākmen-i*; O.C.Sl. *kamen-ŭ*.

Pr. Idg. **māter-ŋ* **dōtor-ŋ*. Skr. *mātār-am* *dātār-am*, Avest. *mātar-em* *dātār-em*, O.Pers. *fra-mātār-am* 'ruler'; in Avestic the stems may take the weak form on the analogy of other of their cases, *maḫr-em* *dāḫr-em*, *atrēm* with *t* instead of

þ following *atar-* (Bartholomae, Ar. Forsch. II 132 f.). Gr. *μητίρ-α* (Hom. *θύγαρ-α* following *θύγαρ-ός* etc. beside *θύγα-τίρ-α*), *δοίτορ-α*. Lat. *mātr-em* (like Avest. *māpr-em*), *datōr-em*. O.Ir. *mathir n-*. Lith. *móter-į*, O.C.Sl. *mater-ī*.

Armen. (z) *akn* and (z) *mair*, (z) *dustr* are doubtless nominative forms; see § 212 p. 90.

For Greek Thess. *κίτον-αν* Cypr. *ἰκάρῃρ-αν* see § 211 p. 89.

In these, as in the other consonant stems, Umbro-Samnitic has not *-em* as we should expect, but *-om*, the ending of stems in *-o-*: Osc. *medicatin-om* 'iudicationem', Umbr. *ars-fertur-o* 'infertorem, flaminem' uhtur-u 'auctorem'. The student should observe that the two classes of stems have a like ending in the gen. pl. (§§ 344 ff.) and in the gen. sing. (§ 239), and that the early loss of *o* in the ending *-o-s* (I § 655.5 p. 503) caused them both to coincide to some extent even in the form of the nom. sing. (Umbr. **patro(m)*: pater = katlu(m) : katel).

The Germanic forms are obscure: Goth. *guman*, *raþjōn* 'rationem', *brōþar*, O.H.G. *gomun gomun*, *zunþūn* 'tongue' (for the formative suffix cp. Streitberg Paul-Braune's Beitr. XIV 218 f.), *muoter*, *bruodar*, A.S. *guman*, *brōðor* beside A.S. *dur-u* 'door' (ground-form **dhur-ŋ*).

Remark. The O.Icel. acc. *fǫðor fǫður* does not help us to a decision.

There are three possible explanations. (1) We start from *-ŋ* = pr. Germ. *-un*. Then in Gothic, where we find forms like *tunþ-u*, *-u* must have been dropped in words of three or more syllables. This might be granted without more ado for West Germanic languages (cp. Kahle, Zur Entw. der cons. Decl. im Germ. pp. 3 f., Burghauser, Germ. Nominalflexion pp. 21 f.). But what of Goth. *ulbandu* = Gr. *ἰλέφαντ-α*? — (2) Besides the ordinary forms **k(u)won-ŋ* **māter-ŋ*, there may once have been forms with *-m* **k(u)won-m*, **māter-m*, used before a sonant, which developed quite regularly into those which we find in Germanic. Cp. I § 192 p. 164, § 645.2 p. 489, and Kluge, Paul's Grundr. I 385. — (3) If it could be proved that Goth. *frijōnd* O.H.G. *friunt*, Goth. *mēnōþ* O.H.G. *mānōd*, Goth. *veitvōd* once ended in *-o-m*, the question would arise whether the prehistoric ground-forms were not **guman-a-n* etc. (cp. above, the Umbr.-Samn. *-o-m*).

For Old Church Slavonic *kamen-ī*, *mater-ī* see p. 89 footnote 2. I follow Scholvin in regarding as genitive forms the variants *mater-e*, *svetrŭv-e* (§ 217); see Scholvin, Die Decl.

pp. 41 f. The use of a genitive form for the accusative depends upon a peculiarity of Slavonic syntax (Miklosich, Vergl. Gr. IV 495 ff.; Vetter, Zur Gesch. der nom. Decl. im Russ. pp. 18 ff.).

§ 219. 8. Stems ending in Explosives.

Pr. Idg. **bhr̥ghont-ŋ*. Skr. *bṛhánt-am*, Avest. *ber'zant-em*. Gr. *φέρωντ-α*. Lat. *ferent-em*. O.Ir. *carit n-*. Goth. *tunþ-u* A.S. *tōð* 'dentem'; Goth. *ulband-u* 'camel' = Gr. *ἐλέφαντ-α*? Lith. *vėšant-i*, O.C.Sl. *vezqšti* instead of **vezqti*, *š* having come from the other cases which had *-io-* (cp. *vezqšte* § 321, *vezqšti* § 191 p. 68).

Skr. *sarvá-tāt-am* 'completeness', Avest. *haurva-tāt-em* 'safety, weal'. Gr. *ἐλό-τητ-α*. Lat. *novi-tāt-em*. With the suffix *-tūt-* Lat. *juventūt-em*, O.Ir. *bethid n-* 'life' (nom. *beothu*).

Skr. *śarād-am* 'autumn'. Gr. *φυγád-α* 'fugitive'. Lat. *lapid-em*. O.Ir. *druid n-* 'Druid'. A.S. *hnit-u* 'nit, egg of a louse or small insect'. Pr. Idg. **pod-ŋ* 'foot': Skr. *pād-am* Avest. *pād-em*, O.Pers. *pati-pad-am* ('to one's place'); Gr. *πόδ-α*; Lat. *ped-em*; Goth. *fōt-u*.

Skr. *uśtj-am* 'craving'. Gr. *μειραx-α* 'girl', *ὄρνυx-α* *ὄρνυγ-α* 'quail'. Lat. *bibāc-em*. O.Ir. *nathraig n-* 'water-snake'. Pr. Idg. **uoq-ŋ* 'voice, speech': Skr. *vāc-am* Avest. *vāc-em*, Gr. *ὄν-α*, Lat. *vōc-em*. Pr. Idg. **rēg-ŋ* 'regem': Skr. *rāj-am*, Lat. *rēg-em*, O.Ir. *rīg n-*. Lat. *hallūc-em* 'great toe' for **halo-* or **hali-doic-*, O.Icel. *tǫ* 'toe' for **taih-u* (J. Schmidt, Pluralb. 183; Kluge, Paul's Grundr. I 385).

Skr. *āp-am* Avest. *āp-em* 'water'. Gr. *κλώπ-α* 'thief'. Lat. *dap-em*.

For Greek Cypr. *ἀ(ν)δριά(ν)τ-αν* and *βρούxαν* i. e. *βρούx-αν* (Meister, Gr. Dial. II 231 f.), see § 211 p. 89.

For Umbrian *capirs-o* 'capidem' *curnac-o* 'cornicem' see § 218 p. 95.

Germanic. It is doubtful how we should explain Goth. *frijōnd* O.H.G. *friunt* A.S. *freōnd*, Goth. *mēnōþ* O.H.G. *mānōd* 'month', Goth. *veitvōd* 'witness' (cp. Gr. *εἰδότε-α*, II § 136 p. 440).

Remark. Are these forms like those of *o*-stems, and was the pr. Germ. ending **-a-n*? Or pr. Germ. **-un* = Idg. *-ŋ*? See § 218

Rem. p. 95. We can hardly find support for ground-forms in **-nt-m* (like **māter-m*, above) used before sonants only, as Kluge seems to assume (Paul's Grundr. I 385). If there had been such forms, **-ntm* would have become **-nm*, cp. *ligum* §§ 379. 2 and 386.

Goth. *baúrg* 'stronghold' *brust* 'breast' (gen. sing. *baúrg-s* *brust-s*) may have had the inflexion of *i*-stems, cp. the dat. pl. *baúrgi-m* *brusti-m*.

§ 220. 9. *s*-stems.

Pr.Idg. **dus-menes-η*. Skr. *durmanas-am*, Avest. *duš-manasəh-em*. Gr. *δυσμενέ-α -ῆ*. Lat. *dē-gener-em*.

Skr. *uṣṣām* (*uṣās-am*) Avest. *uṣṣəh-em*, Gr. Hom. *ῥῶ* for **ῥό(σ)-α* 'auroram' (perhaps *ῥόα* was the real Homeric form); Lat. *honōr-em* (for the length of vowel in the formative suffix, see II § 133 pp. 423 f.).

The nominative in *-ēs -ōs* occasioned a re-formation of the accusative in Aryan, Greek, and Latin. Skr. *uṣām* Avest. *uṣqm* are formed on the model of *-sthā-s : -sthā-m*, Avest. *raḫae-stā : -stqm* and the like. See § 391, and Collitz in Bezz. Beitr. X 24 f. with the works cited in that place. Att. *Σωκράτην* instead of *Σωκράτη* (cp. § 272), Cypr. *ἀτελήν* instead of *ἀτελία*, Lesb. *δάμοιέλην*, Boeot. *Διογένην* etc. (G. Meyer, Gr. Gr.² p. 321; R. Meister, Ber. der sächs. Ges. der Wiss. 1889 pp. 93 f.) on the analogy of *νεανία-ς : νεανία-ν* etc.; analogy has produced the opposite effect in Herod. *δεσποτία Γύγεια*, which are treated as if they were *εσ*-stems; cp. § 395. Lat. *plēbem famem* (*plēbei famē*) from *plēbēs famēs* on the model of *acie-m : acies*.

Pr. Idg. comparative **ōk(i)jos-η*. Skr. *āstyās-am* (for the nasalised formative suffix, cp. II § 135 p. 430), in post-Vedic Sanskrit sometimes *-īyas-am* following the other cases (cp. nom. pl. § 322), Avest. *āsyāəh-em*. Gr. *ῥδ-ῖω* for **-ῖο(σ)α*. Lat. *ōciōr-em*.

Pr. Idg. part. perf. act. **ueid-uos-η*. Skr. *vidvās-am* (for nasalised formative suffix see II § 136 p. 441), and sometimes *-ūś-am*, where the weak form of the formative suffix has ousted the strong (cp. nom. pl. § 322); Avest. *vīdāəh-em*. Lith. *mirus-į* O.C.Sl. *mŭrŭšĭ* (doubtless for **mŭrŭch-ĭ*, according to

I § 588. 2 p. 443), the weak formative suffix having taken the place of the strong, unless these forms are to be characterised as an extension of *-ues-* by *-io-* (cp. II § 136 pp. 441 f.). For Gr. *εἰδότη-α* see II § 136 p. 440.

Pr. Idg. **mās-η*. Skr. *māś-am*. Lat. *mūr-em*. Further, O.H.G. A.S. O.Icel. *mūs* (cp. dat. pl. *mūsum*) and O.C.Sl. *mysi* may possibly be regular descendants of the proethnic form. Gr. *μῦν* instead of **μῦ-α* follows *σῦ-ν* and the like; see II § 160 p. 485.

O.Pers. acc. *nāh-am* 'nose', Lat. *nār-em*, A.S. *nos-u* 'nose'.

§ 221. 10. Monosyllabic Stems in *-i-* *-u-* *-m-*.

Pr. Idg. **nāu-η* 'ship': Skr. *nāv-am*, Hom. *νῆ-α* (Att. *ναῦν* is a re-formate following *ναῦ-ς*), Lat. *nāv-em*.

In many instances, the stem-final was dropped before the case-ending *-m* in the parent language itself. Pr. Idg. **gōm*, stem **gou-* 'head of cattle': Skr. *gām* Avest. *gām*, Hom. Dor. *βῶν*, Umbr. *bum* 'bovem', O.Sax. *kō* O.H.G. *kuo chuo* (A.S. *cū* O.Icel. *kū* for **kūō*? see p. 80 footnote). I leave it an open question whether Avest. *gām*, i. e. *gāvem*, and Lat. *bovem* are re-formatives in these several languages, or whether there ever was a proethnic form **gou-η* used before consonants. Att. *βοῦν* is certainly a re-formate, and follows *βοῦ-ς*. Pr. Idg. **d(i)ē̃m*, stem **d(i)iey-* 'heaven, daylight': Skr. *dyām diyām*, Gr. *Ζῆν*, Lat. *diem*; while alongside of these we find *Jov-em*, and (with the weak form of the stem substituted for the strong) Skr. *dīv-am* Gr. *Δι-α*; Gr. *Ζῆν* became the starting point for a new series of forms, *Ζῆνα Ζηνός Ζηνί*, just as **rī-ν* 'quem?' = Idg. **qi-m* gave rise to *τίνα τίνος* etc. (cp. § 314 Rem. 2; Osthoff, Morph. Unt. IV 235 f.; Collitz, Bezz. Beitr. X 49; a new but not convincing explanation is offered by Johansson, *ibid.* XVI 158). In a similar way it would seem that O.Ir. *boin n-* (dat. loc. sing. and nom. acc. du. *boin*) was founded upon a form *boin* = Lat. *bovem*, aided (as Thurneysen points out to me) by the analogy of *coin*, from nom. sing. *cū* 'dog'. Pr. Idg. **rēm* 'property, thing' (cp. Skr. nom. pl. *rdy-as*): Skr.

rām (also *rāy-am*), Lat. *rem*. Skr. *kṣām* Avest. *zām* 'earth' beside Gr. *χθόν-α* instead of **χθου-α*. See II § 160 pp. 481 ff.

*Nominative and Accusative Singular Neuter.*¹⁾

§ 222. From the earliest stage of Indo-Germanic which concerns us, the bare stem has served for the nominative and accusative singular neuter. An exception must be made of stems in *-o-*, which use for these cases the stem with *-m* added, the same form which does duty for the accusative singular masculine. A conjecture has already been offered as to the origin of this twofold function of forms with *-m* (§ 186 p. 60).

The pronominal ending *-d* (§ 417) spread to nominal adjectives, but apparently only when they were *o*-stems (§ 227). This is not proethnic, but belongs to the period of separate growth, and particularly to the Germanic and Balto-Slavonic branches.

§ 223. I. Stems without any Suffix used as nom. and acc. sing. neut.

1. *i*-stems. Pr. Idg. **oqi* 'eye'. Skr. *ākṣi* 'eye' *śuci* 'pure'; Avest. *ar'zahi* the name of the western *karshvar* or region of the world, *būiri* = Skr. *bhūri* 'multum'. Gr. *idqi* 'clever, knowing'. Lat. *mare leve*, Umbr. *sakre* 'sacre, hostia' (I § 33 p. 33). O.Ir. *muir n-*, where, as in *mid n-* (see 2), *n-* is added on the analogy of the same cases of stems in *-o-* and *-n-*.²⁾ O.H.G. *meri* 'mare', a unique survival in West-Germanic; Goth. *fōn* 'fire' doubtless for **fōn-i* (heteroclite gen. *funins*); adj. Goth. *ga-máin* 'commune' *hráin* 'purum'.

2. *u*-stems. Pr. Idg. **medhu* 'sweetness'. Skr. *mádhu* 'sweetness, honey' *svādú* 'suave' (for such forms as Ved. *purú* beside *purú* see below), Avest. *mađu* 'honey' *pouru* =

1) J. Schmidt, Die Pluralbildungen der idg. Neutra, 1889. W. Meyer, Die Schicksale des lat. Neutrums im Roman., 1883.

2) Cp. Avest. *rohu-m* beside *vohu* 'bonum'. Similarly in mediaeval Greek, neut. *πολύ-ν*. *γαράμμα-ν* etc. by assimilation to *-o-ν*.

Skr. *purú* 'multum'; Avest. *vohum* beside *vohu* 'bonum' on the analogy of stems in *-o-*. Gr. *μέθυ* 'intoxicating drink, wine' *ῥόδύ* 'suave'. Lat. *pecu genu* (for *pecū* and the like see below). O.Ir. *mid n-* 'mead, wine' with *n-* affixed (cp. *muir n-* under 1). Goth. *faihu* 'money' *filu* 'multum', O.H.G. *fihu fiho* 'cattle' *filo filu* 'multum' (these are almost the only survivals in O.H.G.).¹⁾ Lith. *gražù* 'beautiful' *saīdu* 'sweet', Pruss. *pecku* 'cattle' = Goth. *faihu* (cp. I § 467. 2 p. 343); O.C.Sl. *medū* 'honey', whose form probably belongs here, although it became masculine in prehistoric times (cp. nom. acc. *synū* 'son').

3. *n-* and *m-* stems. Pr. Idg. **dhē-m̥* 'a placing, τὸ θεῖναι'. Skr. *dhāma* 'ῥέσις, statute, ordinance, dwelling-place' Avest. *dāma* 'creation', Skr. *nāma* Avest. *nāma* (*nāma*) O.Pers. *nāmā* 'name'; for Ved. *-ā* beside *-a* see below. Gr. *ῥέμα, ὄνομα* (cp. II § 82 p. 250). Lat. *nōmen, unguen* Umbr. *numem nome* 'nomen' *umen* 'unguen' (I § 209 p. 177). O.Ir. *ainm n-* 'name' *sruaim n-* 'stream, current' *imb n-* 'butter'; Gall. *curmen* = O.Ir. *cuirn n-* 'beer'.

We likewise find the ending **-ōn *-ēn*, as in the nom. sing. masc. and fem. (§ 192 pp. 69 f.) and in the nom. and acc. pl. neut. (§ 340), in Germanic and Slavonic. *-ōn*: Goth. *namō* and O.H.G. O.Sax. *namo* and A.S. *nama* 'name' (which have become masculine), Goth. *hairtō* O.Icel. *hjarta* 'heart'. *-ēn*: O.H.G. *herza* O.Sax. *herta* 'heart' A.S. *eāre* 'ear'; O.C.Sl. *ime* 'name', and perhaps Pruss. *semen* 'seed, sowing' (O.C.Sl. *sēme*). If we are to assume that any of such Germanic and Lithuanian masculines as Goth. *stōma* 'stuff, substance' Lith. *stomū* 'stature' (II § 117 p. 375), and of Lithuanian feminines such as *dermė* 'agreement, bargain' (Skr. *dhárman-* n.) *gėsmė* 'song', were originally neuter, we should have not only **-ōn *-ēn* but **-ō *-ē*, as in the masc. fem. How the formations in **-ō(n) *-ē(n)* which

1) Can Goth. *tagr* 'tear, lacruma' (O.H.G. *zahar* O.Icel. *tār*) come regularly from **tagru* (cp. Gr. *δάκρυ*, II § 107 p. 322), in spite of the form *faihu*, *-u* after a long syllable being perhaps differently treated from *-u* after a short syllable? See Johansson, Behaghel-Neumann's Literaturbl. 1889 col. 370.

served as nom. sing. masc. fem. came to do duty for the neuter is a doubtful point. We may refer to J. Schmidt's theories (Pluralb. 82 ff. and 117 ff.), remarking at the same time that this **-ən* is identical in form with the loc. sing. in **-ēn* (§§ 256, 257; similarly Skr. nom. acc. *dhāma*: loc. *kṣāma*, § 257 c.); nor should it be forgotten that Johansson believes *-n* to have originally been a locative suffix (§ 186 p. 63). —

Another formation is used for the nom. acc. sing. neut. in Vedic Sanskrit, adjectives ending in *-ā*; e. g. *purā* in *purā vāsu* 'much goods'. This lengthening of the *-u* was merely rhythmical (Lanman, Noun Inflection p. 406; J. Schmidt, Pluralb. 50 f.). Wackernagel (Das Dehnungsgesetz der griech. Compp., pp. 12 ff.) gives reason for holding this lengthening to be proethnic; hence we must regard the Latin by-forms in *-ū*, *pecū verū genū cornū*, as being of the same kind. The latter forms may, however, be called plural, as J. Schmidt does call them (Pluralb. pp. 49 f., 53; cp. § 339 below). But one very doubtful question remains. It is quite conceivable that the neuter plural in *-ī* grew 'out of a collective singular feminine (II § 109 pp. 332 ff.). Was there really, as Schmidt believes, an original neuter plural in *-ā* as well, which arose in the same way from singular feminine forms in *-ā*? But no such forms as these singular feminines in *-ā* seem to have existed at all in the proethnic language; and the series of neuter plurals in *-ā* may be nothing more than a re-formation on the analogy of those in *-ī*. And if the variation between *-u* and *-ā* — which, as we saw, is a question of rhythm — was to be found in the proethnic stage, we have the result that there were neuter forms in *-ā* which were at once singular and plural.

Along with *dhāma* we find such forms as *dhāmā* in the Vedas (Lanman, p. 531). This lengthening, like the last, is probably due to rhythm. If, as we must assume, this too is of proethnic origin, the parent language had *-ā* beside *-u* as it had *-ā* beside *-u*. Now these forms in *-ā* are plural as well as singular in Vedic. Thus the following question arises. Does the plural *dhāmā*, as Schmidt supposes (pp. 82 ff.), represent an

Idg. **dhēmō*, i. e. a form like the nom. sing. masc. fem. (Lat. *sermō* etc.), being thus related to Avest. *dāman* (§ 340) as Lat. *sermō* to Gr. *ἄκμων*? Is it not more likely that the original form was **dhēm̃*, forms in *-̃* being made on the analogy of those in *-i*; or, it may be, because the relation of *-i* (in the plural) to *-i* (in the singular) caused a series of singular by-forms in *-̃* to be used for the plural as well?

Remark 1. It seems to me that we are not yet in a position to answer this question. It would be decided in favour of *dhāmā* = **dhēm̃*, if it could really be proved that Gr. *ἡ ἑύμνη*, *ἡ λύμνη*, *ἡ ἐπι-σμήμνη*, Cret. gen. *Ἰήμας* ('*ἑίματος*') and the like were once neuters in *-a* (cp. *ἑύμα*, *λύμα*, *είμα*). This would be the same analogical change of stem which is seen in O.Pers. *taumā* f. 'family' as contrasted with Skr. *tōkman-* n. and Avest. *taoxman-* n. (II § 117 Rem. 2 p. 369); cp. also Pol. gen. *brzemnia* instead of *brzemienia* from nom. *brzemie* 'burden' on the analogy of *pola* : *pole* (Baudouin de Courtenay, Kuhn-Schl. Beitr. VI 61).

Remark 2. Vedic neuter singular forms in *-i* *-u* and *-a* (= **-̃*) are also used for the plural, but almost always in conjunction with a nom. acc. pl. neut.: e. g. *bhūri . . . ānnā* 'abundant food', *yōjanā purū* 'many yojanas' (a measure of distance), *priyā nāma* 'dear names'. See Schmidt, *op. cit.* 276 ff. According to this scholar, the usage began at a stage in the proethnic language when qualifying words, unless indeed they were *o*-stems, were added to the nouns which they qualified without being inflected, precisely as happens in the case of numeral adjectives like **penqe* 'five': *yōjanā purū* will then be the same in principle as *pāñca kṛṣṭiṣu* (§ 169 p. 13). The use of a bare stem for the plural, he continues, must have spread from adjectives to substantives: *purū dhāmā* (*dhāmāni*), which is correct, suggesting *dhāmā purūni*, which is not. But a simpler explanation would be possible if there were parallel groups of forms in the singular: *-ū* *-̃* (and *-i*) alongside of *-u* *-̃* (and *-i*). Then we should have (1) *-ū* *-ā* (and *-i*) used for both numbers in proethnic Aryan, and consequently (2) the short vowels used for both alike.

m-stem. **sem* 'unum': Gr. *ἕν*, Lat. *sem-per* 'in one unbroken sequence, always' (II § 160 p. 479).

Remark 3. It is not certain whether Gr. *δῶ* 'house' belongs here. Solmsen (Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 329) and Schmidt (Plur. 222) postulate an Idg. **dōm*, with a variant **dō* related to it as **k(u)uō* = Skr. *śrā* is to **k(u)uōn* = Gr. *κύων*. A different view is taken by Bartholomae (Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 497). One more explanation may be mentioned, due to I know not whom, by which *δῶ* is identified with Germ. **tō* 'to', a by-form of *-de*. According to this conjecture, *ἡμετέρον δῶ* = *ἡμετέρον δε*, but the meaning of phrases of this kind together with the resemblance of *δῶ* to *δῶμα* gave *δῶ* itself the meaning of 'house'.

§ 224. 4. *r*-stems.

a. No language but Sanskrit has any certain examples of neuter forms from noun-stems in *-er- -ter-* (II § 119 pp. 376 ff.): examples are *sthātī* 'standing' Ved. *sthātūr* (I § 285 p. 228). Probably we have here a Sanskrit re-formation, as we certainly have in the nom. acc. pl. in *-ṛṇi* (§ 341); see Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar § 375. In Greek it is doubtless a mere accident that no such forms are found as *ἀ-πάτωρ* from masc. *ἀ-πάτωρ*. Possibly *ἡτορ* 'heart' is an example in point.

b. There is a special group of neuter words in *-r* which have had a heteroclite system of declension from the proethnic period onwards; e. g. Skr. *ūdhar* gen. *ūdhn-as*. These shew all kinds of different forms, very difficult to explain. In Aryan we find *-ar*, as Skr. *ūdhar*, Avest. *karšvar*^o, the name of the seven divisions of the earth. But besides this we find in Sanskrit words with two other endings: (1) *yákṛt* 'liver' gen. *yakn-ás* (Avest. *yākar*^o, Gr. *ἥπαρ* Lat. *jecur*), *śákṛt* 'dirt, sterco' gen. *śakn-ás*; (2) *ásṛk* (*ásṛg*) 'blood' gen. *asn-ás* (Gr. *ἔαρ* Lat. *assir asser*). Armenian *albeur* 'source, spring' gen. *alber* (Gr. *φορέαρ* for **φορφαρ*, gen. *φορέατος* for **φορφατος*). Greek *-αρ* and more rarely *-ωρ*, as *οὐθαρ* and *ῥδωρ* 'water' (O.H.G. *wazzar*); and perhaps we should add *-ορ*, *ἡτορ* 'heart'. Lat. *-er* and *-ur*, as *über* and *jecur*. Old High German *-ar*: *wazzar* (Gr. *ῥδωρ*), *tenar* (which has become masc.) 'flat of the hand' (Gr. *τέναρ*). Balto-Slavonic: possibly Lith. *vandũ undũ* (m.) O.C.Sl. *voda* (f.) 'water' and Lith. *kekẽ* (f.) 'bunch of grapes', which may be related to Gr. *ῥδωρ* and Lat. *cicer* as Lith. *sesũ motẽ* O.C.Sl. *mati* to Lat. *soror mäter* (§ 192).

How this great variety of forms came about it is impossible to say with anything like confidence. All that can be done at present is to offer conjectures more or less uncertain.

Remark. See II § 118 pp. 375 f., and de Saussure, *Mém. sur le Syst. prim.* pp. 18, 28, 225; the Author, *Morph. Unt.* II 224 ff., 231 ff.; J. Schmidt, Kuhn's *Ztschr.* XXV 22 ff.; Osthoff, *Morph. Unt.* IV 196 ff.; Noreen, *Arkiv* IV 110; G. Meyer, *Gr. Gr.*² pp. 325 f.; Zimmer, Kuhn's *Ztschr.* XXX 231; Johansson, *Bezz. Beitr.* XIV 163 ff.; Bartholomae, *ibid.* XV 39 ff.; J. Schmidt, *Pluralb.* 172 ff.

A few points may be mentioned which it is of the first importance to bear in mind.

1. A comparison of the vowel gradation in Gr. ἡμῶν : ἡμέτερά, πῶν : πέποι-ς etc. makes it probable that Gr. -αε came from Idg. *-r̥, and not from -ar; and this suits Lat. *jecur femur*. Lat. *uber* may contain Idg. *-er; but according to I § 97.3 p. 91 it may also come from *ūbar, and -ar, along with Avest. -ar^s Gr. -ωρ O.H.G. -ar, may represent Idg. *-r̥.

O.Icel. æðr 'vein' lifr 'liver' do not go far to prove that the Idg. ending was *-er.

Aryan -ar (Skr. údhar) may be either *-er or *-or (cp. Gr. ἥτορ O.H.G. wazzar).

2. But on the other hand it seems natural to place Gr. ὕδωρ O.H.G. wazzar Lith. vandũ kekẽ on the same level as Gr. φῶτωρ O.H.G. brudar Lith. sesũ motẽ (§ 192 pp. 69 ff.), in which case we should have *-ō(r) *-ē(r) as the Idg. endings. There may have been *-r̥ along with these (Gr. οὐδωρ), as *-r̥ along with *-ōn *-ēn (§ 223.3 p. 100). If O.C.Sl. voda (f.) was originally a neuter in *-ō(r), we may with Schmidt connect Skr. sámā f. 'half-year, season, year' and Avest. hama 'in summer' directly with O.H.G. sumar A.S. sumor 'summer'; the pr. Idg. form will then be *s̥pmō(r), i. e. Skr. sámā will be like dātā 'dator' (further examples for this Ar. -ā are given by Schmidt Plur. pp. 212 ff., but they are less certain).

3. In discussing the nom. acc. sing. neut. in -ōn -ēn and -r̥, we drew attention to the same endings in the loc. sing. (pp. 100 f.). Here too the locative enters into the question. Johansson and Bartholomae regard the -r̥ of these neuter forms as simply and solely a locative suffix, a view which is indeed supported by Gr. νύκτωρ 'by night' (Avest. hama 'in summer') and other words of the same kind. Compare too Ved. údhar 'at the udder' (Lanman, Noun-Inflection 488) Avest. zafar^s 'in the mouth'. Idg. forms with -er (Skr. údhar Lat. ūber?) are naturally compared with ὑπερ Lat. super, Idg. loc. *pōter (§§ 256, 258). Bartholomae assumes that the parent language had locative forms with -r̥ and with -n, like Skr. údhar and údhan, used indifferently with the same meaning. "The first consequence was that r̥-locatives sprang up in n-stems, and n-locatives in r̥-stems, in addition to the ordinary locative of each class. But this new locative could not fail to produce a transformation of other cases of the stem; and thus it is often hardly possible to decide whether any given forms come from original nasal or liquid stems. In any case, this apparent variety of stems here as elsewhere is not original" (p. 42).

4. For Gr. ἡπαρ Lat. *jecur* the Idg. ending *-r̥t might be assumed on the strength of Skr. yákr̥t. Schmidt adds to our list Armen. leard 'liver' on account of its d = t, and he would connect Skr. śákr̥t and Lat. mūs-(s)cerda, postulating for the latter an old form *scerd or *scord (final -d for -t). Still, this comparison is very doubtful; the Skr. word seems rather to belong to Gr. κόπρο-ς. But we may follow Schmidt in tracing Gr. ἥαρ Epic ἥαρ (εἶαρ) back to *h̥ar̥y, and Lat. asser to *asser̥g, on the strength of Skr. dṣṛk (dṣṛg).

§ 225. 5. Stems ending in Explosives.

Participial *nt*-stems.¹⁾ The original ending was *-nt* or *-ŋt*. But it is not clear how participles of each particular tense stem ended in the original language. In Aryan, *-at* = *-ŋt* came to be the regular ending; it is original (e. g.) in Skr. *dádat* (pr. Idg. **dē-d-ŋt* from $\sqrt{dō}$ - 'dare'). Cp. Bartholomae, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 552, 554. Conversely, in Greek **-ā-τ*, the equivalent of **-ŋt*, was dropped, whilst *-av(τ)* = *-ŋt* held its ground; e. g. Dor. Aeol. *πάν* 'totum' for **kμ-ŋt* (§ II 126 p. 398), *δαμ-ν-άν* from *δάμ-ν-η-μι*, and the like, whence the aorist gives e. g. *πέψαν* instead of **πεψᾶ(τ)*. Along with this series, Greek has the ending *-o-v(τ)* = Lith. *-a*. Lat. neut. *-ens* for pr. Ital. **-ent* (see pp. 106 f.) may represent not only Idg. **-ŋt* or **-ŋt* but Idg. **-e-nt*, which is actually contained in Lith. *dū'se* 'δύσων' (cp. below, footnote 1).

Skr. *bhārat* from masc. *bhāran* 'ferens', *bṛhāt* from masc. *bṛhān* 'projecting, raised, high', *sāt* = Avest. *haḥ* from masc. *sān* 'being', *dádat* from masc. *dádat* 'giving'. Gr. *φέρων* from *φέρων* 'ferens', *λιπόν* from *λιπών* 'leaving', *δαμ-ν-άν* from *δαμ-ν-ᾶς* 'subduing', *τιθέν* from *τιθείς* 'placing', *ἀγνύν* from *ἀγνύς* 'breaking', *γνόν* for **γνω-ν(τ)* from *γνούς* for **γνους* **γνω-ν-τ-ς* 'perceiving'. Lat. *ferēns* from masc. *ferēns*; masculine and neuter have always the same form in these stems, *oriēns* *ab-undāns*, *prae-sēns* (= Idg. **s-ŋt*?). Lith. *vežā* from *vežās* 'vehens', *dū'se* from *dū'ses* 'δύσων'.

1) In the light of Schmidt's shewing (Plur. 422 ff.), I see that I was right in my former representation of the ablaut in the Idg. case system of *nt*-stems (II § 125 p. 395); I should not have given up this view, as I did in my Gr. Gr.² p. 108, in favour of that of Bartholomae, who holds that in participial forms with a thematic vowel preceding, the original suffix was always *-nt-* with consonant *n* (Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 548 ff.). But I still think, Schmidt notwithstanding, that the thematic vowel in the participle was sometimes *-o-* and sometimes *-e-*. I hold to the belief that Lith. *dūsēs* represents an original **dō-sŋe-nt-* (Skr. *dāsyānt-*), until Schmidt, who explains the form as an aorist participle, has shewn how this view can be justified by usage. This he tries to do on page 427 of his work; but *dūsime* is not, as he imagines, an optative form; rather, as *tur-iū : tūr-i-me* shews, it contains the weak grade of the suffix *-jo-*, and so it is a future indicative. Hence his attempt is quite unsatisfactory.

uent-stems have the same rules as *nt*-participles. Skr. *áma-vat* Avest. *ama-vaþ* from *ama-vant*- 'acting with violence, powerful' (cp. Bartholomae, Kuhn's *Ztschr.* XXIX 544). Gr. *χαρίεν* from *χαρι-(f)εντ*- 'graceful'; *σκιόειν* in Ap. Rhod. following the masc. in *-όεις* (see the Author, Gr. Gr.² p. 119). For neut. *τῆος τέως*, formed like Skr. Ved. neut. *gnā-vas* 'rich in women or wives' (perhaps also like *kft-vas*, see Bartholomae Kuhn's *Ztschr.* XXIX 536), see II § 127 p. 405.

Remark 1. J. Schmidt is mistaken in his explanation of *τῆος* as being for **ra-far* (Plur. 356 f.). See Bartholomae, *Stud. zur idg. Spr.* I 17 f. Schmidt imagines that Idg. *-t* becomes *-;* in Greek; but see § 241 Rem. 1.

Other Stems ending in Explosives.

Aryan. Skr. *viśva-jī-t* 'all-conquering' *tri-vṛt* 'threefold', *dvi-pád* 'bipes'. Skr. post-Vedic *hyd* 'cor', Avest. *zar's-ca* 'cor-que' for **zar't-ca* i. e. **zar'd* + *ca* (I § 473. 2 p. 349). Avest. *as-ca* 'ös-que', as for **ast*, cp. pl. *ast-i*. Skr. *praty-ák* 'turned backwards, westerly' (stem *praty-ānc-*), *su-yúg* adv. 'well equipped or furnished'.

Greek. *μέλι* 'honey' for **μελιτ*, gen. *μέλιτ-ος*, Latin *mel* perhaps for **mel(i)d* (gen. *mellis* for **meld-es* according to I § 369 p. 280) and this for **melit*, doubtless also O.Ir. *mil* 'honey' (stem *meli-*) for **melit*; see W. Meyer, Kuhn's *Ztschr.* XXVIII 171; J. Schmidt, *Pluralb.* 248 f. Gr. *γάλα* 'milk' for **γαλακτ*, gen. *γάλακτ-ος*, Lat. *lac* for **lact*, gen. *lact-is* (Varro's *lact* is doubtless the grammarian's own invention). Gr. *κῆρ* 'heart' for **κηρδ* (II § 160 p. 479), Lat. *cor* for **cord*, gen. *cord-is*. Gr. *ὑπό-δρα* adv. 'looking from under' for **δρακ*; perhaps *δεῦρο* 'hither' for **δε-φρον* or **δευ-φρον* (II § 163 p. 493, and the Author, Gr. Gr.² p. 116). Lat. *allec hallec* (beside m. f. *allex hallex*), gen. *(h)allēc-is*. Umbr. *tu-plak* **díκρον ζύλον* vel *díκρανον* according to Bücheler, *Umbrica* p. 154.

Latin adjectival stems ending in explosives show the form of the masculine, not only classes of words like *ferēns bi-dēns*, but also *bi-pēs audāx prīnceps* and so forth. The forms in *-ns* may be regarded as genuine neuters with pr. Ital. *-ns* for *-nt*, and so may *quotiēns*: Skr. *kīyat* 'how much, how far'.

This view is proposed by Thurneysen (*Archiv für lat. Lex.*, V 575 f.), who holds that *bi-pēs audāx* etc. were used for the neuter simply because in *nt*-stems there was a confluence of neuter and masculine.

Remark 2. In Kuhn's *Zeitschr.*, XXIV 42 f., I offered a conjecture with which J. Schmidt agrees (*Plur.* 89, 403). I suggested that in such phrases as *ferrum bidēns*, the second word may have been originally a substantive masculine or feminine (cp. *domus vetus*), which in becoming an adjective did not adopt the neuter form when used as neuter, but retained its own. J. Schmidt (pp. 87 ff.) supports this hypothesis by a reference to the same kind of thing in the Veda, where such forms as *rakṣō-hā* 'killing the Rakshas' *dvi-pād* 'bipes' (neut. *dvipād*) *śata-sū-s* 'gaining hundred-fold wealth', which are masculine, are used for the neuter as well. May not both causes have worked together to develop the regular Latin usage — both the change of *-nt* to *-ns*, and some such idiom as that suggested here?

Old Irish. *traigh* 'foot' for **traget* or **tragit*, cp. dat. pl. *traighth-ib*.

Old Church Slavonic. *telę* 'calf' (gen. *telęt-e*) is probably not a real but an apparent example; its nom. acc. seems to be an original *n*-stem, see § 244.

§ 226. 6. *s*-stems.

a. Pr. Idg. **menos* 'mind'. Skr. *mānas*; Avest. *manō*, O.Pers. *rauta* 'stream' = Skr. *srōtas* (cp. O.Pers. *kāra* § 194. 1 p. 73). Gr. *μένος*; an exceptional form showing *-εs* instead of *-ος* (*ε* perhaps from the other cases) is *τέμενες* on an Inscr. of Megalopolis (Le Bas-Foucart no. 331. 31 and 42). Lat. *opos opus*, *genus*; Umbr. *meṛs mers* 'ius, fas' for **med(o)s* (I § 633 p. 474), cp. Lat. *modes-tu-s*. O.Ir. *tech teg* 'house' = Gr. *στέγος* *τέγος* 'roof' (cp. *fer* for **μῖρο-s*, § 194. 1 p. 73), transformed to *tech n-*, a re-formation like *muir n-* § 223 p. 99; Gall. *Ovirdó-magos* = O.Ir. *mag n.* 'plain'. O.H.G. *lamb* 'lamb' A.S. *hræw* 'corpse' (cp. next page). Lith. *ākas* 'ice-hole', which like all similar forms has become an *o*-stem (cp. § 403); O.C.Sl. *slovo* 'word' = Skr. *śrávas* Gr. *κλέφος* 'report, fame'.¹⁾

1) Whilst this volume was in the press, I received Wiedemann's work *Das litauische Präteritum*, in which (I 14) he assumes that O.C.Sl. *-o* does not come from **-os*, which he says became *-ū*, but that it answers to the Greek *-ας*. His arguments do not convince me.

Lat. *aes* instead of older **a(i)-os* (= Skr. *áyas* 'metal, bronze') on the analogy of *aer-is* etc., see II § 132 p. 418.

For Germanic see II § 132 pp. 419 ff. We find two forms for the nom. acc. sing. neuter, one the old ending **-os* (cp. the Finnic loan-words *lammas mallas* = O.H.G. *lamb malz*), the other **-iz* = **-es*, as in A.S. *lamb* (beside *lomb*) = *lammi* Lex Sal., and possibly in (masc.) forms with a short root-syllable like O.H.G. *sigi* A.S. *size* 'victory' (cp. II § 132 p. 421). This **-es* instead of **-os* doubtless came from the other cases of the substantive, not from adjectives (cp. Gr. *ψευδής*), compare Gr. *τέμενεξ* above (conversely, *-os* alone in Lat. *tempor-is* etc. II § 132 pp. 418 f.). Another factor in the change from *s*-stem to *i*-stem (O.H.G. gen. *siges* etc., like *quites*) was perhaps an instr. pl. in *-im(m)* for **-es-mi* (§ 387). Cp. Michels, Zum Wechsel des Nominalgeschl. I 13 ff.

b. Pr. Idg. **dus-menes* 'ill-disposed'. Skr. *durmanas*, Avest. *dušmanō*. Gr. *δυσμενής*. Lat. *dē-gener* (*-r* instead of *-s* from the other cases).

The difference of the vowels in the final syllable of *μένος* *ψεύδος*: *δυσμενής* *ψευδής* here, as elsewhere, doubtless went with some difference in the word-accent; compare Skr. *ápas* 'work' *dvēṣas* 'enmity': *apás* 'active' *a-dvēṣás* 'without enmity'.

Vedic Sanskrit has some forms in *-ās* instead of *-as*, as *dēvá-vyacās* 'having room for gods'. These were probably a re-formation following the analogy of a group of forms used for the neuter mentioned in § 225 Rem. 2, of which *śata-sās* is an example (cp. Lauman, Noun Infl. 560; J. Schmidt, Plur. 132 ff.).

c. Pr. Idg. **grewas* 'flesh': Skr. *kraviṣ* Gr. *κρέ(φ)ας*. Compare II § 134 p. 425.

d. Pr. Idg. comparative **ōk(i)ios* 'ocius'. Skr. *dśtyas*, Avest. *asyō*. Lat. *ocius*. Goth. *háuh-is* adv. 'higher' for pr. Germ. **-iaz*. O.C.Sl. *slažde* 'sweeter' for pr. Slav. **sold-jo(s)* (I § 84 pp. 79 f., § 665.4 p. 525).

In Greek, this formation may be represented by *ΠΙΟΣ* (*πιος* or *πιως*?) in the sense of *πλέον*, found in one Arcadian

inscription. Meister transliterates the word $\pi\lambda\omega\varsigma$, and derives this from * $\pi\lambda\omega\text{-}\iota\omicron\varsigma$ (Ber. der sächs. Ges. der Wiss., 1889 pp. 89 f.). But see Danielsson's Epigraphica, Upsala 1890, pp. 51 sqq.

In Old Latin we meet with phrases like *posterior bellum*. There are two alternatives, and the choice is doubtful. The *r* of the other cases may have taken the place of *-s* in the nom. acc. neut. in *-ōs*, as it did in the nom. masc. in **-ōs*; or this *posterior* may be the masculine form.

Along with the forms in **-ios* were used others in **-is*, which served as adverbs. This formation is earlier than the time when the branches of the language began to develop on their own account. Gr. $\pi\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma$ 'earlier' in Cret. $\pi\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\text{-}\gamma\nu\text{-}\varsigma$ Thess. $\pi\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\text{-}\beta\nu\text{-}\varsigma$ beside Ion. $\pi\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\text{-}\beta\nu\text{-}\varsigma$ (see II § 135 p. 433, and the Author in Ber. der sächs. Ges. der Wiss., 1889 pp. 53 f.). Lat. *magis*, *nimis*; Osc. *mais* 'magis' = Goth. *máis*. Goth. *mins* O.H.G. *min* 'less' for **minu-iz*, Goth. *vairs* O.H.G. *wirs* 'worse' for **uirs-iz*. See II § 135 pp. 428 ff. Johansson (De der. verb. contr. 177) and Streitberg (Die germ. Comp. auf -ōz-, 30) would place here Lat. *plūs*, which they derive from **plōis* (for *ō* cp. Arc. $\Pi\Lambda\omicron\Sigma$ above); *plūs* is differently explained by the Author, Gr. Gr.² p. 96 footnote 2, and Danielsson, Epigraphica p. 52.

e. Pr. Idg. part. perf. act. **ueid-uos* 'knowing': Gr. $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\acute{o}\varsigma$. For Skr. *vid-vāt*, Lith. *mīr-ę* and O.C.Sl. nom. *mīr-ŭ* acc. *mīrŭše* see II § 136 pp. 440 ff.

§ 227. II. The ending *-o-m* in *o*-stems.

Pr. Idg. **jugo-m* 'yoke'. Skr. *yugá-m*, Avest. *xša-pre-m* O.Pers. *xšaša-m* 'lordship, realm' = Skr. *kṣatrā-m*. Gr. $\zeta\upsilon\gamma\acute{o}\text{-}\nu$. Lat. *jugu-m*, *nōn* = O.Lat. *n'oenum* (*nōn* comes from this word used before vowels); Umbr. *ortom* 'ortum' kuratu 'curatum', Osc. *sakaraklúm* 'sacellum' *comonom* 'comitium'. O.Ir. *dliged n-* 'law', *nemed n-* = Gall. $\nu\epsilon\mu\eta\tau\omicron\text{-}\nu$ 'temple', O.Ir. *orbe n-* *orpe n-* 'heritage, inheritance' = Goth. *arbi* O.H.G. *arbi erbi* 'inheritance' (II § 63 p. 129). Goth. *juk* O.H.G. *joh*. Pruss. *lunka-n* 'bast, inside bark'; O.C.Sl. *polje* 'field' (? see below).

**-i-m* beside **-io-m*: Umbr. *tertim* *terti* 'tertium' Osc. *medicin* 'magisterium'. See § 194 p. 74, § 212 pp. 89, 90.

In Baltic, the only traces of **-o-m* which are now left are one or two examples from Prussian (see last page, and Pauli in Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. VII 201 f.). Substantival stems have become masculine in Lithuanian and Lettic; e. g. Lith. *lūnka-s* = Pruss. *lunka-n* O.C.Sl. *lyko* 'bast, inner bark' (§ 403). Neuter forms of the Lithuanian adjectives, such as *gēra* 'good' (cp. *gražū* 'beautiful' § 223.2 p. 100), can only be used under certain conditions. These cannot be explained as standing for *-a* = *-o-m*, since dialects which change the *-a* of the acc. sing. masc. into *-u* have *gēra*, like the others, and not **geru*. Bopp assumed that *gēra* has been re-modelled on the analogy of *gražū* (Vergl. Gr. I³ p. 321), which would be a re-formation the reverse of that which gives us Avest. neut. *vohum* instead of *vohu* (§ 223.2 p. 99). But a more obvious suggestion is that the ending *-a* comes from the pronominal ending **-o-d* (§ 406).

Remark. Some, however, of the Lithuanian "neuters" in *-a* are in all probability really abstract feminine substantives; e. g. *szeñdėn szaltā* means 'there is cold to-day', not 'it is cold' (*szaltā: szaltā-s* = *geltd* 'yellowness': *geltd-s* 'yellow', II § 158 p. 474).

In Slavonic this neuter **-o-m* (**-ŭ*) is perhaps as hopelessly lost.

It is not quite clear how we are to regard forms such as *igo* 'iugum' *ново* 'novum', whose ending cannot represent **-om*. It is natural to suppose that adjectives of this kind have taken over *-o* from the pronouns, cp. *to* 'that' = Skr. *tā-d*. Thus it is possible that *-o* first obtained foothold in adjectives, and was then extended to substantives by association with substantives in *-o* = **-os* (e. g. *slovo* = Gr. *λέφος* § 226).

But it is quite possible that *polje* 'field' has a different origin. The ending of this word may come from **-je-n* **-jo-n* according to the principles laid down in Vol. I § 219 p. 187 (and compare Leskien Handb.² p. 19); for the gen. pl. *poljŭ krajŭ* see § 345. *polje* would be related to a supposed **igŭ* as the acc. pl. masc. *kraję* to *vlŭky* (§ 326). Still, it is also possible to assume an older **poljo* parallel to *igo*. I

prefer the latter view, since we have the acc. sing. masc. *krajŭ konjŭ* with the suffix *-(i)i-* instead of *-io-* (§ 212 p. 90), and consequently we should expect a neuter *poljŭ* (cp. p. 109 Osc. neut. *medicim*).

Genitive (-Ablative) Singular.¹⁾

§ 228. Two suffixes have been transmitted from the parent language to its several branches, *-es -os -s* and *-sjo (-so)*.

1. It is probable that *-es -os* and *-s* were ablaut-variants of one suffix. In the separate branches of Indo-Germanic, even in historical times, may be observed a variation between *-es* and *-os*, as Lat. *aer-is* and *aer-us*; this seems to depend upon a difference of proethnic accentuation, similar to that in Skr.

1) Kozlovski, Sur l'origine du génitif singulier, *Techner's Internat. Ztschr. für allg. Spr.* III 286. Benfey, Über die indog. Endungen des Gen. Sing. *ians, ias, ia*, *Abhandl. der Gött. Ges. der Wiss.* XIX (1874) p. 3 ff. Henry, L'affixe *syn* du gén. des thèmes démonstratifs, *Le Muséon* IV (1885) p. 211 sq. A. Kuhn, Über einige Genetiv- und Dativbildungen, *Kuhn's Ztschr.* XV 420 ff. Bartholomae, Zur Bildung des gen. sing. *Stud. zur idg. Sprachg.* I 77 ff. *Idem*, Der gen. sing. der *ar*-Stämme, *Ar. Forsch.* II 109 ff. Havet, Les génitifs indiens des thèmes en *r* voyelle, *Mém. de la Soc. de ling.* III 414 sq. E. A. Fritsch, De casuum obliquorum origine et natura deque gen. singularis numeri et abl. Graecae Latinaeque declinationis conformatione, Giessen 1845. Lugebil, Der Gen. Sing. in der sogen. zweiten altgr. Declination, Leipzig 1880. Leskien, Die Genetivform auf *-oio* in den hom. Gedichten, *Fleckeisen's Jahrb.* B. 95 (1867), 1 ff. G. Boldt, Der Gen. Sing. der *o*-Declination bei Homer, Taubertschheim 1881. Cavallin, De Homericis forma genetivi in *-oio*, *Mélanges Graux* p. 557 sqq. Bechtel, Ionische Genitive singularis auf *-ev*, *Bezz. Beitr.* X 280 ff. Näke, De Latinorum gen. in *ai* (1830), *Opusc.* I 181 sqq. A. Petermann, De genetivo substantivorum in *ius et ium* exeuntium forma aliquot observationes, Grossglogau 1863. Gandino, Del genetivo *-ās* dei temi femminili in *-ā* nella lingua latina e specialmente nella lingua di Plauto, *Rivista di filol.* IV (1876) p. 101 sqq. Stowasser, Über den Genetiv der *A*-Stämme bei Lucilius, *Arch. für lat. Lex.* I 195 ff. Arbois de Jubainville, Le génitif sing. des thèmes féminins en *ā* dans l'ancien irlandais, *Mém. de la Soc. de ling.* III 79 sq. *Idem*, Le génitif des thèmes en *i* et en *u* en vieil irlandais, *ibid.* VI 54 sq. Förstemann, Zur gesch. altd deutscher Declination: der gen. sing., *Kuhn's Ztschr.* XVI 321 ff. Schleicher, Der gotische gen. sing. der *u*- und *i*-Stämme, *ibid.* X 80.

tudat-ás 'tudentis' *pad-ás* 'pedis' (Idg. *-és*) in contrast with *bhárat-as* 'ferentis' *jánas-as* 'generis' (Idg. *-os*), just as the two forms of the suffix of the 1st. pl. act., **-mes* and **-mos*, may be explained as arising from two several modes of accentuation which are exemplified in Skr. *i-más* 'imus' and *bhára-mas* 'ferimus'. See I § 311 ff. pp. 247 ff.

Idg. *-es* is found in Italic, Germanic, and Balto-Slavonic,¹⁾ *-os* in Greek, Italic, Keltic (and possibly Germanic). Aryan *-as* may of course represent either Idg. *-es* or *-os*; we have not enough evidence from the historical period to shew how far the various forms are to be referred to this or that. No theory can be based upon forms which have a palatal instead of a guttural, like Skr. *vāc-ás* 'vocis' (cp. I § 445 p. 331), since it is always possible to suppose that the palatal is due to analogy.

Where *-os* drove *-es* out of the field (in Greek, that is, and Keltic), there may have been an instinctive desire to make some clearer distinction between the genitive singular and the nominative plural in *-es* (§ 313); for where all ablaut-variations in the stem disappeared, the two cases would become identical in form. The same desire after clearness may have had a different effect in Latin, by helping to drive out *-ēs* from the nom. pl., replacing it by **-ejes -ēs*, the ending of *i*-stems (see § 319).

-s is perhaps the same element which is found in such particles as Gr. *ᾄψ* Lat. *abs*. It is most commonly seen in *i*- and *u*-stems. More rarely it is added to consonant stems; as Skr. *dán* Gr. *δεσ(πότης)* for **dem-s*, O.Ir. *an-me* for **-men-s* (§ 234). It may be contained in *-as* and *-ǵēs*, the endings of stems in *-a-* and *-ǵē-* (§§ 229, 230); but it is also possible that in these the stem-final has been contracted with *-es -os*.

Genitive forms in *-es -os -s* were also used for the ablative in the parent language and later; thus Skr. *nāv-ás* Gr. *νη-ός*

1) *πες* in *πείσ-γυς* *πείσ-βυς* is possibly a relic of the form *-es* in Greek. It may have been a by-form of *πέσ-ος* Skr. *pur-ás*. See II p. 433 Footnote 1.

νε-ώς means 'of a ship' and 'from a ship'. It can no longer be determined how this double use arose.

2. *-sjo* is found with noun-stems, but only those in *-o-*. It is the proper form of the genitive of these stems in Aryan, Armenian (but cp. § 239), and Greek as we have them; cp. also Lycian *-hā -h*, Messapian *-hi -he -h*, Venetian *-h* (Deecke, Bezz. Beitr. XII 153). It belonged originally to the pronouns, whence it spread to noun stems; see Benfey, *Über die idg. Endungen des Gen. Sing.* 22 ff., and Leskien, *Die Decl.* 37 f.

In the Latin and Keltic noun we find the ending *-ī* (*-ei?* *-oi?*) This will be discussed in § 239 b. The question is — does it represent the old nominal genitive ending which gave way to the pronominal ending *-e-sjo -o-sjo*? To this no decisive answer can be given, since another possibility has to be taken into account. In other points than this a close connexion may be observed between Italic and Keltic (the latest contribution to this subject is that of Von Bradke, in his *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der vorhistorischen Entwicklung unseres Sprachstammes*, 1888, pp. 31 ff.) It is therefore possible that this *-ī* is an Italo-Keltic formation, beginning at some period later than the break-up of the parent speech.

In Germanic we have *-so*, which we may assume, with even more confidence than in the case of *-sjo*, to have been borrowed from the pronouns.

In Balto-Slavonic, noun stems in *-o-* have a form which we cannot but take to be the Indo-Germanic ablative in *-ōd*: Lith. *vīlko* O.C.Sl. *vlūka* 'lupi' (§ 241). Beside these there are also pronominal endings: Pruss. *ste-sse ste-ssei* (nom. *sta-s* 'that') O.C.Sl. *čī-so čē-so* (nom. *čī-to* 'quid'). The reason why the ablative did the work of genitive and ablative both was that forms in Idg. *-es -s* (O.C.Sl. *mater-e* 'matris' *nošti* 'noctis') had originally both these functions. The same reason produced the opposite effect in Greek, where the genitive in *-sjo* had the meaning of an ablative as well as its own.

All this makes it probable, that when the parent speech

branched off in different directions, the genitive singular of noun stems in *-o-* was not represented by any one invariable formation. Even then the pronominal ending had begun to pass over to nouns, although perhaps not to the same extent in all districts of the Indo-Germanic area. It is just possible that Italic and Keltic *-ī* (*-ei* *-oi*) was the ending with which the pronominal ending came into conflict. Then the latter will have been wholly driven out of the noun system in Italic and Keltic, where *-ī* won the day; in Balto-Slavonic, both disappeared together. Cp. § 239, *b*. In Germanic, **-so* passed over to the nouns, which is in all probability a peculiarity of the Germanic branch; cp. § 239, *a*. If the "genitives" Goth. *meina þeina seina* O.H.G. *min* etc. are ablative forms like the similar forms in Lithuanian, *māno kėnō* (§ 452), then before **-so* passed on to noun stems there may have been a period in Germanic, as there was in Balto-Slavonic, when the ablative in **-ōd* **-ēd* had, at least to some extent, the function of the genitive besides its own.

§ 229. I. The Endings *-es -os -s* (cp. § 228 pp. 111 f.).

1. *ā-stems*. Pr. Idg. **ekwās* 'equae'. Gr. *ἑωφᾶς*. O.Lat. *viās, fortūnās* (*pater familiās* survives in the classical period); Umbr. *tutas totar* 'civitatis', Osc. *eituas* 'pecuniae'. O.Ir. *mna* 'mulieris' Idg. **gnās*, an isolated survival (cp. the article *inna* § 420). Goth. *gibōs* O.Icel. *gjafar*. Lith. *rañkos*.

Idg. *-ās*, if it carried the word-accent, was circumflexed: cp. Gr. *τιμῆς* 'honoris' Lith. *mergōs* 'puellae' (I § 671 p. 536).

Sanskrit. *gnās-pāti-ś* 'husband of a divine wife' (stem *gnā-*) is a dubious survival of this formation; it may be a re-formate following *jās-pāti-ś* (§ 233) and nouns in *-as-pati-ś* (cp. II § 24 pp. 39 f.). The same may be said of Avest. *vairyađ* (stem *vairya-* f. 'desirable'), since it may have come from **vairyayđ* by syllabic dissimilation (cp. I § 643 p. 482). The regular endings were Skr. *-ayās* Avest. *-ayđ* (= **aiās*) O.Pers. *-aya* (= **aiās*), as Skr. *áśvayās* 'equae' Avest. *haēnayđ* 'of a hostile army' O.Pers. *taumayā* 'of a family'. *-iās* came from stems in *-ī-* *-iē-* (Skr. *br̥hatyās, dēviyās dēvyās*, § 230), as did

the dative Skr. *-ayāi* Avest. *-ayāi* instead of *-āi* (§ 247); the Avest. *-ayā* and *-ayāi* have *-a-* instead of *-ā-* doubtless because the instr. in *-aya* = Skr. *-ayā* had the short vowel (§ 276). The starting point for these re-formations was the loc. sing.; in pr. Ar. the loc. sing. of *ā*-stems ended in **-āiā*, and that of *iē*-stems in **-iā* (see § 264). Another factor in transforming the old genitive singular in **-ās* was probably a desire to distinguish its form from that of the nom. acc. pl. (Skr. *āśvās*), which was the same.

Remark 1. With the re-formation *āśvā-yās* following *bṛhat-yās*, compare gen. pl. *āśvā-nām* following the *n*-stems, § 345; Umbr. porta-ia portet' following hab-ia 'habeat' faš-ia 'faciat'; Osc. censa-um 'censere' following ez-um 'esse'; O.Sax. 1st. 2rd. and 3rd. pl. *scouuo-iad* instead of *scouuod* following *ner-iad* *sōk-iad* (Danielsson, Stud. Gram. p. 53; the Author, Morph. Unt. III 45, 89 f.); Lat. gen. *viā-i* following *equi* (see the following page).

Remark 2. A different view of Skr. *-āyās* etc. is taken by J. Schmidt (Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVII 381 ff.), who assumes that the endings have come from *oi*-stems. First, he thinks, were formed the gen. **-ai-as* and dat. **-ai-ai*. Then these forms gave way to **-aiās* **-aiāi* for one of two reasons: either they were influenced by stems in *-i-*, which made *bṛhatyās* *bṛhatyāi*; or there was a contamination of two pairs of original forms, gen. **-aiās* and **-ās* together producing Ar. **-aiās*, and dat. **-aiāi* and **-āi* producing Ar. **-aiāi*, each with the quantity of the *ā*-stem ending. The *ā* of the penultimate, he continues, was kept short in Avestic, whilst in Sanskrit and Old Persian the long vowel of the strong cases crept into the weak. Two remarks may be offered on this. First, the forms here assumed as types are questionable enough in themselves; and secondly, not to dwell upon that, we may well ask why the instr. Skr. *āśvayā* did not become **āśvāyā* if the *-ā-* of the penultimate came from the strong cases. It cannot be shewn that this alleged re-formation was earlier than the time when the pronominal *-ayā* had invaded the instrumental (the same form is seen in Avest. *haenaya*).

In Sanskrit, the Brāhmanas give us examples of the dative in *-ayāi* used in place of a genitive, as *yajiyayāi* 'of the sacrificial formula'; cp. *striyāi* used as gen. § 230. This reformation seems hardly likely to be due to syntax alone.

In Greek, *ā*-stems which had become masculine took the ending of stems in *-o-* (§ 239); cp. the nom. sing. in *-ās* § 190. Hom. (Aeol.) *Ἀτρεΐδᾱο* Boeot. *Τελέστᾱο* like Ep. *Αἰόλοο*. Lesb.

and Dor. contract to $\bar{\alpha}$. Ion. $-\epsilon\omega$ for $^*\eta\sigma$, and $-\epsilon\omega$ is contracted to $-\omega$; also $-\epsilon\nu = -\epsilon\sigma$, see the Author Gr. Gr.² p. 39. Arcad. and Cypr. $-\alpha\nu$, which is doubtless to be read $-\alpha\upsilon$. Att. $-\sigma\nu$ may have either of two origins. It may be the $\sigma\nu$ of $\zeta\eta\pi\sigma\nu$ taken over bodily; or else $-\bar{\alpha}\sigma$ became $-\epsilon\omega$ (regular), and $-\epsilon\omega$ was transformed to $-\epsilon\sigma$ on the analogy of $\zeta\eta\pi\sigma\sigma$, when this was the genitive; lastly $-\epsilon\sigma$ would become $-\sigma\nu$.

In Arcadian $-\alpha\nu$ passed into feminine stems, as $\zeta\bar{\alpha}\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$ in contrast to Att. $\zeta\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$, from $\eta\zeta\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$ 'loss, punishment'. On the other hand, the fem. ending $-\bar{\alpha}\varsigma$ returns to masc. stems in Megarian and Thessalian, as $\Lambda\rho\alpha\acute{\iota}\bar{\alpha}\varsigma$, $\text{Νικι}\bar{\alpha}\varsigma$ as opposed to Att. $-\acute{\iota}\sigma\nu$; this re-formation was due to the fact that genitive and nominative had each the same ending (the gen. $-\bar{\alpha}$ contracted from $-\bar{\alpha}\sigma$), cp. § 190 p. 67.

Att. $\text{Καλλι}\bar{\alpha}\delta\sigma\nu\varsigma$ (nom. $-\acute{\iota}\alpha\delta\eta-\varsigma$) follows the analogy of the genitive of stems in $-\epsilon\sigma-$, as $\text{Σωκράτ}\sigma\nu\varsigma$. Cp. voc. $\text{Στρεψι}\bar{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\varsigma$ § 202 p. 85. The Rhodian genitive of proper nouns of this kind, $\text{Σαμιάδ}\epsilon\nu\varsigma$ for example, followed naturally enough from the nom. in $-\eta\varsigma$ borrowed from the Ionic dialect; a nom. $\text{Σαμιάδ}\eta\varsigma$ has been found in Rhodes (C.I.G. 2534). As to $\epsilon\nu$ for $\epsilon\sigma$ cp. I § 603 pp. 456 f.

In Latin the ending $-\bar{a}\bar{i}$, as in $\text{vid}\bar{i}$, was early framed on the analogy of the genitive of stems in $-o-$ ($\text{equ}\bar{i}$ and the like). It may be conjectured that $-\bar{a}\bar{i}$ first found place in masculine \bar{a} -stems, whence it afterwards spread to the feminine; cp. Arcad. $-\alpha\nu$ mentioned above, which was first masculine and then feminine too. Whether the ordinary classical forms $\text{scrib}\bar{a}\bar{e}$, $\text{equ}\bar{a}\bar{e}$ etc. come from this $-\bar{a}\bar{i}$ by regular phonetic change, untouched by side influences, or whether the analogy of the loc.-dat. $-\bar{a}\bar{e}$ had anything to do with it, is hard to say; especially as in the forms which are found on inscriptions (as $\text{Lavarn}\bar{a}\bar{i}$ C.I.L. I no. 47) we have no means of determining the quantity of the two sounds which make up $-\bar{a}\bar{i}$, or of knowing whether they made one syllable or two.

Old Irish tuaithe seems to have taken over the ending of stems in $-\bar{i}\bar{a}-$ and in $-\bar{i}-$ $-\bar{i}\bar{e}-$ (soillse and inse).

Remark 3. The gen. *Erce* (nom. *Erc*) appears on an Ogam inscription as *Ercias* (Stokes, Bezz. Beitr. XI 151, cp. p. 79). This points to **-iās* as the older shape of the *-e* of *tuaithe* and *soillse*; and then *inse* (*i-îē*-stem) would be parallel, and be a form like Goth. *frijōndjōs* from nom. *frijōndi* (§ 230). Still, *Ercias* proves nothing unless we assume *masculines* in *-a*, as Stokes does. But in an Ogam inscription lately found in Wales (see Arch. Cambr, 5th Series VI no. 23), there is the genitive *Avittoriges*, whose *g* is perhaps meant to express the sound of *j* (Latinised nom. *Avitoria*). What is to be said of this? It is worth considering whether *-ē* may not have been regularly kept in pre-Keltic **-ēs* (elsewhere in Keltic *ē* becomes *i*), especially as *-the* (*-tha*), the suffix of the 2nd. person sing., seems to answer to Skr. *-thās* = Gr. Dor. *-ση*. This would make it probable that Keltic also had the Idg. gen. *-îēs* (*i-îē*-stems), and *inse* must be compared with the Lat. gen. *faciēs*. These questions have been suggested by certain communications which I have received from Thurneysen; I leave them for others to decide. D'Arbois de Jubainville is I believe mistaken in his view of the matter (*Mém.* III 80).

O.H.G. *geba* A.S. *giefe*, O.H.G. *sippe* (*sippea*) A.S. *sibbe* (cp. nom. Goth. *sibja* 'kindred'), probably with the ending pr. Germ. **-ēz*, i. e. *sippe sibbe* is an ad-formate of *gutinne zydenne* (with Idg. **-îēs*, § 230), and carried *geba giefe* along with it. The stem was changed to an *a*-stem without *i* in Old High German, before **-îēz* became *-e* (cp. Braune Ahd. Gramm. § 58 Anm. 1, § 209 Anm. 3). The acc. sing. (§ 213 p. 91) and the nom. pl. (§ 315) were modified by analogy in the same way.

Quite early in O.H.G. the dative form *gebu gebo* is sometimes found instead of *geba*, and in the tenth century it gets the upper hand.

Old Church Slavonic *raky* 'of a hand' and *duše* 'of a soul' pre-suppose a ground-form with **-ans* or **-ons*; cp. the same form in the acc. pl., where the original ending was **-ans*. See I § 219 p. 187. Scherer and many others have assumed that the gen. sing. *raky* really is this acc. pl. form; it is said that because the acc. pl. took the place of the nom. pl. in **-ās*, therefore it also took the place of the gen. sing., which had the same form. This is hard to believe. In any case there was a connexion between this *-y -ē* and the ending of the gen. sing. fem. in the pronominal form *toję* (nom. *ta* f. 'this') — see

§ 420; but it remains uncertain whether this ending properly belonged to pronouns alone, and only spread to nouns afterwards.

§ 230. 2. *-iē*-stems (cp. p. 68 footnote 1). Pr. Idg. **bhr̥gh̥t(i)iēs* 'celsae'. Skr. *bṛhatyās*, *dēviyās* *dēvyās* 'deae'; Avest. *barentyā*. Lat. *faciēs*, *rabiēs*. O.H.G. *gutinne* A.S. *zydenne* 'deae', cp. § 229, last page. Lith. *žėmės*.

Along with these are forms which follow the *iā*-class: Gr. *περουσίας*, *πορνιάς*; Lat. *materiae* (nom. *materiēs* and *materia*); Goth. *frijōndjōs* (like *sibjōs*, nom. *sibja* 'kinship'); Lith. *vežancziōs*, *marcziōs* (nom. *marti* 'bride'). Whether O.Ir. *inse*, *Brigte* contain Idg. **-iēs* or **-iās* is uncertain; see § 229 Rem. 3 on the last page.

In Sanskrit, the Brāhmana language has the dative in place of the genitive, as *striyāi* instead of *striyās* (nom. *strī* 'woman'). Cp. *yājñayāi* § 229 p. 115. In Avestic forms are occasionally found which have been influenced by the analogy of stems in *-i-* *-i-* and in *-i-*: e. g. *haraiḥjō* (*haraiti*, the name of a mountain range).

In Latin we have *-iē* beside *-iēs*, *faciē*, *aciē* — a reformation of the same kind as *viā* (§ 229). Further, we find *-iī*, *faciī*, *progeniī*, *luxuriī*; *-iī* : *iē* = *-ae* : *-ā* (cp. § 248). Lastly *-iē*, down to the classical period, as *faciē* — probably the dat.-loc. form (§§ 248, 265).

The Irish genitive *inseo* (i. e. *ins'o*) is framed on the model of an *i*-stem. Cp. dat. *inis* § 248.

Old Church Slavonic *zemlję* and *vezqšte* like *duše* (§ 229).

§ 231. 3. *i*-stems. Here we have two types, *-ei-s* *-oi-s* and *-i-es* *-i-os* *-iī-es* *-iī-os*. Of these the former certainly and the latter most probably is proethnic. But at the same time it is not clear how the two types were originally distributed.

a. *-ei-s* and *-oi-s*. Which of these was used in a given word would be originally determined, as we may conjecture, by the accent of the word: say, **mētēi-s* 'mentis', **ōmoi-s* 'ovis'. Ar. **-ai-s* (= **-ei-s* or **-oi-s*?) : Skr. *āvē-ś*; Avest. *ažōi-š*, O.Pers. *fravartai-š* 'of Phraortes'. Gr. Pamphyl. *Νεγρονόλεις*

(= Att. *Νεοπόλεως*), if correctly preserved, is the only form of this kind in Greek. Umbr. *punes* 'poscae' *ocrer* 'ocris, montis', Osc. *Herentateis* 'Veneris, Volupiae'¹⁾, pointing to pr. Ital. **-ei-s*. Germanic has only fem. substantives: Goth. *anstáis* for **-oīs*, O.H.G. *ensti* A.S. *ēste* for **-eīs*, or for **-i-ēs* (b.) or **-ei-es* (cp. Hom. *πόλεος*), like the loc. *ensti* perhaps for **-ei-i* (§ 266). Lith. *naktėš*, O.C.Sl. *nošti*, common ground-form **-eīs* or **-oīs*?

b. *-i-es* *-i-os*, *-i-ēs* *-i-os*. Skr. *-y-as* *-iy-as* beside *-ē-š* in the masc. and neut., as *ávyas*, *ariyás* 'of a pious man'. In Avestic there are a few examples of the ending *-yōiš*, as *jainyōiš* (stem *jaini-* 'woman', cp. Bartholomae Ar. Forsch. III 64). But this may well have arisen by contamination of *-ōiš* and **-yas*; cp. Goth. *kinnáus* 'of a cheek' i. e. **kinuays* (§ 232). Armen. *srti*, perhaps for **-iēs* or **-iōs* (cp. *zardu* § 232). In all dialects of Greek except Ionic and Attic the only type is *ὄφιος*, *φύσιος*, which formation is also found in Ionic beside that with pr. Gr. **-ei-os* which will be described anon (cp. nom. pl. *ὄφεις* § 317); *πόλιος* may be referred to the nom. *πόλις* (§ 233). It is a question whether *Torantias*, found in an Irish Ogam inscription, belongs here; cp. *Ercias* § 229 Rem. 3 p. 117. The ending of German masc. *i*-stems, Goth. *gastis* O.H.G. *gastes* O.Icel. *gests*, need not have been borrowed entirely from stems in *-o-*. A pr. Germ. **-i-az* or **-i-iz* must have become **-iz*, and this could easily have become perfectly assimilated to **-e-s(o)* (§ 239), especially if the historic form of the "dative" of these *i*-stems was originally a genuine *i*-case (§ 260).

This second formation seems to be related to the first as Skr. *nāmn-as* to O.Ir. *anme* 'nominis' (for **-mens*), Avest. *hamāestr-ō* 'of an antagonist' to *sāstar-š* 'of a ruler', Gr. *ἀνδρ-ός* to Avest. *nar-š* 'of a man', Skr. *div-ds* to *dyō-š* 'of

1) Of course it is a question whether this form belongs to a stem with *-tāti-* or with *-tāt-* for its suffix (see II § 102 p. 310). It belongs here in any case, since the *-efs* of all consonant-stems came from those in *-i-*. It so happens that no genitive from an undoubted original *i*-stem has been preserved.

heaven', Gr. *βος in *Βόσ-πορος* for **gu-os* to Skr. *gô-ṣ* 'bovis'. But even if it be proethnic, it is possible that in one or other branch of the original language it is partly due to the analogy of *ī-īḡ*-stems with the Idg. ending **-īḡ-es* **-īḡ-os*. For Greek, in particular, this suggestion can hardly be rejected, in view of the other cases of the paradigm in dialects where the formation is found.

c. Feminine forms in Sanskrit have *-yās* as well as *-ēṣ*, c. g. *āvyās*. This is a re-formation on the lines of the *ī-īḡ*-class (§ 230), and it becomes more and more common in the course of the history of this language. We find a corresponding dat. in *-yāi* (§ 249) and loc. in *-yām* (§ 266). The point of contact between these two classes of stems was the instr. sing., *āvyā* : *bṛhatyā* (§ 278); hence the re-formation arose. Avest. *vay-ō*, contrast Skr. *vē-ṣ* (*vī-* 'avis'), is a re-formate; the stem is monosyllabic, which had something to do with the change. Compare (1) gen. pl. *vay-am*, *ḥray-am* 'trium' (§ 348), with the strong stem, and (2) as monosyllabic stems, gen. sing. Ved. *nār-as* (following *nār-ī*): Avest. *nar-š* (§ 235), Ved. *gāv-as* (following *gāv-ī*): *gô-ṣ* (§ 238).

Skr. *pātyur* 'of a husband' and *jānyur* 'of a wife' follow the form of *pitūr mātūr* (§ 235); cp. dat. *pāty-ē* like *pitr-ē* (§ 249), instr. *pāty-ā* like *pitr-ā* (§ 278). See Wackernagel, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXV 289 f.

Attic ὄφεος, φύσεος, πόλεος (the last, which is found in Homer and Theognis too, comes from the stem *πολι-* nom. *πόλι-ς*, a by-form of the stem *πολι-* nom. *πολι-ς*). These cannot rank as regular developements from proethnic Greek forms in **-εος* for **-εῖ-ος*, because *-ιο-* is uncontracted. Possibly *-ε(ι)-ος* was affected by the analogy of *-ε(φ)-ος* in *u*-stems (J. Schmidt, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 301 f.). Cp. ὄφει § 266, ὄφεις § 317, ὄφρων § 348.

The loc. *πόλι* (§ 260) gave rise to Hom. *πόληος*; and by quantitative metathesis (I § 611 p. 462) *-ηος* became *-εως*, the Attic variant, as *πόλεως*, ὄφρων.

In Latin, no example of the Umbro-Samnitic and pro-

ethnic Italic ending *-eīs* can be found. The forms ending in *-is -us* which are found (as *ovis*, *partis*, *partus*) are due to the same confusion of *i*-stems with consonant stems which we saw in *ovem*, § 214 p. 92. We are not justified by the known laws of sound in assuming that *ovis* stands for **ovjis* and answers to Skr. *ávyas* (Froehde, Bezz. Beitr. XIV 114).

In Old Irish, substantives have *-o -a*, as *fatho fatha*, which is to be referred in the first instance to **-ōs*, because of *Ivacattos* (or *Evacattos*) and *Suvallos*, which occur in Ogam inscriptions. The formation is not clear.

Remark. It is quite possible that the ending came from *u*-stems (§ 232), as in Old Icelandic the *-ar* of *u*-stems passed over to masc. stems in *-i-* (e. g. *þular* from nom. *þulr* 'speaker, orator'). But one can see no sufficient cause for such a process at so early a stage; on the other hand, it is certain that the gen. pl. *bithe n-* was built on the analogy of *fáthe n-* (§ 349). A ground-form **-o(i)-os*, a transformation of **-oīs*, would satisfy the phonetic conditions; but it is in itself hardly probable (in spite of d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Mém.* VI 54). That **-oīs* could become *-ōs* in the regular course of sound-change may be said to be out of the question.

§ 232. 4. *u*-stems. Pr. Idg. *-ey-s -ou-s* and *-y-es -u-os -uy-es -uy-os*, answering to the *i*-stem types (§ 231). It is true that *-ey-s*, which is here assumed to be a by-form of *-ou-s*, cannot be definitely shewn to have existed, but it is fairly inferred from the analogy of stems in *-i-* (Osc. *castrovs*: Herentateis).

a. *-ey-s* and *-ou-s*, the one belonging to original forms accented like **sūnéy-s* 'filii', the other (say) to **médhoy-s* 'mellis'. Ar. **-ay-š* (= **-ey-s* or **-ou-s*?): Skr. *sūnō-š*; Avest. *bāzēu-š* *bāzao-š*, O.Pers. *kūrau-š* 'Cyri'. Lat. *manūs*; Umbr. *trifor* 'tribus', Osc. *castrovs* 'fundī'; arguing from the analogy of the Umbr. Osc. **-ej-s* in *i*-stems, we may derive Ital. **-ous* from **-ey-s* (I § 65 p. 52). O.Ir. *betho -a*, Ogam inscr. *Trenalugos*, *Brusccos* (doubtless with *ō*) for Idg. **-eys* or **-ous*; in the *-u* of *Trenagusu*, *Nettasagru* on Ogam inscriptions from Wales (Stokes, Bezz. Beitr. XI 145) Thurneysen conjectures a dialectic transformation of **-ōs*. Goth. *sundaus*, O.H.G. *fridō frido* 'of peace', O.Icel. *sonar* pr. Norse **sunðr*, pr. Germ. **-aus* = Idg.

*-oy-s. Lith. *sūnaūs* O.C.Sl. *synu*, common ground-form *-ey-s or *-oy-s?

b. -y-es -y-os, -uy-es -uy-os. Skr. -v-as -uv-as beside -ō-ṣ in the masculine and neuter, as *paśv-ās* 'pecoris' *mādhv-as* *mādhuv-as* 'mellis'. Similarly in Avest. -v-ō beside -ēuš -aoš, as *xraθw-ō* (*xratu-* 'will, power, intent') = Skr. *krátv-as*. Armen. *zardu*, perhaps for *-uy-es or *-uy-os (cp. *srti* § 231 p. 119). Greek Ion. *γυνός* for **γυνf-os* (from nom. *γόνυ* 'genu', cp. the Author, Gr. Gr.² § 70 b. Rem. p. 100), *γένυος* (from nom. *γένυ-ς* 'chin' = Skr. *hānu-ṣ*). Lat. *senātuis* O.Lat. *senātuos*, *cornuis*, Falisc. *zenātuo* (-s dropped) may have come from either of two groups of forms — (1) from *-uy-es *-uy-os or *-y-es *-y-os, or (2) from *-ey-es *-ey-os or *-oy-es *-oy-os; cp. dat. *senātu-i* § 250. In Germanic are found a few forms in -nn- for -ny- (I § 180 p. 158): Goth. *mans* O.H.G. *man* 'of a man' for **manniz* **many-iz* or **mannaz* **many-az* = Skr. **māno-as* (assumed by-form of *mān-ōṣ*)¹); Goth. *kinndaus* 'of a cheek', a composite form arising from contamination of **kinauz* = Skr. *hānōṣ* and **kinuiz* **kinniz* = Gr. *γένυος* (cp. Avest. *jainyōiš* § 231 p. 119), whence by analogy comes the nom. *kinnu-s* instead of **kinus* = Skr. *hānu-ṣ* etc.

Here, as with the *i*-stems (cp. § 231 pp. 119 f.), it is doubtful how far the second type represents an original formation. The analogy of *ū- uy-*stems, which had the pr. Idg. ending -uy-es -uy-os, may have acted in some instances.

c. Sanskrit. The feminine has a further ending -vās, as *dhēno-ds* from *dhēnū-* 'milch cow' (so also dat. -vāi, loc. -vām), parallel to the -yās in feminine *i*-stems (§ 231 p. 120). Compare § 279. Avest. *bāzduš* with the same *du* as the nom. sing. etc., see § 261.

Greek. Adjectives and some substantives have -ε(ς)-ος, as *ἡδέος*, Ion. Att. *πήχεος*, *ἄστεος* (*ἄστν* n. 'city'), Boeot. *φάστιος*

1) A different explanation of Goth. *mans* *mannē* *mannam* etc. — which, however, does not convince me — is given by Bezzenberger in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 1890 p. 14. He assumes two forms of the stem, *man-* and *manan-*.

for **Φαστεος* (I § 64 p. 51), Cret. *υῖτος* (υῖν-ς 'son'). Also Att. *πήχεως*, *ἄστεως* on the analogy of *ὄφειως πόλεως* (§ 231 p. 120).

Latin has from its earliest stage another set of forms such as *quaestī sumptī*. Later on the other cases were often formed as though from *o*-stems, and in the end this declension absorbed all *u*-stems. It seems to me a dubious point whether the genitive in *-ī* was first suggested by the change of *-os* to *-us* in the nominative of *o*-stems (cp. *dēnsu-s torru-s* declined as *o*-stems, whilst Gr. *δασύ-ς* Skr. *tr̥ṣú-ṣ* are stems in *-u-*, Osthoff, *Morph. Unt.* IV 78).

§ 233. 5. *i-* *iġ-* and *ū-* *uġ-* stems and stems in *-ī*, *-ġ*, *-ē*. Pr. Idg. *-iġ-es -iġ-os*, *-uġ-es -uġ-os*, e. g. **bhruu-es -os* (nom. **bhrū-s* 'brow'). Skr. *dhiy-ās* 'of thought', Ved. *nadiy-as* 'of a river', *bhruv-ās*, Ved. *śvaśrūv-as* 'socrus', Avest. *tan(u)-vō* 'of a body'. There is a second group of forms with the sign of the feminine, Skr. *dhiyās nadiyās bhruvās śvaśruvās* (like the dat. in *-ai* and loc. in *-ām*); this is analogous to what we see in fem. stems in *-i-* and *-u-* (§ 231 p. 120, § 232 last page). The point of contact with *i-* *iē-* stems where this series of forms began was the instr. sing., *dhiy-ā* as compared with *dēviyā* and so forth; see § 280. Gr. *κίος*, *πόλιος* from nom. *πόλι-ς* (cp. § 231 p. 119), *ὅος* 'suis', *ὄφρῶος*, *νέκνος* (from nom. *νέκτ-ς*). Lat. *suis socruis* (also *socrūs* as though a *u*-stem); it is not probable that *vīs* came from **viġ-es* by simple phonetic change (the view of Stolz, *Lat. Gr.*² p. 337); it is better to explain *vīs* by proportional analogy, as being related to nom. *vīs* acc. *vim* as *diēs faciēs* (gen.): *diēs* (nom.): *diem*. O.Icel. gen. *sg̊r* 'suis' doubtless for **sū-iz* (cp. gen. pl. *sūa*), having taken *sū-* instead of *suġ-* from cases whose suffix began with a consonant. Another explanation of Lat. *vīs* O.Icel. *sg̊r* will be given in the next paragraph. O.C.Sl. *krŭv-e* 'of blood', *svekrŭv-e* 'socrus'.

Stems ending in a long sonant liquid or nasal (II § 160. 4 pp. 485 f.) are treated in a similar way. Skr. *gir-ās* 'of praise' = **grr-es -os*, *pur-ās* 'of a stronghold' = **pļ-es -os*, *gō-śān-as*

(nom. *gō-šā-s* 'gaining cattle') for **-syn-es -os*. If an old independent gen. *jās* be contained in *jās-pāti-š* 'master of the house or family', this would be a formation with *-s* for the sign of the genitive; and we should then perhaps compare Lat. *vis* O.Icel. *sg̊r* directly with *jās*.

§ 234. 6. Stems ending in a Nasal. Most of these have *-es -os*. *-s* is seen in Irish neuters formed with *-en-* and *-men-*, in Avest. *xwēnag* 'of the sun', and in the root-noun **dem-* 'domus'.

Remark. Polysyllabic *en-*stems thus show the genitive in *-en-s* only in one branch of the Indo-Germanic languages. This is not really so strange as it might seem; we have but to remember in how many languages *-ns* was bound to change in accordance with their phonetic laws, and how easy it was for the forms thus changed to be sacrificed to the feeling for uniformity which causes case-systems to be levelled down to one type. — J. Schmidt (Pluralb. 100) thinks that Avest. *ayqn* is a genitive in *-ns*; which is not very probable, because of the long vowel in the last syllable (*-qn* = *-ān*). I believe the form to be a locative singular used for other cases (§ 257). Bartholomae is more likely to be right in calling the Vedic phrase *trīr āhan(n)* 'thrice in the day' a genitive (Stud. zur idg. Sprachg. I 104).

a. Stems in *-n*. Pr. Idg. **k̑un-es -os* 'canis' (**k̑un-ēs*, cp. § 228 pp. 111 f.).

Skr. *śūn-as* (for the accent see p. 70 footnote 2) Avest. *stān-ō*, Skr. *aryam̐n-ās* (*arya-mān-* 'comrade, friend') Avest. *airyam̐n-ō* (*airya-man-* 'obedient'), Skr. *āśman-as* Avest. *as-man-ō* (*āśman-* *asman-* 'stone, heaven'). Sometimes this or that dialect would show preference for strong forms of the stem, as Ved. *vṛṣān-as* beside *vṛṣn-as* 'of a bull', Avest. *airya-man-ō* beside *airyam̐n-ō*, and cp. II § 117 Rem. 1 p. 366, and III § 251. With *-s* we have Avest. *xwēnag* 'of the sun' = pr. Ar. **syan-s*, a by-form of *hvar-* = Ved. *suvar-*, cp. II § 118 pp. 375 f., III § 224 pp. 103 f.

Armen. *akan* (nom. *akn* 'eye'), *elin* (nom. *eln* 'stag'), like O.C.Sl. *jelen-e* 'of a stag' Gr. *ἀδέν-ος*. The original weak stem is seen in *aṛn* 'of a man', like Avest. *aršn-ō*.

Greek *κυν-ός*, *ἀρν-ός*, and with the strong stem *τέκτων-ος*, *ποιμίν-ος*, *ἀγῶν-ος*, *πενθῆν-ος*.

Lat. *carn-is*, and, with the strong stem, *homin-is homin-us*, *edōn-is*, Sab. *neriēn-is* (II § 115 p. 360); the old ending *-es* occurs in *Apolones* 'Apollinis', *C.I.L.* vol. I no. 187. In Umbro-Samnitic all consonantal stems took the ending of *i*-stems in the genitive, doubtless owing to a confluence of the nom. and gen. sing. in a certain number of words. So here we find the *-eis* of *i*-stems: Umbr. *nomner* 'nominis', Osc. *carneis* 'partis'.

O.Ir. *con* 'canis' for **cun-os*, and similarly *dercon* (nom. *derucc* 'acorn'), *aran* (nom. *aru* 'kidney'), *toimten* (nom. *toimtiu* 'opinion'); in Ogam inscriptions *Segamon-as*, *Inission-as*. On the other hand, neuter *n*-stems show in Old Irish the ending **-en-s* (**-ens* **-ēs* *-e*, cp. I § 657. 6 p. 509), as *imbe* (nom. *imb n-* 'butter'), *anme* (nom. *ainm n-* 'name'); **-en-s* : **-n-es* **-n-os* = **-ei-s* : **-i-es* **-i-os*, see § 231 p. 119.

Goth. *gumin-s* O.H.G. *gomen gomin* 'of a man' (as to *-en* *-in* see Bremer, *Ztschr. für deutsche Phil.*, XXII 249 f.), Goth. *tuggōn-s* O.H.G. *zungūn* 'of a tongue' (cp. § 218 p. 95). With the weak stem Goth. *managein-s* 'of a crowd' (II § 115 p. 362). It cannot be determined to what extent **-iz* = Idg. **-es* was the ending, and whether such an ending as **-az* = Idg. **-os* was or was not used along with it.

Lith. *szuñ-s*, and, with the strong stem, *akmeñ-s*, besides other examples; *-s* stands for **-es* according to vol. I § 664. 2 p. 522. O.C.Sl. *dñn-e* 'of a day' (II § 114 p. 356), and, with the strong stem, *kamen-e*, with other examples; *-e* is for **-es* according to I § 665. 4 p. 525.

b. Root-nouns in *-m*. Pr. Idg. **dem-s* 'of a house': Skr. *dán* Avest. *dēnag*, Gr. *δεσ-*, for **δεμς* **δεγς*, in *δεσ-νότρης* 'master of the house' (I § 204 p. 171, II § 160 p. 483). Skr. *kṣm-ás gm-ás jm-ás* Avest. *z'm-ō*, Gr. *χθονός* transformed from **χθου-ος* 'of the earth' (II § 160 p. 482).

§ 235. 7. Stems with suffixes in *-r*. Most of these have *-es* *-os*, along with which *-s* is found in Aryan, and as it would seem in Germanic too.

Skr. regularly has *-ur*, as *mātúr ddtur*, probably for **-tṛ-s*,

see I § 288 p. 230¹⁾; in Avestic, to correspond, we find *ner's* for **n̥r-s*, stem *n-ar-* 'man'. With the strong stem and -s, Avest. *nar-š*, *sāstar-š* 'of a ruler', cp. *atar-car-š* 'of him who produces fire'. Two Sanskrit words have been supposed to contain a genitive of this latter kind — Ved. *mātar-iśvan-* 'he who is lord over his mother', by Bartholomae (Bezz. Beitr. XIII 92), and Ved. *svār (sūvar)* 'of light' for **suvar-š* (I § 647. 7 pp. 493 f.) according to the conjecture of J. Schmidt (Pluralb. 223). The usual Avestic type is weak stem + -as -ō, as *brāpr-ō* 'fratris', *hamaestr-ō* 'of an opponent'; similarly in O.Pers. *pīša* 'patris' (I § 558. 4 p. 415). Avest. *sāstar-š* : *hamaestr-ō* = Skr. *āvē-š* : *āvy-as* and the like, see § 231 p. 119. The re-formate *nār-as* 'of a man' is due partly to its being from a monosyllabic stem *n-ar-*; cp. § 231 p. 120.

Armen. *maur* 'matris' for **mātr-es* or **mātr-os*, *kei* 'sororis' for **syesr-es* or **syesr-os* (I § 360 p. 276, § 561 p. 417). But *dster* 'of a daughter' has the strong stem, like Gr. Hom. *θυγατέρ-ος* beside *θυγατρ-ός*.

Gr. *μητρ-ός*; Homer uses forms such as *μητέρος πατέρος ἀνέρος* as well, which follow the strong cases (cp. Skr. *nār-as* following *nār-i*, § 231 p. 120). *δύτορ-ος* instead of **δωτορ-ος* follows *δύτορ-α*, and *δοτήρ-ος* instead of **δοτορ-ος* follows *δοτήρ*.

Lat. *patr-is patr-us*, *mātr-is*, *frātr-is*; *datōr-is* instead of **datr-is* follows the nominative. In Umbro-Samnitic these stems have borrowed -*eis* from the *i*-stems (cp. § 234 p. 125): Umbr. *matrer* Osc. *maatreis* 'matris'.

O.Ir. *māthar* for **mātr-os* or **māter-os* (I § 77 p. 67).

Goth. *brōþr-s fadr-s*, O.Icel. *brōðr feðr*; the "mutated" vowel in the latter forms points to original **-tr-es*. Secondly, A.S. *brōðor feadur*, O.Icel. *fōðor fōður*, whose ending, like Skr. -*ur*, may be derived from **-r-s*. Thirdly, A.S. *fæder* O.H.G. *fater* have taken -*er* from the strong cases, like Gr. Hom. *πατέρ-ος*.

1) In this view of the forms in -*ur* I follow Bartholomae, Ar. Forsch. II 110. Others are mentioned by Collitz in Bezzenberger's Beiträge X 10; but they all have less to recommend them than this.

Other forms of the same kind as these last are Lith. *moter̃-s* and O.C.Sl. *mater-e*.

§ 236. 8. Stems ending in Explosives. These regularly have *-es -os*.

Remark. There is no trustworthy ground for adding *-s* as another ending of these stems. In Vāj.-Śaṅ. 20. 2 the form *vidyōt* is used as an ablative (= *vidyūt-as*); and this is supposed to represent **vidyōt-s* by J. Schmidt (Plur. 223), see however Weber, Kuhn-Schl. Beitr. III 389, Böhlingk and Roth's Sanskrit Diet. s. v., Lanman, Noun-Inflection 468, Bartholomae, Stud. zur idg. Spr. I 77. The Latin genitive *nox* (XII Tables) is supposed by Stolz, Lat. Gr.² 337, to contain this ending.

Pr. Idg. **bhṛghṇt-es -os* (**bhṛghṇt-és*, cp. § 228 pp. 111 f.). Skr. *bṛhat-ás*, Avest. *ber̥zat-ō* and with the strong stem *ber̥zant-ō*; Skr. *bhārat-as* 'ferentis'. Gr. *ιδόντ-ος* *φίροντ-ος*, with strong stem. Lat. *rudent-is*, *ferent-is*, *praesent-is*; it is doubtful to what extent *-ent-* is a simple phonetic development from Idg. *-ṇt-* (II § 125 pp. 395 f., III p. 105 footnote 1). O.Ir. *lōchet* 'of lightning', *carat* 'of a friend', pr. Kelt. **-os*. — In Germanic, this is the ending of *o*-stems: Goth. *frijōndi-s* O.H.G. *friunt-es*. Balto-Slavonic has a *io-* suffix: Lith. *vėžanczio*, O.C.Sl. *vezaqšta*.

Skr. *sarvātāt-as* 'of completeness', Avest. *haurvatāt-ō* 'of safety'. Gr. *ὁλότηρ-ος* 'of wholeness'. Lat. *novitāt-is* *juventūt-is*, cp. O.Lat. inscr. *Salut-es*. O.Ir. *bethad* 'of life', pr. Kelt. **-os*. Goth. *mitaþ-s* 'of measure'.

Skr. *śarād-as* 'of autumn'. Gr. *φρυάδ-ος* 'fugacis'. Lat. *lapid-is*. O.Ir. *druad* 'of a Druid' pr. Kelt. **-os*; Irish Ogam inscr. *Deccedd-as*. Skr. *pad-ás* Gr. *ποδ-ός* Lat. *ped-is* 'of a foot'.

Skr. *uśij-as*, stem *uśij-* 'desiring'. Gr. *μίσκου-ος* 'of a girl', *ὄρνυξ-ος* *ὄρνυξ-ος* 'of a quail'. Lat. *bibac-is*. O.Ir. *nathrach* 'of a water-snake' pr. Kelt. **-os*, Irish Ogam *Lugudecc-as* = O.Ir. *Luigdech* (nom. *Lugaid*). Skr. *vāc-ás* Gr. *ὄν-ός* Lat. *vōc-is* 'of a voice, speech'. Skr. *-raj-as* Lat. *rēg-is* O.Ir. *rīg* (pr. Kelt. **-os*) 'of a ruler'.

Skr. *ap-ás* Avest. *ap-ō ap-ō* 'of water'. Gr. *κλωπ-ός* 'of a thief'. Lat. *dap-is*.

In Germanic, genitives of this kind are on the whole

rare; most of those which occur belong to monosyllabic stems. We may cite as further examples the following: Goth. *naht-s* O.H.G. *naht* A.S. *niht* O.Icel. *næt-r* 'of night' for pr. Germ. **naht-iz* = Lat. *noct-is*; Goth. *baúrg-s* O.H.G. *burg* A.S. *byrg* 'of a stronghold, city' for **burg-iz* = Avest. *ber'z-ō* (*bar'z-ō*) 'alti' O.Ir. *breg* (**brig-os*) 'of a mountain'; Goth. *vaiht-s* 'of a thing'; A.S. *bēc* 'of a book' for **bōk-iz*. Paul, in his *Beiträge* VI 550, has put forth a conjecture which is worth considering although quite uncertain. He suggests that the Idg. ending **-es* has been preserved by the acute accent in such forms as O.H.G. *nahtes* adv. 'by night, of a night'. The *e* of *-es* would then be due to the influence of the *o*-stem ending (§ 239; and cp. Kluge, Paul's *Grundr.* I 354, 361, 385).

For O.C.Sl. *teleťe* from nom. acc. *teleť* 'calf', see § 244.

§ 237. 9. Stems in *-s*. The regular ending is *-es -os*.

Remark. Here, as in the preceding class (see § 236 Rem.), there are only uncertain traces of *-s*. The Vedic gen. *uśás* 'of dawn', which we took to represent **uś-ǵ-as*¹⁾, is regarded by J. Schmidt as standing for **uśas-s*, and in the same way he refers *ǵhas* Rig-V. VI. 3. 1 to **ǵhas-s* (Plur. 228). Against this explanation, see Bartholomae *Stud. zur idg. Spr.* 77 ff., and cp. § 356 Rem. below.

a. Pr. Idg. **menes-es -os* 'of a mind'; **ménes-os* according to § 228 pp. 111 f.; for the ablaut grade of the formative suffix, see II § 132 p. 413. Skr. *mánas-as*, *durmanas-as*; Avest. *mananǵh-ō* *dušmananǵh-ō*. Gr. Ion. *μίνε-ος* Att. *μένους*; Ion. *δυσμενέ-ος* Att. *δυσμενοῦς*. Lat. *gener-is*, *Vener-is* *Vener-us*; *dēgener-is*; *tempor-is* with *-o-* from the nom. acc. sing. neut. (II § 132 pp. 418 f.). O.Ir. *tige* (nom. *tech teg* 'house') = Gr. *στέγος* *τίγος*. Goth. *hatis* 'of hatred', see below. O.C.Sl. *slaves-e* 'of a word' = Skr. *śrávas-as*.

Other forms have a weak grade of formative suffix, as **mēn-s-es -os* 'mensis': Gr. Lesb. *μῆν-ος* Att. *μην-ός*, Lat. *mēns-is*, O.Ir. *mīs*. Cp. II § 132 p. 415.

Greek Att. *Σωκράτου* beside *Σωκράτους* and the like, following *πολίτου*, cp. acc. *Σωκράτην* instead of *Σωκάρη* § 220

1) Above, II § 133 p. 423. And compare Bartholomae *Stud. zur idg. Spr.* I 20, 55.

p. 97, dat. Σωκράτη § 272. Also Lesb. Θεογένη on the model of stems in *a*, like voc. -γένε (§ 209), acc. -γένην (§ 220), dat. -γένη (§ 272).

Gothic. *hatis* is once found, Ephes. 2. 3 *barna hatiz* 'τέσσα ὀργῆς' in Ambr. B., whilst Ambr. A. has *barna hatizē*. The forms *hatiz-is*, *agis-is* (*agis* 'fear') etc. follow the *o*-stems. So also O.H.G. *ahir-es* (*ahir* 'ear of corn'); beside which are found *kalbes* (cp. *Kelbiris-bach*) *lambes*, which were made on the model of *worte-s* after the nom. acc. *kalb lamb* etc. had come, in the regular course of sound-change, to belong apparently to the same class as *wort*.

Perhaps Goth. *lambis* and like forms are to be classed with *hatis*. Because these words, like neuter *o*-stems, made their gen. sing. in *-is*, they came to be declined like them in other cases: nom. *lamb* etc. (Michels, Zum Wechsel des Nominalgeschlechts, I 17). To this one other factor may have contributed; namely, the practice of representing *es*-stems in composition by a corresponding form in *-o-* (Goth. *hráiva-*, Norse Run. *hlewa-* = *κλεο-*, see Burg, Runeninschr. 19, O.West.Germ. *requa-*, cp. II § 12 p. 28, § 40 Rem. 5 pp. 73 f.).

Old Church Slavonic. *slova* beside *sloves-e*, a reformation like O.H.G. *kalbes*, see II § 132 p. 422.

b. The gen. sing. belonging to the nom. in Idg. **-ōs* has this ending. Skr. *uśás-as* Gr. ἡοῦς for **ἡό(σ)-ος* 'of dawn'. Lat. *honōr-is* with *ō* taken from the nom., like *datōr-is* § 235 p. 126.

c. Pr. Idg. **grevas-es -os* n. 'of flesh': Skr. *kravīṣ-as*, Gr. Att. *κρέως* for **κρεα(σ)-ος*.

d. Pr. Idg. comparative **ōkīs-es -os* 'ocioris' (cp. II § 135 p. 429): Skr. *dātyas-as* Avest. *asyanōh-ō*, Lat. *ōciōr-is* (like *honōr-is*, in *b.* above). In Greek we have ἡδιόν-ος with *-ien-*. O.C.Sl. *slazdāša*, extended by the suffix *-jo-*.

e. Pr. Idg. part. perf. act. **uejdus-es -os* 'of him who knows': Skr. *vidūṣ-as* Avest. *viduš-ō*. Greek *εἰδός-ος*, with *-uet-*. Balto-Slavonic: Lith. *mirusio* O.C.Sl. *mīrūša*, extended by *-jo-*.

f. Root-Nouns. Skr. *nas-ás* 'of a nose', Lat. *nār-is*. Skr. *as-ás* Avest. *ānəh-ō* 'oris', Lat. *ōr-is*. Skr. *mūṣ-as* (inferred from the nom. pl. *mūṣ-as*) Gr. *μῦός* (instead of the strictly regular **μῦός*, see II § 160 p. 485) Lat. *mūr-is* 'of a mouse'.

§ 238. 10. Lastly, the genitive of certain root-nouns whose root ends in *y* or *i* may be cited.

Skr. *nāv-ás* Gr. *νηός νεώς* (I § 611 p. 462) Lat. *nāv-is* 'of a ship'.

Skr. *rāy-ás* from *rā-s* 'goods, wealth', Lat. *rēi* (cp. dat. *rēi*) a re-formate like *faciēi* § 230 p. 118.

Skr. *div-ás dyō-ṣ*, Gr. *ΔιF-ός*, Lat. *Jov-is*, from nom. Skr. *dyāu-ṣ* 'daylight', *Ζεύς*; O.H.G. *Zios* perhaps for **d(i)ey-s* = Skr. *dyō-ṣ* (cp. nom. *Zio* § 199 p. 80) and A.S. *Tīwes* = **di(i)ey-es*. Skr. *gō-ṣ*, and in the Veda *gāv-as* as well, Avest. *gēu-ṣ gao-ṣ*, Gr. *βο(F)-ός* and a by-form *βος* in *Βόσ-πορ-ος* for **gy-os*, Lat. *bov-is*, O.Ir. *bou* (later *bō*) for **boy-os*, from **gey- *goy-* 'head of cattle'; O.H.G. *kuo*, and possibly A.S. *cy* (p. 80 footnote 1) from a form of the stem to be inferred from the acc. sing. and perhaps from the nom. sing. too (H.G. *kuo-* A.S. *cū-*), see § 199 p. 80, § 221 p. 98. Skr. *div-ás* Gr. *ΔιF-ός Boos-*: Skr. *dyō-ṣ gō-ṣ* = Avest. *hamaestr-ō : sāstar-ṣ*, see § 231 pp. 119 f. Later re-formatives are Lat. *Jov-is* A.S. *Tīw-es* Ved. *gāv-as* Gr. *βο(F)-ός* Lat. *bov-is* O.Ir. *bou*, cp. Avest. *vay-ō* and like forms p. 120.

§ 239. II. Formation of the Genitive in *o*-stems (cp. § 228 pp. 113 f.).

a. The Pronominal Endings *-sjo* and *-so*. Pr.Idg. **ulgo-sjo* 'lupi' (had nouns **-e-sjo* beside **-o-sjo*, as pronouns had? see §§ 418, 450). Skr. *vfka-sya*; Avest. *vehrka-he*, Gāthic *vehrka-hya* (I § 125 p. 115), O.Pers. *kāra-hya* 'of a people, host'. Armen. *gailo-y* (I § 561 p. 417); the ending *-ay* in proper names, as *Trdatay* (nom. *Trdat*) *Maremay* (nom. *Mariam*) is perhaps the Iran. *-a-hja* borrowed; however, it is not quite certain that Armen. *-oy -ay* have the origin here suggested; see below. Gr. Hom. *λόχοιο*; and, side by side with

this kind, forms like *Αιόλοο* are shewn by the metre to be necessary (the MSS. have *Αιόλον*), Hom. *Πηνελέωο* (nom. *Πηνέλεω-ς*) for **-ηοο* (I § 611 p. 462), Ion. Att. *λύκον*, Dor. *λύκω*.

Armen. *-oy* may or may not be one of these endings. What makes it uncertain is this. The ablative *-oy* can be referred to **-o-tos* (cp. Skr. *mukha-tás*), and it might then be assumed that the ablative form was used as genitive owing to the relation between pairs of forms like abl. *i zardu*: gen. *zardu*. Cp. § 244 p. 142.

In the Cyprian dialect of Greek occurs the ending *-ων*, as *ἀργύρων* = Att. *ἀργύρον*. It is usual to connect this with Arcad. *τω-νί* 'huius', in which case the ending will have been borrowed from the pronoun. But there are difficulties in the way of this view. Some assume that the ending *-ου* which is found in some parts of Thessaly (e. g. *χρόνοι, τοῖ*) comes from *-ωο*. This is hardly likely; it is far more probable that these were locatives used in the genitive sense (§ 263); see below, b.

**-e-so* **-o-so* in Germanic. Examples of its use with pronouns are Goth. *þi-s* 'of this' *hvi-s* 'of which?' (§ 419). It doubtless did not pass on to the noun until the independent growth of Germanic had begun. The position of the word accent in the pronominal forms, **þé-so*, **χμέ-so*, explains the breathed *s* (O.H.G. *wulfes* O.Icel. *ulfs*) and the *e* (not *i*) of the ending *-es* in West Germanic (the *i* of Goth. *-is* did not arise until Gothic had split off and become independent). In Goth. and O.H.G. **-e-so*, Goth. *vulfs* O.H.G. *wolfes*. Old Norse **-o-so*, Norse Run. *Gōdagas* O.Icel. *ulfs* (beside *þess* 'of the, of this'). In the oldest documents of A.S., and still later dialectically, we find *-æs* = **-o-so*, as *dægæs* 'of a day', elsewhere *-es* = **-e-so*, *dæg-es*; so also in pronouns, *ðæs* and *ðes*.

b. Latin and Celtic *-ī*. Lat. *lupī*. The oldest specimens of the language have *-ī*; later we find both *-ī* and *-ei*, but the latter may be nothing more than another mode of writing the sound of *-ī*, as it is in *veivos* (I § 41 p. 38). The ending *-ī* in *īo*-stems dates back to the prehistoric period; e. g. *filī* (nom. *filīu-s*), so also Falisc. *-ī*, as *Cēsī* 'Caesii'

(Deecke, *Die Fal.*, p. 264). The ending *-ī* is later, and due to *-i-* passing into the genitive from the other cases; it first appeared in adjectives, afterwards in substantives. O.Ir. *fir* 'viri', *maicc* 'filii', Irish Ogam inscr. *magi* (-ī?) = *maicc*, Gall. *Ategnati* (nom. *Ategnato-s*), and like forms. *īo*-stems: O.Ir. *cēli* 'socii' for **-i(i)ī*. In Umbro-Samnitic *o*-stems show the ending *-eīs*: Umbr. *popler* 'populi', Osc. *sakarakleīs* 'sacelli'.

Two considerations make it not improbable *a priori* that this noun-genitive is a locative formation. These are (1) that in pronouns the Idg. locative in *-ī* (*-e-ī -o-ī*) is used from the proethnic stage onwards not only as a locative, but as a genitive (Skr. *mē* Gr. *μοι* etc., see § 447), and in particular the genitives Lat. *istīus* Osc. *eizeis* can be shewn to be transformations of original forms in *e-ī* (§ 419); (2) Thessal. *χρόνοι* is a locative (see last page). It is quite permissible to refer Kelt. *-ī*, i. e. *-ī*, to **-eī*, especially as examples of Gall. *-ī* (-ī), for **-aī*, have been preserved (§ 247). This may perhaps explain the phonetic difficulties of the Latin forms. *fīlī*, a genitive in function, is locative in form, the suffix being Idg. *-ī* (*-ī* is the weak grade form of *-īo-* *-īō-*, as in the voc. *fīlī* and elsewhere, see § 201 p. 83); this formation would give an easy explanation of Lith. *-yje* in *žōdyje* (nom. *žōdi-s* 'word'). At the same time proethnic Latin had **lupeī* in use, and the *-eī* of this, by association with *fīlī*, became *-ī* earlier than the same change took place elsewhere in the language; hence it is that *-ī* is the regular mode of writing this termination in the earliest records of Latin. But in the Umbro-Samnitic branch *-eī* was kept, although it was extended, as it was in pronouns, by adding *-s*, and thus became *-eīs* (cp. O.Lat. gen. *mī-s* *tī-s* § 447); the result was that there was a confluence of *o-* and *i-*stems here (cp. Lottner, Kuhn-Schleicher's *Beitr.* II 311 f.).

Remark. Not much stress must be laid on the form *Zextoi* 'Sexti' found in a Faliscan inscription (Deecke, *Die Fal.*, p. 180). In the two other proper names found in this inscription, *Voltio* 'Voltius' and *Folcozeo* 'Folcosius', *s* has dropped; and the same may have happened to *Zextoi*. **Zextois* would be parallel to *Ceises* 'Caesii' *Calitenes* 'Calitenii'. Or it

is quite conceivable that *-oi* is formed on the analogy of the *-ai* in *ā*-stems, as *Vollai* 'Voltae', in the same way as Lat. *cquōrum* follows the analogy of *equārum* (§ 345), and loc. pl. Lat. Sabell. *-ōs* follows *-ās* (§ 357). Lastly, there is the possibility that the engraver has made a mistake.

c. Lith. *viļko*, O.C.Sl. *vlūka*, doubtless an ablative form (§ 241). Side by side with this occur the following pronominal forms, Pruss. *ste-sse* O.C.Sl. *če-so* (§ 418).

*Ablative Singular.*¹⁾

§ 240. This case had no form proper to itself in the parent language, except with *o*-stems. In these the ablative ended in *-ēd* and *-ōd*; in other stems the genitive and ablative had the same ending (§ 228 pp. 112 f.).

-ēd and *-ōd* are related in the same way as *-e-sjō* and *o-sjō* in the genitive singular, *-eĭ* and *-oĭ* in the locative singular, and *-ē* and *-ō* in the instrumental singular. Probably the *e*-vowel was originally used where the syllable carried the chief word accent (I § 311 pp. 248 f.). Oxytone ablative adverbs of the parent language ending in *-ēd* (lat. *facillimē*, cp. Skr. *apākād* 'from afar' from *āpaka*- 'distant') kept the *e*-vowel and its accent down to the time when the languages had begun to develop independently, just as in Greek we find the loc. adv. *ἀμαξεί* beside *ἄμαχο-ς*, in Armenian the instr. adv. *ardare-v* 'ἀληθῶς'

1) Delbrück, *Ablativ, Localis, Instrumentalis im Altind., Lat., Griech. und Deutschen*, 1867. Zeyss, *Über die in Ablativform erscheinenden italischen Präpositionen*, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XVI 371 ff. Ritschl, *Neue plautinische Excursus: Auslautendes d im alten Lat.*, 1869. Bergk, *Beiträge zur lat. Gram. I, Auslautendes d im alten Lat.*, 1870. Max Müller, *Über Ablative auf d mit Locativbedeutung*, Fleckeisen's Jahrb. B. 113 (1876) S. 689 ff. M. Ruge, *De ablativi in veteribus linguis Italicis forma et usu locali*, Curtius' Stud. X 383 ff. Havet, *L'ablatif des radicaux consonantiques (en latin)*, Mém. de la Soc. de lingu. VI 105 sqq. J. Schmidt, *Die lat. Adverbia auf e von o-Stämmen und die Singularitative der germanischen Pronomina*, Festgruss an Böhtlingk, 1888, S. 100 ff. Paul, *Der Ablativ im German.*, in s. Beitr. II 339 ff. Bezzenberger, *Lettische Ablative*, in s. Beitr. IX 248 ff.

beside the living instrumental *ardaro-v* from the stem *ardaro-* 'just, right' (cp. J. Schmidt, *Festgruss an Böhntlingk*, pp. 100 ff.). But the case was different where the forms were not adverbs. Then *-ēd* and *-ōd* may have become independent of the difference in accent, which was originally the condition of the double form, even before the parent language split up at all.

In such pronominal forms as Skr. *mā-d* 'a me', *-d* is the ablative suffix; so it is possible to analyse thus — **uqē-d*, and to regard *-ē* as the third form of the strong grade (I § 311 p. 247). (Note that Johansson calls the formation in *-ēd -ōd* an instrumental in *-ē -ō* to which a further suffix *-d* has been added, *Bezz. Beitr.* XVI 136.) But it is also possible that *-ēd -ōd* first came about by contraction of the stem-final *-e -o* with *-a^rd*, whatever that may have been; and that *-a^rd* and *-d* were parallel forms bearing much the same relation to one another as *-es -os* and *-s* in the genitive singular (I § 115 p. 108).

The ablative of *o*-stems, as a noun-case proper, is fertile in Aryan and Italic; and also in Germanic and Balto-Slavonic, if Goth. *vulfa* and Lith. *vilko* O.C.Sl. *vluka* are really ablative forms. In Greek the only forms which preserve it are adverbs. In Armenian and Keltic it seems to have vanished utterly at the beginning of the historical period.

In Avestic and in Italic, the ablatives in *-ēd -ōd* which belonged to stems in *-o-* gave rise by analogy to *d*-ablatives in the other stems. This made it possible to make a distinction in form between the genitive and ablative of these stems, which had come down from the original language having the same suffix (*-es -os -s*).

In some languages the ablatival *-tos*, which belonged to adverbs, made its way into the noun system and became a fertile case suffix. This happened in Sanskrit, Armenian, and Greek, perhaps also in Slavonic. Cp. § 189 p. 66.

§ 241. I. Original ablatives of *o*-stems ending in *-ēd -ōd*.

Pr.Idg. **u^lqōd* (**u^lqēd*) from **u^lgo-* 'wolf', **jugēd* (**ju-gōd*) from **jugō-* 'yoke', cp. § 240. Skr. *vfkad yugdd*;

Avest. *vehrkaḥ* O.Pers. *kāra* (I § 649. 6 p. 496) from *kāra*- 'people, host'. The ending *-ōd* (not *-ēd*) is indicated by Avest. *paskaḥ* 'behind, along after' with *k* as compared with instr. *pasca* = Skr. *paśca* with *c*, which therefore contains the Idg. ending *-ē* (§ 275). Greek: pronominal adverbs, Locr. *ὦ ὄνω* Cret. *ὦ ὄνω* 'unde'. Latin: old inscr. *Gnaivōd meritōd*, in the later language *Gnaeō meritō lupō jugō*, and many adverbs in *-ō*; Umbr. *pihaclu* 'piaculo' *somo* 'summo', Osc. *sakaraklúd* 'sacello'; *-ēd* in Italic only occurs in adverbs (cp. § 240), Lat. older inscr. *facilumed* i. e. *facil-lumed*, later *facillumē rectē* Falisc. *rectēd*, Umbr. *rehte* 'recte' Osc. *amprufid* 'improbe' (*ē* becoming *ī* as in *ligud* 'lege' *licitud* 'liceto'). The following Germanic words may quite regularly represent ablative forms (see below): Goth. *vulfa juka*, O.Icel. *ulfe ulfi*, O.H.G. *wölfu -o*; and possibly we should class along with these ablatives Goth. *meina* O.H.G. *mīn* 'mine, my' (from the poss. *meina-*), which is genitive in use; see § 452. Lith. *viško* O.C.Sl. *vlūka*, see below.

In Avestic occurs *-āda* as well as *-aḥ*, as *xšaḥrāda* from *xšaḥra-* n. 'lordship'; this was produced by accretion of the postposition *a* = Skr. *ā*, cp. the loc. pl. in *-hv-a* § 356. *-aḥ* has been superseded by the ending of consonant stems (§ 242) in *yimaḥ* (*yima-*, a proper name), cp. Skr. *yamād*.

Two explanations are possible of Greek adverbs of manner, such as *τῶς* 'thus' (cp. Skr. *tād* 'thus'), *ὥ-δε*, *ὥς*, *οὕτω* *οὕτως*, *καλῶς*, after the analogy of which were built up similar adverbs from stems which had another final than *-o-*, as *διασπρόντ-ως*, *βαρέ(F)-ως*, *σαφέ(σ)-ως* *σαφῶς*. They may be ablatives of the kind which we are now discussing, or they may be the instr. sing. in Idg. *-ō* (§ 275). It is hard to choose between these, since the meaning may be explained equally well on either supposition. If it were necessary to regard the *-ς* which appears in some of these forms as derived from Idg. *-d*, it could only be ablative. But it has never yet been proved that in any word *-ς* represents original *-t -d*. In all probability, *-ς* is a later addition, identical with the *-s* of *ἄψ* Lat. *abs*, *ἀμφίς* beside *ἀμφί*, O.Pers.

abi-š beside *abiy* 'to', *pati-š* beside *patiy* 'against' (cp. § 228 p. 112). See the Author, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIV 74 f., XXVII 417; G. Meyer, Gr. Gr.² 294; Osthoff, Morph. Unt. II 53 f., IV 243.

Remark 1. I have hitherto been hostile to the view of Curtius (Stud. X 218 ff.) that in proethnic Greek **ōṛωr* (**ōṛωd*) became *ōṛωs* before *τ*- and *σ*-, and that this form then came to be used regularly, no matter what sound followed. My reasons were as follows. (1) *ōṛωs* is usual before vowels, but before consonants *ōṛτω*. (2) When *-r* (*-d*) and *τ*- come together in Greek, *-ττ-* is the result, not *-στ-*, as *καττόν*. Such words as *ἀναστο-ς* *ἵστω* are no exceptions, since the sounds heard in these words would be *-tʰt-*, or something of the kind, even in the pre-Greek period (I § 469.4 p. 345, § 490 p. 361), and I did not venture to derive (say) *τῶς* *τό* from pr. Idg. **tótʰtód*, i. e. *tód tód*. (3) **ōṛτωr σοι* would become **ōṛτωσσοι*, as **πατσασθαι* becomes *πάσσασθαι*, and it seems to me incredible that this would be regarded as *ōṛτωs* + *σοί*; since *σσ* for the living language was a lengthened *s* and nothing more. But now Joh. Schmidt takes up the cudgels again for Curtius (Pluralb. 352 f.)¹⁾; and I must once more urge, against this theory, that so far the change of *-τ* (*-d*) to *-ς* has not been made credible in any single instance. For Schmidt's own opinion — that Hom. *τῆος* is derived regularly from **τῆας*, and so coincides with Skr. *tāvat* — is indefensible; see § 225 Rem. 1 p. 106. I do not deny that it is possible that this **tótʰtód*, or its like, once existed in the parent language, and that *τῶς* may be derived from it. But my own hypothesis still seems to me to have far greater probability: namely, that we have here an adverbial sign *-s*, which came down from the original language in certain forms, and in Greek overstepped its original limits. Schmidt himself admits the high antiquity of this *-s* e. g. in *ἀμφι-ς*, which (following Fick, Wörterb. I² 18) he compares with O.Pers. *abi-š*. For our present purpose, it is all one whether this *-s* is called, as Schmidt calls it, a neuter formative suffix, or compared, as it is in the text, with the sign of the gen.-abl. case. Yet another attempt to explain this *-s* has been recently made by Bartholomae, Stud. zur idg. Sprachgesch., I 75 f.

It is doubtful whether Gr. *ἔξ* Lat. *ex* is one of the forms which contain this adverbial *-s*, because it is possible that *ἔx* and *ec*, wherever they occur, are simply short forms of *ἔξ* and *ex* made necessary by the sounds which happen to come next them (cp. the Author's Gr. Gr.²

1) Schmidt says that in Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIV 74 I have "passed over in silence the carefully considered view of Curtius". He has not observed that my essay is earlier than that of Curtius, since it appeared as early as May 1877 (it was the *Habilitationsschrift* for my appointment as Privatdocent). Schmidt says that "no one has yet assailed it": here he is wrong again, for I have indicated its weak points in Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVII 417.

pp. 71, 219). But in any case I am firmly convinced that the analogy of $\dot{\lambda}\xi$ gave rise to $\dot{\lambda}\nu\varsigma$ ($\dot{\lambda}\dot{\iota}\varsigma$) as a by-form of $\dot{\lambda}\nu$. Schmidt contests this point too; but how he can say, as he does on page 358, that I have not explained why there is a difference in meaning between $\dot{\lambda}\nu\varsigma$ and $\dot{\lambda}\nu$, or how he can speak as if I had given as the origin of $\dot{\lambda}\nu\varsigma$ beside $\dot{\lambda}\nu$ simply and solely the analogy of the relation between $\dot{\lambda}\xi$ and $\dot{\lambda}\kappa$, is a mystery to me; for in the very passage which he cites (Ber. der sächs. Ges. der Wiss., 1883, pp. 190, 194 f.) I have expressly said that $\dot{\lambda}\nu\varsigma$ was coined as the opposite to $\dot{\lambda}\xi$ as used with verbs of motion, to which definition only $\dot{\lambda}\nu$ with the accusative answers. The form of $\dot{\lambda}\nu$ was affected in only one of its meanings, just as Skr. *pāti-*, for example, makes the genitive *pātyur* when it means 'husband', but not when it means 'lord' (§ 231 p. 120); and cp. Gr. *veavla*; : *veavla* § 190 p. 67, and Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVII 412. $\dot{\lambda}\nu\varsigma$ may have been formed on the analogy of $\dot{\lambda}\xi$, even if $\dot{\lambda}\xi$ had already its sentence-doublet $\dot{\lambda}\kappa$ in use by its side; and the use of the pair of forms, $\dot{\lambda}\nu\varsigma$ and $\dot{\lambda}\nu$, was not regulated by the use of $\dot{\lambda}\xi$: $\dot{\lambda}\kappa$, because the newly coined $\dot{\lambda}\nu\varsigma$ meant something different from $\dot{\lambda}\nu$ with the dative.

Goth. *vulfa* O.Icel. *ulfe ulfi* may be derived, without violating any ascertained law of sound-change, not only from the abl. in $*-\dot{\epsilon}d$, but from the loc. in $*-o\dot{\lambda}$ (§ 263), the instr. in $*-\dot{\epsilon}$ (§ 275), or the dat. in $*-\dot{\epsilon}(\dot{\lambda})$ (§ 246); the Icelandic form may also be a dative in $*-\dot{\epsilon}\dot{\lambda}$ (§ 246); and lastly O.H.G. *wulfu* may be instr. in $-\dot{\sigma}$ (§ 275). In these, and in other cases of the same kind, it must not be forgotten that a form may have had more than one origin, since as sound-change goes on, there is often a confluence of several inflected forms into one. But we can hardly doubt that a more thorough examination of the Syntax will often narrow the limits of choice, and shew that a given form has not so many different origins as we imagined.

Gothic adverbs in *-ba*, as *ubila-ba* 'evilly, ill' *hardu-ba* 'hard, very' if they belong to the same group as Skr. *sthūla-bhā-s* 'huge, massive' and the like (II § 78 pp. 216 ff.), are either abl. sing. or instr. sing. (§ 275). But it is a question whether *-ba* be not a particle (= Gr. $\varphi\eta$ 'how, as', cp. Höfer's Ztschr. II 204, Fick's Wörterb. I³ 686), added to the acc. sing. neut. used adverbially, and meaning 'somewhat, $\pi\omega\varsigma$ ' or something of the kind.

The following pronominal forms are ablative: Goth. *hvamma* 'to whom' *hvammē-h* 'to each' ($*-\dot{\epsilon}d$) and O.H.G. *hwemu*

(*-ōd): Skr. *kāsmād*¹⁾; the Gothic form may also be regarded as an Idg. dat. in *-ē(i) (§ 246). Cp. § 423.

The Balto-Slavonic forms *viľko* and *vlūka* have the meaning of a genitive as well as an ablative; see § 228 p. 113, § 239 p. 133. The derivation of Lith. *viľko* (-a in some dialects, Lett. -a) from Idg. **uľqōd* is not without its difficulties. -ō makes us hesitate; -ū would have been expected (I § 92 p. 86). But there is no cogent reason for deriving it from **uľqād*, which would at once satisfy the known phonetic laws; and the last word has not yet been said on the representation of Idg. *ō* in Baltic. As we have also instances like *tvorā* : *tverū*, *šolē* : *šelū*, it seems best to put the matter provisionally thus: there is a confluence of Idg. *ō* and Idg. *ā* in Lithuanian and Lettic, under certain conditions unknown.

Remark 2. Bezzenberger's assumption (Bez. Beitr. IX 248 ff.), that Lettic genitives such as *iō* beside *iā* (= Lith. *iō*), *tiltu* beside *tīlta* (= Lith. *tilto*) contain an Idg. ablative in -ōd, is doubtless right. Leskien calls my attention to a double formation in the Lithuanian dialect of Velūna, which should be compared with this: namely *tā'*, *katrū'* beside *d'vu*.

§ 242. II. Extended Use of the *d*-ablative in Avestic and Italic.

1. Avestic. *vehrkāp* beside instr. *vehrka* dat. *vehrkai* became the model, in prehistoric times, for the ablatives *barentyāp* *haēnayaāp* from the stems which make instr. *barentya* *haēnaya* dat. *barentyai* *haēnayai*. Now these same stems had gen. **barentyāh* **haēnayaāh* (which appear in the historical language as *barentyā* *haēnayaā*); accordingly, in connexion with the genitives **sūn-ah* **māpr-ah* **ber'zat-ah* **manawēh-ah* (in the historical language *sūn-ō* *māpr-ō* etc.) sprang up the ablatives *sūna* *māpra* *ber'zata* *manawēhāp*; in the same way *bāzva* and *bāzao* were formed beside **bāzv-ah* (*bāzv-ō*) and *bāzao-š*, and *ašōi* beside *ašōi-š*. Cp. Bartholomae, Ar. Forsch. I 74 f.

1) For -u in *hwemu*, cp. § 198 Rem. 2 p. 80.

In these forms too we find *-ā-a* instead of *-ā*; cp. § 241 p. 135.

Remark. It is not clear whether these analogical formations existed in Old Persian. In this language both *-d* and *-s* (*-h*) dropped (I § 649 p. 496); thus if there ever were such re-formations in *-d*, they could not be distinguished from gen.-abl. forms in *-s*. *taumāyā* (*taumā* 'family'), which is used as an ablative, may be derived from either **-āyād* or **-āyās*, as far as form goes. The two forms were only distinguished in *i*- and *u*-stems, which made the gen. in *-aiš* and *-auš*; but in these stems no forms occur which could decide the question.

§ 243. 2. In Italic it is probable that at least the beginning of the spread of the *d*-suffix dates from the proethnic period.

-ad: Lat. old inscr. *praidad sententiad*, later *praeda sententiā*; Umbr. *tota* 'civitate', Osc. *tovtad* 'civitate' suvad 'sua'. *-īd* (in Lat. and Umbr. this *-īd* and the ending *-īe* of the instr. etc. have run together; see § 277): Lat. *faciē*, Umbr. *uhtretie* 'auctoritate', and similarly Lat. *rē* Umbr. *ri* 're' *re-per* 'pro re'. *-id*: Lat. *marīd* (it is true that the authority for this form is the Columna Rostrata, but the word is correctly formed) *marī omni* (*-ei* in the inscr. forms *omnei partei* is merely a way of writing the sound of *ī*, as it is in *veivos* I § 41 p. 38); Umbr. *puni poni pone* 'posca' Osc. *slaagid* 'loco, regione' Pelign. *fertlid* 'fertili'. It would seem that *-id* spread from *i*-stems to consonant-stems in proethnic Italic: Lat. e. g. *air-īd cōventiōn-īd bov-īd portiōn-ī*, *corporī*, Falisc. *op-īd* 'ope', Umbr. *peř-i pers-i* 'pede', Osc. *praesent-īd* 'praesente'.

This re-formation in *-ad -ēd -īd* sprang up in the same way as the Latin gen. pl. *-ōrum* on the analogy of *-ārum* (§ 345), and the Sanskrit nom. acc. pl. neut. *-īni -ūni* on the analogy of *-āni* (§ 339). At the same time, another circumstance seems to have aided this developement: the ablative and instrumental had already run together. In *o*-stems the ablative was used for abl. and instr., e. g. Lat. *cum filiō* Osc. *com preivatud* 'cum privato (reo)'; and in consonantal stems the instrumental was used for instr. and abl., e. g. Lat.

(*Gnaivōd*) *patre prognātus*, Umbr. *pure* (in *pure-to*) 'ab igne' (cp. below). But in the plural also, instrumental and ablative had run together, and this may have had some influence — how much we cannot tell — upon the use of the singular. Suppose then that the *-ōd* of *o*-stems had added the function of the instrumental to its own (the genuine instr. in *-ō* can no longer be traced except in adverbs, Lat. *modō* and the like, § 275); it was a natural step to a new group of forms in *-ād* *-ēd* *-īd* beside the original instrumentals in *-a* *-ē* *-ī* (§§ 276, 277, 278), the new forms being used for both ablative and instrumental. This hypothesis agrees well with the fact that in *a*-stems as well as in *o*-stems the genuine instrumental is not found except in adverbial forms (§ 276). It was also all the easier for this re-formation in *-d* to spread, because in the plural, as well as in the singular, there were distinct forms for the genitive and the ablative (abl.-instr.).

In consonant stems, during the historical period, there was a struggle for the mastery between the abl.-instr. re-formation in *-īd* and the instrumental (also used for abl.) in (Lat. Umbr.) *-e*. In Latin, the forms in *-ī* grew gradually rarer, and gave place to those in *-e* (e. g. instead of *airīd* we find later only *aere*); but *-e* itself quite early came to be used with *i*-stems, as *ove parte* from the stems *ovi parti-* (cp. acc. *ovem* following *ped-em* § 214 p. 92 and gen. *ovis* following *ped-is* § 231 p. 121). By degrees one or other of these two endings became regular for certain groups of nouns. But neither in consonant stems nor in *i*-stems did the exceptions quite disappear; and the rules laid down by Caesar and other grammarians only shew how impossible it is to get at the facts of a living language by studying the books of theorists. In Umbrian, at the date to which the existing monuments belong, the ending *-e*, which was also a locative suffix (§ 269), was the more common of the two; e. g. *nomne* 'nomine' *curnasē* answering to the Latin 'cornice'. In Oscan, on the other hand, beside *praesentid* there are forms in *-ōd*, *lig-ud* 'lege' *tangin-ūd* *tangin-ud* 'sententia, consulto'. This

is the ending of *o*-stems, which has spread further; clearly because the two stems already agreed in the acc. sing. (*-om*) and gen. sing. (*-eis*). (See § 218 p. 95, § 231 pp. 118 f., § 239 pp. 131 f.).

Remark. It can hardly be that Latin consonant stems ever had an ablative ending *-zā* (which, if it ever existed, must have been a contamination of *-īd* and *-ē*). *dictatored* on the Col. Rostr., may be a false archaism (but as to the language of this inscription reference may now be made to Wölflin, *Sitzungsber. der k. bayer. Akad.*, 1890 pp. 293 ff.); and the length of the *-e* in poetry (Bücheler-Windekilde *Grundr. der lat. Decl.* 97) may be due to metrical reasons.

As regards *u*-stems, there are wide differences in the Italic languages. Lat. *-ūd*: *magistrātūd*, later *magistrātū*. But Umbr.-Samn. has the ending of *i*-stems: Umbr. *trefi* 'tribu' *fratre cate* 'magisterio', Osc. *castrid* 'fundo' from the stem whose the genitive is *castrovs*. Or did *ū* become *ī* under certain conditions in proethnic Umbro-Samnitic? It is doubtful how we are to regard Umbr. *maronato* beside *maronatei* 'magistratu' (see Bücheler, Umbr. pp. 173 sq.).

One more point remains to be noted. In Umbrian, fully formed ablatives, both singular and plural, often have *-tu -ta -to* affixed to them: as *akru-tu* 'ab agro' *pure-to* 'ab igne' *vapersus-to* 'a sellis'. A *-tu -ta* is also affixed in the imperative plural. Both are equally obscure.

§ 244. III. The Adverbial Ending *-tos* used as a Suffix of the Ablative Case (cp. § 189 pp. 65, 66).

Sanskrit. Adverbs like *tā-tas* 'thence' *i-tās* 'hence' gave the type first of all for noun forms such as *mukha-tās* from *mukhā-m* 'mouth' (cp. Lat. *coeli-tus* from *coelu-m*). Now pronominal adverbs in *-tas* could be used as an ordinary case, e. g. *tātaḥ śaṣṭhād* 'from this sixth part'; hence nominal adverbs such as *mukha-tās* became part of the case system, and were used as ablatives. In Epic poetry they have become exactly parallel to the ordinary ablative, and could be used for singular and plural alike, as their adverbial origin would have led us to expect: e. g. *gurur garīyān pitṛtō mātṛtāś ca*

'the teacher is more honourable than father or mother', *bhayaḥ daṣṭribhyaḥ śatrutāḥ* 'fear of snakes, of enemies'. In Prākṛit the use of this ablative formation (-dō -du = Skr. -tō) spread still more widely; see Lassen, *Inst. linguae Pracr.* pp. 302 sq.

Armenian. Examples of the ablative from stems in *i*, *u*, and consonants are: *i srtē* (*srti-* 'heart'), *i zardē* (*zardu-* 'ornament'), *y akanē* (*akan-* 'eye'), *i maurē* (*maur-* 'mother'). The ending of these according to Hübschmann (*Armen. Stud.* I 89) comes from *-e-tos by an intermediate stage of *-ey (I § 483 p. 357). In the same way, the -oy of *o*-stems, as *i gailōy*, may contain *-tos, -oy being for *-o-tos. Further, the genitive *gailoy* may have the same origin (cp. Gr. -θεν used as a genitive, Rem. 2 below). However, it is possible to derive -oy from *-o-sjo, and so the uncertainty does not at once disappear. Cp. § 239 p. 131.

The Greek gen.-abl. *ὀνόματος* corresponds to the Sanskrit *nāma-tas*; but it was attracted to the stem *ὄνομα-το-* (*ὀνόματα*, *ὀνομάτων*), which contains the formative suffix -το-, and together with it formed a system of τ-cases. See II § 82 p. 250. *οὐδατος ὕδατος στέατος* etc. are genitives of the same kind, see II § 114 p. 350, § 116 p. 365. It also seems that the feminine stem *θε-μιτ-* (:Skr. *dā-mi-*, II § 97 p. 289) was produced through a false analysis of *θεμι-τος*; see Fick, *Bezz. Beitr.* XII 7, Danielsson, *Gramm. und etym. Stud.* I 51. There are no nominal adverbs in -τος, no such form as (say) **θεό-τος* 'divinitus'; the explanation is that when -τος had become a case suffix, and was regularly used for that purpose, adverbs in -τος gave place to a new series in -θεν (*θεό-θεν*).

Remark 1. J. Schmidt gives an explanation of the τ-cases of *δνομα* which seems to me very unlikely (*Pluralb.* 187 ff.). He denies altogether the connexion of these with the suffix -tos and the Idg. to-extension of neuter *n*-stems. He believes that the nom. acc. sing. *δνομα* = Skr. *nāma*, and **φίρα* (the older form of *φίρον*) = Skr. *bhārat* eventually came to have the same ending; and that hence *ὀνόματος ὀνόματι* etc. were coined on the analogy of **φίρατος*.

Balto-Slavonic. Slavonic neuters in -ε, gen. -ετε, as *теле* 'calf', may belong to this class. -t- did not originally belong to

the inflexion of these words, as is shewn by certain parallel forms such as Russ. *telen-ok* 'calf' = O.C.Sl. **telenŭkŭ*, *mladen-ŭci* 'youth, minor' (Pruss. *malden-iki-s* 'child') as compared with *mladę* 'child'. We should have to assume that **-tos* made its way into the case system, and that the result was a series of *t*-forms, at some period when there were parallel genitives in **-es* and **-os*. As the ending **-es* became regular for the genitive, **teleto(s)* was transformed to **telete(s)*. Cp. also Pruss. *smunen-t-s* 'human being', acc. pl. *smunen-t-ins* beside *smŭnen-isku* dat. 'human'.

Remark 2. In Greek, after the analogy of ablatival adverbs with *-θεν* (*-θε*), as *ἐν-θεν* *καί-θεν* *πρό-θεν*, ablatival adverbs were formed from nouns, e. g. *ἀγρό-θεν*, *θαλό-θεν*, *ἐνὶ ᾧ-θεν*; and these drove the older series in *-τος* (**ἀγρό-τος*) out of use (see last page). But these noun-adverbs never became exactly equivalent to the corresponding cases (the contrary is not proved by Hom. *ἰξ οὐρανόθεν*, *ἀπὸ Τροίης*). But the pronouns *ἐμθεν*, *σέθεν*, *ἑθεν*, which were formed on the same analogy, were doubtless fully incorporated into the case system; for in Homer they are used not only as ablatives, but as genitives, e. g. *B 26* *ῥῦν δ' ἐμθεν ξίφος ὤκα*, *υ 42* *Διός τε σέθεν τε ἐκῆτι*, Aesch. Pers. 218 *σοί τε καὶ τέκνῳ σέθεν*.

Dative Singular.¹⁾

§ 245. The suffix of this case was a diphthong consisting of some short vowel followed by *i*. With consonant stems it appears as *-ē* in Sanskrit, as *-ai* in Greek (infinitives, as *ἵδμεν-ai*, and we may conjecture in some adverbs with the ending *-ai*, as *παρ-αί* beside loc. *πέρ-ι* instr. *παρ-ά* gen. *πάρ-ος*), as *-i* in O.C.Sl. (*synov-i* = Skr. *sūnāv-ē*, *-i* standing for **-ē*, cp. I § 84 p. 82, and to the works there cited, add Jagić, Archiv für slav. Phil X 191). From these we restore **-aj* (or **-aj̥*? see I § 109 pp. 100 ff.) as the proethnic suffix. It is

1) Delbrück, Über den indogermanischen, speciell den vedischen Dativ, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XVIII 81 ff. Bartholomae, Zur Bildung des dat. sing. der [ar.] *a*-Stämme, Bezzenberger's Beitr. XV 221 ff. Gerland, Über den altgriech. Dativ, zunächst des Singularis, Marburg 1859. Höfer, Der lat. Dat.-Locativ; in his Zeitschr. für die Wissenschaft der Sprache II 192 ff. Förstemann, Zur Geschichte altd deutscher Declin.: der dat. sing., Kuhn's Zeitschr. XVII 54 ff.

not quite so certain that $-i$ in Lat. *patr-i* represents this dative $*-ai$ (§ 249). It is also doubtful whether the Irish dat.-loc.-instr. forms, such as *coin* 'cani', are datives in $*-ai$ (§ 251); perhaps they are all locatives in origin (cp. Gr. *xvri*). Lastly, it is uncertain how we should regard the Lith. gerundive forms in the dative absolute, as *mán be-mėgant(i)* 'whilst I slept' *mán parėjus(i)* 'when I came home'. J. Schmidt would have them to be Idg. datives (Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVI 260 f.); $*-ai$ would have become $*-ē$, and this $-i$ according to I § 664. 3 pp. 523 f.

Stems in o , a , and $iē$ in the proethnic period had the endings $*-ōi$ ($*-ēi$), $*-ai$, $*-iēi$, contracted from $-o+ai$ ($-e+ai$), $-a+ai$ (or $-a+ai$), $-iē+ai$ (cp. I pp. 106 f.). In a -stems and $iē$ -stems dat. and loc. sing. had run together even then (§§ 264, 265).

Not all of the forms in Greek, Italic, Keltic, and Germanic which are classed as singular datives in the grammars are really dative. In both form and use there has been confusion with the locative, instrumental, or ablative. Hence great complications have arisen (cp. § 188); and many points in the history of the Indo-Germanic dative, locative, and instrumental forms in these languages remain dark for the present. When this is so, care will be taken that as complete a list as possible shall be given of all the possible ways in which any given form may be explained.

§ 246. 1. o -stems. Pr. Idg. $*ulqōi^1$, and doubtless $*-ē(i)$ also, as in the abl. sing. there were both $*-ōd$ and $*-ēd$, in the loc. sing. $*-oi$ and $*-ēi$, in the instr. sing. both $*-ō$ and

1) I do not consider it proved that a presumed $*ulqōi$ could become $*ulqō$ in Idg. Lat. *lupō* cannot be derived from such a form as $*ulqō$, if only for the reason that the Lat. dative $-ō$ always remained long. I assume a loss of $-i$ only for $-ēi$ (and that perhaps only at the end of a sentence or clause); where the reason was that the two vowels of this diphthong were closely connected (cp. I § 645. 1 p. 489). But I do not deny that i may have dropped in $ōi$ as well in the parent language. These sounds may have been differently treated at different periods, or when their position in a word was different. See I § 150 pp. 137 f.

*-ē (§§ 240, 263, 275). Skr. -ai in the infinitive, e. g. the infin. in -*dhyaī*, as *bhāra-dhyaī*, from the stem -*dhya-* (this ending is also pronominal, as *tāsmāi* dat. of 'this'); Avest. -ai regularly, as *vehrkai*. Sanskrit and Avestic have another ending -a = Idg. *-ē(i), as Skr. *sakhyā* from *sakhyā-m* 'friendship' Avest. *aša* from *aše-m* 'what is just, justice'; see Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. XV 221 ff., J. Schmidt, Pluralb. 234 f. For Skr. *ṽkāya* see below. Gr. ἱνπι; -oi later on (in Attic in the second century B. C. or thereabouts) became -ω, Thess. -ov (I § 84 p. 84, § 132 p. 120); for the forms in -oi used in several dialects for the dative, see § 247. O.Lat. *Numasiōi* inscr., *populōi Rōmānōi* mentioned by Marius Victorinus; later on -ōi became -ō, *lupō jugō* (I § 136 p. 123); Osc. *Abellanūi* 'Abellano', Umbr. *Tefre Tefri Tefrei* 'Tefro (deo)', cp. below. O.H.G. *wolfe*, O.Icel. *ulfe ulfi*, cp. below. Pruss. *wirdai* 'verbo' with -ai = -oi, for *-ōi; Lith. *vil̃kui*, cp. below.

In Sanskrit, nouns usually have -āya, as *ṽkāya*. Bartholomae (Handb. p. 95, Ar. Forsch. II 169, III 63) regards this as the old dative extended by -a, a byform of the postposition *ā*, cp. Avest. *fradapāi ā* 'for assistance'. He conjectures that the same -a is contained in the locative ending Avest. -*hva* O.Pers. -*uv-ā*, although of course an original *ā* may be contained here (§ 356); and it may be the same as the affix -e in such locatives as Lith. *raũkoj-e* O.C.Sl. *kamen-e* (§§ 257, 264)¹, cp. § 186 p. 62.

Umbro-Samnitic. Two things are possible. (1) It may be that in pr. Ital. -ōi became -oi before consonants (cp. Ital.

1) Bartholomae (*loc. cit.*) takes *a* to be a: 'proclitic' by-form of *ā* in Avest. verbal compounds, such as *a-sās-*. In exactly the same way, Wackernagel now holds that *ō-* in *ō-φελος* *ō-κίλλω* is the 'weak grade' of *ō-* in *ō-φελίω* (Das Dehnungsgesetz, Basel 1889, p. 50). If so, *ē-* in *ē-φίλω* and words like it might belong to the same class. Are we then to postulate that this prefix in Idg. had four forms, *ē:e* and *ō:o*? That would doubtless mean *ē ē* and *ō ò*, i. e. four strong-grade forms; for *e* and *o* could hardly be the weak grades of *ē* and *ō*.

-*ai* and -*ai* in *a*-stems, § 247), and that *oi* became the regular ending in Umbr.-Samn. If so, Umbr. -e -i -*ei* is related to Osc. -úí as the instr. pl. Umbr. -es -*ir* -*eir* is to Osc. -úís (§ 380). (2) Or -*oi* became Umbr. -e -i -*ei* Osc. -úí in the Umbr.-Samn. period, and not before; in which connexion it should be remembered that *ú* may be read as *ō* or *ǒ*. It is probable that the Umbr. dative ending did not become identical with the locative ending which answered to Osc. *eí*, since the loc. is consistently written -e -*e*, e. g. *uze onse* 'in umero' (§ 263).

For the Irish *fiur*, used as a dative, see § 275.

Germanic. O.H.G. *wolfe* O.Icel. *ulfe ulfi* for **uulfai*, -*ai* for -*oi* -*ōi*, as in *a*-stems -*ai* comes from -*ai* (§ 247). But it is possible to explain the O.Icel. form, along with Goth. *vulfa*, as a dative by deriving it from an Idg. -*ē* for -*ēi*. *ulfe* and *vulfa* may also be the ablative in *-*ed* (§ 241 p. 135) or the instr. in *-*ē* (§ 275); *wolfe* and *ulfe*, and doubtless Goth. *vulfa*, may be loc. in *-*oi* as well (§ 263).

Goth. *hvamma* dat. of 'who' *blindamma* dat. of 'blind' (cp. *hvammē-h* dat. 'each') may contain the Idg. dative ending -*ē(i)* (cp. Skr. *kāsmāi*); but they may also be ablative like O.H.G. *hwemu blintemu* (§ 241 pp. 137 f.).

Balto-Slavonic. Lith. -*ui* in *vilku* arose (1) either at the end of a clause or sentence and when a sonant was the next sound following (cp. *vilkaĩs* = Idg. **ulqōis* § 380), or (2) in accordance with Leskien's Law of Shortening, stated in vol. I § 664.3 pp. 523 f.

The O.C.Sl. dative *vlūku* (pronouns also have -*u*, as *tomu*) cannot be derived from anything but pr. Slav. *-*ou* so far as we can tell from what is at present known of sound change in Slavonic. I do not know what to make of this form.¹⁾ It recalls the adverbs *tu* 'there' *onu-de* 'ἐκεῖ'.

§ 247. 2. *a*-stems. Pr. Idg. **ekuaī*. Skr. Ved. *sur-apatyāi* from *sur-apatyā-* 'a woman who has fair offspring'; but

¹⁾ Wiedemann derives this -*u* from Idg. -*oi* (Das litau. Präteritum I 47). How this is to be supported I do not see.

cp. below. Gr. *χώρα*; the *-i* of *-ai* dropped later on, just as did that of *-oi* (§ 246, last page). O.Lat. *Matuta*, later *equae*; Umbr. tute *tote* 'civitati' Osc. *deivai* 'divae'. O.Ir. *mnai* from nom. *ben*; *tuaith*, **-ai* becoming first **-ai* and then **-i* (*i* in *soillsi* was previously **-i*); it is worth remarking that *-i* is found even in Gallic, *Bηλισταμ* from nom. *Belisama* (cp. § 239 p. 132). Goth. *gibai* A.S. *ziefē*, and cp. the pron. Goth. *þizai* dat. fem. of 'this' as contrasted with Skr. *tásyai* (cp. § 263 Rem.). Lith. *rañkai* O.C.Sl. *racě* (I § 84 p. 82, § 664. 4 p. 524, § 665. 3 p. 525).

Aryan. The usual ending is Skr. *-ayai*, Avest. *-ayai*, as *dśvāyāi haēnayāi*, a re-formation of the same kind as the gen. sing. Skr. *-ayās* Avest. *-ayā*, see § 229 p. 115, § 264. The shorter ending *-ai* is only found in *iā*-stems. In Avest. *-yāi*, *gaēpyāi* from *gaēpyā-* f. 'earthly', there need be no scruple whatever in assuming that *-yayai* has been shortened by dissimilation; and the only question is whether in Vedic *suvaratyāi*, *-yāi* has not been shortened from *-yāyāi* in the same way (see I § 643 p. 482, and J. Schmidt, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVII 383); cp. also gen. loc. du. *yōṣ* beside *yāyōṣ* etc. in § 307 and § 422. But in any case the old ending *-ai* was kept by pronouns: Skr. *kāsyaī* Avest. *kahyāi* (§ 425).

In Greek we find *-ai* in place of *-ai* as we find *-oi*, the locative ending, in place of *-oi*. This *-oi* is found in Boeot. (*-oi*, *-ē*, see I § 80 p. 72), Arcad.-Cypr., Elean, and N.-W. Greek; *-ai* is certain for Boeotian (*Πλαίγας*, *Φελατίη*, see I § 96 p. 90), and so it was doubtless found in the other dialects which had *-oi* instead of *-oi*; it should be remembered that *-AI* may represent either *-ai* or *ai*, as far as the letters go. In protohnic Greek, *o*-stems had *-ōi* (Idg. dat. form) for dat. and instr., and *-oi* (Idg. loc. form) for locative; but *a*-stems had *-ai* (Idg. dat. and loc.) for both dative and locative (the ending of the instr. was doubtless the Idg. form in *-a*, see § 276). *-ōi* and *-ai* became *-oi* and *-ai* in pr. Greek before words beginning with a consonant (I § 611 p. 461); and thus in *o*-stems the dat. (-instr.) form became sometimes

identical with the locative, whilst the *a*-stems developed a form which seemed to be of the same kind as the Idg. locative in *-oi*, and this accordingly absorbed the special locative uses.¹⁾ By this time the boundary line between dat. (-instr.) and loc. was partly 'obliterated' in *o*-stems, and in *a*-stems the state of things was much the same. After this both classes of stems moved on side by side in the same direction: in one group of dialects, as Ion.-Att., *-ω* and *-α* absorbed *-oi* and *-āi* in the declensions, so that these survived only in adverbs and certain fossil forms (e. g. *οἶχοι*, *Θηβαι-γενής*); while elsewhere, as in Boeotian, *-oi* and *-āi* gained the day.

Italic. O.Lat. *Matuta* for pr. Ital. *-āi*, which answers to *-ōi* in *Numasīdi*. Whether *Menervai* and similar forms of the oldest inscriptions have preserved this diphthong it is impossible to decide, because *-AI* may be differently read. *-āi* *-ae*, the regular ending in classical Latin (e. g. *equae*), is the ante-consonantal form of proethnic Italic (I § 612 p. 462), and was also the ending of the locative (§ 264). This form *-āi* has become the regular ending in Umbr.-Samn. also; and here too it is impossible to trace any distinction in form between dative and the locative (see § 264).

Ennius has *terrāi* as a dative (cp. *-āi* gen., § 229 p. 116); apparently in consequence of the use of the same form in *-ēi* (*iē*-stems) for both genitive and dative (§ 230 p. 118, § 248).

§ 248. 3. *iē*-stems (cp. p. 68 footnote 1). Pr. Idg. **bhṛghyt-(i)iēi*, and doubtless *-(i)iē* at the same time, 'celsae' (cp. the locative § 265). Skr. *bṛhatyāi*, Avest. *barentyāi*. Lat. *faciē*, Umbr. *kvestretie* 'quaesturae' (and therefore O.Lat. *rē*

1) *-a* before sonants, and *-ā* before consonants, survived side by side: just as in certain dialects we find both *-or* *-ā* before sonants, and *-o* *-ā* before consonants, in the acc. pl. of stems in *o* and *ā* (§§ 326, 327).

Umbr. *ri* 'rei') can be explained as coming from Idg. **(i)ṛē*, cp. § 265; a second form is *faciī* (as in the gen. sing., § 230 p. 118), whose *-ī* may be from pr. Ital. **(i)ṛēi* for **(i)ṛēi*, just as *-ai* in *a*-stems came from *-ai* (§ 247, last page); for the third form *faciēt* see below. Mid.Ir. *Brigti*, *insi*; *-i* for **(i)ṛē*, and this for **(i)ṛēi* or **(i)ṛē*; the form may also be regarded as locative (§ 265) or instrumental (§ 277). Lith. *žėmei* O.C.Sl. *zemlji* for **(i)ṛēi* (I § 68 p. 60, § 147 p. 131), and this for **(i)ṛēi*, just as in *a*-stems **(ai)* comes from *-ai* (§ 247 pp. 147 f.).

Italic. Side by side with Lat. *faciē* and *faciī* is the form *faciēt*, which has got the ending *-t* from consonant stems, perhaps following *rēt* (cp. Skr. *ray-ē*). Are we to regard Osc. *Kerrī* Pelign. *Cerri* 'Cererī' as the dative of a similar stem?

O.Ir. *inis* beside *insi* is an *i*-stem form (§§ 260, 278), like the gen. sing. *inseo* (§ 230 p. 118).

Goth. *frijōndjai* could no doubt be derived from **(i)ṛēi* (cp. *anstai* § 260); but it must surely be a *iā*-stem form like other cases, e. g. gen. *frijōndjōs*. Greek Att. *φερωνση* *ἀλγθειᾶ* and Lith. *vėžancziāi* must certainly be assumed to be *iā*-forms. Cp. p. 68 footnote 1.

§ 249. 4. *i*-stems. Different endings are found in different branches of the language: *-ei-ai*, *-(i)ṛ-ai*, *-t*. But how these are historically related is not clear; nor is it clear how matters stood in the parent language. Probably *-ei-ai* : *-i-ai* = *-men-ai* : *-mn-ai* (§ 251).

Aryan. Skr. *ávay-ē* Avest. *ašayaē-ca* *ašēē* (cp. Bartholomae, Handb. § 93 p. 40, § 224 p. 89); in the infinitive, Skr. *pī-táyē* 'to drink' Avest. *ker-tēē* 'to complete' (II § 100 p. 298), etc. Some exceptional forms have *-i-ai*: Skr. *páty-ē* 'husband' (dat.) Avest. *paiṇyaē(-ca)* 'lord, ruler' (dat.), an irregularity which must be explained along with the irregular Skr. instr. *pátyā* loc. *pátyāu* gen. *pátyur*; see § 231 p. 120, §§ 260, 278.

In Ved. and Avest. are feminines with *-ī*: Ved. *ūti* from *ūti-* 'help' Avest. *fra-mrūti* 'for recitation', obviously the instr. form (§ 278). Bartholomae fixes pr. Aryan as the period in which this form got a dative meaning (Bezz. Beitr. XV 245 f.); but it appears to have had this meaning, as well as that of the instr., in the parent language. O.C.Sl. *-ī* in *nošti*, *pati* (*pati* m. 'way') cannot be explained without violence in any other way than by referring it to this *-ī*; the same may be said of O.Lith. *vėsz-paty* (stem *vėsz-pati-* 'lord'). Again, we must doubtless see Idg. *-ī* in such forms as Lesb. Boeot. Dor. Ion. *βάσι νόλι* (cp. §§ 266, 278), which are used for the dative amongst other things; besides which Lat. *ovī* and O.Ir. *faith* may have the same (see below).

In Sanskrit there are feminine forms in *-yāi*, *avyāi*, a re-formation like gen. *avyās* (§ 231 p. 120), loc. *avyām* (§ 260). Compare § 278.

Lastly, we may perhaps add Avest. *mrūtē arae-cā* instead of *mrūtē arayaē-cā*, and the like (Geldner, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVII 226 ff.).

Remark. (1) Did this ending arise by syllabic dissimilation before words beginning with a sonant (*-ai* for *-ai̯ai*)? (2) Or was it a re-formation on the model of consonant stems, dating from some period when there were nouns declined both as consonant stems and as *i*-stems, such as abstract nouns in *-tā(i)-* II § 102 p. 309 (cp. Lat. gen. *ov-is mort-is* § 231 p. 121, Lith. gen. *krūt-ū* §§ 348, 402, and the like)? (3) Or lastly, is Bartholomae right in explaining the forms as locative (Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVIII 21, Bezz. Beitr. XV 241)? Cp. § 260 Rem.

In Greek, there are no examples of real datives of *i*-stems. For Lesb. etc. *βάσι* see above.

Italic. In explaining the forms called dative according to the traditional classification of the grammars, consonant stems and *i*-stems must be considered together, since no line can now be drawn between them in this respect in any Italic dialect. Latin from the earliest period has *-ei -ī*, as *ovei ovī* from the stem *ovi-*, *patrei patrī* from the stem *patr-*. Also *-e* (quantity doubtful) in the oldest remains of Latin; but amongst the examples found — *Salūte patre* etc. — there is

none which can with certainty be referred to an *i*-stem. Umbr. *-e*, more rarely *-i*: *Tarsinate* 'Tadinati' (stem. *Tarsināti*-) patr-*e* 'patrī', Marti 'Marti' Iuvi-p. 'Iovi patrī'. Osc. -eī, as Herentateī 'Veneri, Volupiae', Diūv-eī 'Jovi'; but not a word amongst them which can be certainly regarded as an *i*-stem (for Herentateī cp. p. 119, footnote).

Of these endings the Osc. -eī is the least obscure. It is the locative ending of the *i*-declension, derived from Idg. **-ēi* (§ 260) or **-e(i)-i* (§ 266) — the spelling 'Ἀπελλουν-ηι' 'Apollini' does not prove that the *e* of -eī is long. -eī passed on to consonant stems in the same way as -eīs in the gen. maatr-eīs (§ 235 p. 126) etc. Umbr. *-e -i* may be identified with Osc. -eī; and considering the similar genitive formation in the two dialects (Umbr. *matrer* = Osc. *maatreīs*) this view is in itself the most probable, although it is possible that *-e* in karn-*e* 'carni' *nomn-e* 'nomini' etc. may come from **-aī*, the dative suffix (for the phonetics of this cp. the loc. *sate* 'in sancta' §§ 247, 264), and *-e* in *ocre-m ocre* 'in ocre' from the loc. **-ē* (§ 260). And Latin *-ei -ī* may be the same ending as Osc. -eī. But if infinitives such as *ag-ī da-r-ī* are datives like Skr. *-áj-ē ji-ṣ-ē* (II § 162 p. 490), and the 2nd. pl. imper. *legimin-ī* answers to the Gr. inf. *λεγέμεν-αι* (II § 117 p. 373), then *patr-ī, su-ī, socru-ī* cannot be separated from Skr. *pitr-ē, bhruv-ē, śvaśrūv-ē*. They would then be datives in Idg. **-aī*.¹⁾ Now comes the question whether *-ī* has a different origin in *ovī* and *patrī*. Is it the locative of an *i*-stem in *ovī*, the dative in *patrī*; or was *ovī* an ad-formate of *patrī* as were the gen. sing. *ov-is* of *patr-is* and the acc. sing. *ov-em* of *patr-em* (§ 231 p. 121)? There is another possibility; *-ī* in *ovī* may be the same as *-ī* in Skr. *ūtī*, see p. 150. O.Lat. *-e*

1) I prefer to keep to the view that Lat. *aī* in final syllables under certain conditions became *ī*, Torp's protest notwithstanding (Torp, Beitr. zur Lehre von den geschlechtlosen Pronomen, 1888, pp. 15 ff.). At the same time, I admit that Osthoff's statement of the phonetic laws upon which this depends may perhaps be incorrect (see Zur Gesch. des Perf., 193 ff.).

may be regarded as Idg. *-ē(i)*, the ending of the locative in *i*-stems; a view which is supported by the adverb *peregre* (stem *peregrī-*); see § 260.

O.Ir. *faith*, if it is the dative, can be compared only with Skr. *utī* (see p. 150). Cp. §§ 260, 278.

Lith. fem. *nākcžiai nākcžei* certainly has not the Idg. dative *-i-ai*; but here we have a re-formation after the analogy of *-iā*-stems, e. g. *valdžiai valdžei* from nom. *valdžia valdžē* 'government' (§ 247 p. 147), in the same way as the masc. *vāgiui* (nom. *vagī-s* 'thief') followed the model of a stem in *-iō-*. O.Lith. *vėsz-paty* beside Skr. *atī*, similarly O.C.Sl. *nošti pāti*, see p. 150.

§ 250. 5. *u*-stems. Of these much the same may be said as of *i*-stems, see § 249. The endings are *-e-u-ai* *-(u)u-ai*.

Remark. No probability can be made out for the theory that the Idg. instr. in *-ū* could be used as a dative even in the parent language. As to the dative use of Lat. *manū ūsū* O.Ir. *biuth*, see §§ 261, 279.

Aryan. Skr. *sanāv-ē* Avest. *bāzav-ē* like O.C.Sl. *synov-i*; infin. Ved. *śrō-tavē* 'to hear', and the like (II § 108 p. 327). More rarely **-u-ai*: Ved. *śīśv-ē* (*śīśu-* 'child, young creature'), *sahāsrabahu-ē* (*sahāsrabahu-* 'thousand-armed'), Avest. *xraþw-ē* (*xratu-* 'will, strength') = Ved. *krátv-ē*. Skr. feminine forms in *-v-ai*, *dhēnv-ai*, a re-formation like gen. *dhēnv-ās* loc. *dhēnv-ām* (§ 232 p. 122), cp. § 279.

Lat. *manuī* (inscr. *senātueī*) for **-e-u-ai* (pr. Ital. **-ou-ai*, see I § 65 p. 52, § 172.1 p. 152) or for **-u-ai* (see I § 170 p. 149). Cp. *senātu-is* § 232 p. 122, *manu-um* § 349.

Lith. *sūnuī* doubtless follows *vilkuī* (§ 246 p. 146), as the loc. pl. *sūnūsė* follows *vilkūsė* (§ 326 Rem., and § 360). O.C.Sl. *synov-i* with *-ou-* for *-e-u-* (I § 68 p. 59) = Skr. *sānāv-ē*.

§ 251. Nasal Stems.

Stems with *n*-suffixes have usually the weak grade form. But the *men-* and *uen-*stems from which infinitives are made

seem to have had strong-grade forms even in the proethnic period: Skr. *dā-man-ē* Gr. *δό-μεν-αι* Lat. 2. pl. imper. *da-min-ē*, Skr. *vid-mán-ē* Gr. *ῖδ-μεν-αι*, Skr. *dā-ván-ē* Gr. Cypr. *δο-φεν-αι* Att. *δοῦναι*, Avest. *vid-van-ōi* Gr. *εἰδ-έν-αι*; see II § 116 p. 363, § 117 pp. 366, 367, 371, 373, and for the accent, Wheeler Der griech. Nominalaccent pp. 57, 58. Compare the Idg. strong-grade stem in *-eǵ-aǵ* (*i*-stems) and *-ey-aǵ* (*u*-stems), §§ 249 and 250; and *-es-aǵ* in *es*-stems (§ 254). Observe also that these are just the endings which are found in infinitives: Skr. *pi-táy-ē* Avest. *ker^o-tēē*, Skr. *śrō-tav-ē*, *bhiy-ás-ē* *dōh-ás-ē*. The strong stem may have come from the locative, which was also sometimes used for the infinitive; e. g. Gr. *δόμεν* Skr. *śāśān-i*, Lat. *vīver-e*.

Pr. Idg. **k^un-áǵ* 'cani', **uⁱd-mén-aǵ* 'for learning'.

Skr. *śūn-ē* (for the accent, see p. 70 footnote 2), Avest. *sūn-ē*. Skr. *tákṣṇ-ē* Avest. *tašn-ē* (*tákṣan- tašan-* 'sculptor, carpenter'). Skr. *ásman-ē* Avest. *asman-ē* (*ásman- asman-* 'stone, heaven'). Skr. inf. *vid-mán-ē* 'for learning, for knowing', *dā-ván-ē* 'for giving', see above. Sometimes the strong stem took the place of the weak, even at a later period, e. g. Ved. *aryamán-ē* beside the earlier *aryamṇ-ē* (*aryamán-* 'friend, comrade'), and similarly Avest. *airya-mainē* (*airya-man-* 'tractable'), also Avest. *urván-ē* beside *urun-ē* (*urvan-* 'soul'). Cp. § 234 p. 124.

In Greek, datives of this kind survived only as infinitives. Inf. in *-μεν-αι*, Epic and Lesbian, as *ἰδμεναι* *ζευγνύμεναι*, II § 117 p. 371. Inf. in *-φεν-αι* is more general (II § 116 p. 363): Cypr. *δοφεναι* (accent uncertain) Att. *δοῦναι*, also *ιέναι* for **ἰ-φεναι*, *ἀγναι* for **ἀγ-φεναι*: from these *-ναι* was detached, as though it were the inflexional ending, and this, spreading most widely in Ion.-Att., ended by usurping the place of *-μεν(αι)*; thus arose e. g. *δῦναι* *διδό-ναι* *τεθνῶ-ναι*; *εἶναι* Arcad. *ῆναι* is not for **έσναι*, but *εἶμεν* *ἦμεν* (for **έσ-μεν*) has been transformed at one step into *ειναι* *ῆναι* through the analogy of this set of forms. *εἰδέναι* is doubtless equivalent to Avest. *vid-van-ōi*, but the perfect ending *-έναι* may in some words

belong to Idg. *-en*-stems, say in *εἰλέναι* cp. *εἰκόν* (the Author, Morph. Unt. III 19 ff.; Johansson, De der. verb. contr., 202 sq.)¹).

Lat. *carn-ī*, and, with the strong stem, *homin-ī edōn-ī mentiōn-ī*. The 2nd. pl. imperative in *-minī*, as *sequiminī*, was doubtless an infinitival dative; see II § 117 p. 373. It is not at all probable that Umbr. *karn-e* 'carni' and the like have this formation; see § 249 p. 151.

O.Ir. *coin* 'cani' may come from **cun-aī*, and similarly *arain* (*aru*) 'kidney' etc. But the same forms may be explained as locatives (§ 269).

Lith. *szùn-iui* follows the analogy of stems in *-iō-* and *-i-* (§ 246 pp. 145 f., § 249 p. 152), and so do *ākmen-iui* etc. Whether O.C.Sl. *kamen-i* contains the dative suffix *-aī* (cp. *synov-i* § 250 p. 152) or the ending of *i*-stems (§ 249 pp. 149, 151), is not clear.

It so happens that no example of the dative of any root-noun in *-m* has been preserved in Aryan. We are justified in inferring that there were such forms as Skr. *gm-ē jm-ē* Avest. *z'm-ē* from Skr. *kṣam-* Avest. *zam-* 'earth', Avest. *zim-ē* from *zyam-* 'winter' cp. Lat. *hiem-ī*; see II § 160 pp. 482 f.

§ 252. 7. *r*-stems. Pr. Idg. **mātr-aī* 'matri', **dōtr-aī* 'datori'. Skr. *mātr-ē dātr-ē*, Avest. *māpr-ē dāpr-ē*. Lat. *mātr-ī datōr-ī* (*-ōr-* comes from the nom. sing.); it is not very probable that Umbr. *ar-fertur-e* 'infertori, flmini' belongs to the same class, see § 249 p. 151. O.Ir. *māthir* may be derived either from **mātr-aī* or from **māter-aī*, and it may also be explained as locative (§ 269). O.C.Sl. *mater-i* is obscure just as *kamen-i* is; see § 251, above.

Lith. *móter-iai móter-ei* follows the analogy of *iā*-stems (§ 247 p. 147).

§ 253. 8. Stems ending in Explosives.

Pr. Idg. **bhṛghṛt-aī* 'celso'. Skr. *brhat-ē*, Avest. *ber'zaitē* and (with the strong stem) *ber'zantē*; Skr. *bhārat-ē* 'ferenti'.

¹) The same dative suffix is found in *φίρεσθ-αι* (*-σ-αι* = Skr. *-dh-ē*) according to Bartholomae's convincing explanation (Rhein. Mus. XLV 151 ff.).

Lat. *rudent-ī ferent-ī prae-sent-ī* — but it is not certain how far this *-ent-* was directly derived from Idg. *-yt-* (II § 125 pp. 395 f., III p. 105 footnote 1). O.Ir. *carit* 'amico' dat. and loc. (§ 269). O.C.Sl. *telet-i* (from *tele* neut. 'calf', cp. § 244 pp. 142 f.) like *kamen-i*, see § 251, last page.

Skr. *sarvātāt-ē* 'to or for completeness', Avest. *haurvatāt-ē* 'to or for safety'. Lat. *novitāt-ī, juventūt-ī*. O.Ir. *bethid* (from *beothu* 'life') dat. and loc. (§ 269).

Skr. *śarād-ē* 'to or for autumn', Avest. *armaē-šaidē* from *armaē-šād-* 'sitting still'. Lat. *lapid-ī*. O.Ir. *druid* 'to or for a Druid' dat. and loc. (§ 269). Skr. *pad-ē* Lat. *ped-ī*.

Skr. *uśtj-ē*, stem *uśtj-* 'desirous'. Lat. *bibac-ī*. O.Ir. *nathraig* 'water-snake' dat. and loc. (§ 269). Skr. *vāc-ē*, Lat. *vōc-ī*. Skr. *-rāj-ē* Lat. *rēg-ī*, O.Ir. (dat. and loc.) *rīg*.

§ 254. 9. Stems in *-s*.

Pr. Idg. **menes-aḱ* 'to or for the mind' (for the form of the stem, § 251 p. 153): Skr. *mānas-ē* Avest. *manan̥h-ē*, Lat. *gener-ī*; O.C.Sl. *sloves-i* like *kamen-i* § 251 p. 154.

For Skr. infinitives like *bhiyās-ē dohās-ē* see II § 132 pp. 412 f. and III § 251 p. 153. And doubtless the following forms, with an original weak grade of the *es*-suffix, have the same formation: Skr. *jīṣē* 'for victory', Gr. *γράφαι* 'to write' (one of the forms connected with the *σ*-aorist) and Lat. *dartī fer-rī*, see II § 162 p. 490, and the Author, Gr. Gr.² p. 116. An original weak stem is also contained in Lat. *mēns-ī* O.Ir. (dat. and loc.) *mīs*, Idg. **mē-ns-aḱ* (II § 132 p. 415).

For O.Ir. *taig* (nom. *tech teg* 'house'), see § 259 p. 159.

Pr. Idg. comparative **ōk̑is-aḱ* 'ociori' (cp. II § 135 p. 429): Skr. *āśīyas-ē* Avest. *āsyān̥h-ē*, Lat. *ōciōr-ī*.

Pr. Idg. part. perf. act. **ueḱdus-aḱ* 'ēidóri': Skr. *vidūṣ-ē* Avest. *vīdūš-ē*.

Skr. *nas-ē* 'to the nose' Lat. *nār-ī*. Skr. *ās-ē* 'ori' Lat. *ōr-ī*. Skr. *mūṣ-ē* (inferred from nom. pl. *mūṣ-as*), Lat. *mūr-ī*.

§ 255. 10. Stems in *-ī* *-īi*, *-ū* *-uy*, and in *-ī* *-ī* *-ī*, and Root-Nouns in *-u* and *-i*.

Pr. Idg. *-īi-ai* *-uy-ai*, e. g. **bhruy-ai* from nom. **bhrū-s* 'brow'. Skr. *dhiy-ē* 'to or for meditation' Ved. *nadiy-ē* 'to a river'; *bhruv-ē*, Ved. *śvaśrūv-ē* 'socrui', Avest. *tanuyē* i. e. *-uv-ē* 'to a body'. Also, with the feminine marked by the ending, Skr. *dhiy-ai* *nadiy-ai* *bhruv-ai* *śvaśruv-ai*, cp. § 233 p. 123, § 280. Lat. *su-ī*, *socru-ī*, cp. § 197 p. 76; *vī* may be contracted from **vī-ī*. O.C.Sl. *krūv-i* 'sanguini', *svekrūv-i* 'socrui'.

Similarly Skr. *gir-ē* 'for praise' *pur-ē* 'to a stronghold' = **grr-ai* **pŕl-ai*, and *gō-śaṇ-ē* (inferred from *gō-śaṇ-as*, from nom. *gō-śā-s* 'gaining cattle') = **sṇn-ai*. Cp. § 233 p. 123.

Skr. *nāv-ē* 'navi', Lat. *nāv-ī*. Skr. *rāy-ē* from nom. *rā-s* 'property, riches', Lat. *rēi*. Skr. *div-ē* (nom. *dyāu-ś* 'daylight'). Lat. *Jov-ī* *Diov-ī*. Skr. *gāv-ē* Avest. *gav-ē*, Lat. *bov-ī*; the ground-form was **gu-ai* **gū-ai*, and the barytone Skr. word is an ad-formate of *gāv-i* like the gen. *gāv-as* (§ 238 p. 130), cp. II § 160 p. 482; O.Ir. *boin* (dat. and loc.) is an ad-formate of *coin*, see § 221 p. 98.

Locative Singular.¹⁾

§ 256. There are two proethnic formations.

1. In certain consonantal stems, and in *i*- and *u*-stems, the stem by itself was used for the locative. In such locatives forms

1) J. Schmidt, Der locativus singularis und die griech. *i*-Declination, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 287 ff. W. Schulze, Zum idg. Locativ singul. der consonantischen Stämme, *ibid.* pp. 546 ff. Bezzenberger, Die idg. Endung des Loc. Sing. der *u*-Declination, Nachr. v. d. Gött. Ges. d. Wiss. 1885 pp. 160 ff. Bartholomae, Zur Bildung des loc. sing. der fem. *o/-* [*i*-] Stämme, Ar. Forsch. II 100 ff. G. Petroni, Dei casi nelle lingue classiche e particolarmente del locativo, Neapel 1878. Schneidewind, De casus locativi vestigiis apud Homerum et Hesiodum, Halle 1863. Ebel, Ein griech. Genetiv-Locativ, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XIII 446 ff. Hüfer, Der lateinische Dativ-Locativ, in his Zeitschr. f. die Wissenschaft d. Sprache II 192 ff. C. Wagener, De locativi Latini usu, Jena 1871. Deecke, Über den lat. Lokativ, a 'Programm'-essay sent in at Mühlhausen i. E., 1890, pp. 31 ff. L. Havet, Le locatif

the formative suffix had an *e*-grade vowel; sometimes the first strong grade *-e-* (as Hom. *δό-μεν*), and sometimes the third, *-ē-* (as Cret. *δό-μην*). Forms with the third strong grade became indistinguishable from those of the nom. sing. masc. fem. and the nom. acc. sing. neuter: compare e. g. *δό-μην* with *ποι-μῆν* O.C.Sl. *i-me* (§ 223 p. 100). As a matter of fact, both these formations are doubtless the same, and the only difference is in their use in the sentence.

2. The second is a commoner formation, found in all stems. It had the case-ending *-i*, which seems to have been the same as the *-i* in the loc. pl. *-s-i* (Gr. *-α*); see § 356. This *-i* once had a more general local meaning, as is shewn by the personal pronouns which contain it, § 447; cp. § 239 p. 132 and § 424.

-i added to *o-* and *a-*stems contracted with their final into the diphthongs *-oi* *-ei* and *-ai*. Elsewhere the sound remained a vowel, forming a separate syllable; this happened in Aryan (*-i*), Greek (*-ι*), and Italic (Lat. Umbr. *-e*), now and then in Germanic (A.S. *hnyte*, § 272), and perhaps in Keltic (Gall. *-rīgi*, see § 271); in the two last branches it has left behind many traces in the numerous *umlaut* ("mutated") forms, i. e. those with modified vowels. In Balto-Slavonic it can be seen only in the diphthongs of *o-* and *a-*stems.

Along with *-i* we have *-ī* in Greek and Sanskrit, Hom. *νατίρ-ī* and the like (Hartel, Hom. Stud. I² 56 ff.), Ved. *vaktár-ī* and the like (Lanman, Noun Inflection 411, 426). Wackernagel, however, looks upon this as a rhythmical lengthening which dates from the parent language itself (Das Dehnungsgesetz der gr. Compp., 12 ff.).

In stems which show ablaut variation in their cases, the strong stem is found before *-i* (*-ī*) from the proethnic period onwards. Thus it is natural to suppose that *-i* was added to

ombrien, Mém. de la Soc. de lingu. II 391 sq. Smith, Litauisches: über den Singularlocativ der Pronomina und Adjectiva, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. I 506 f.

forms which were used for the locative even without it; cp. e. g. Skr. *mūrdhán-i* beside (*mūrdhn-i* and) *mūrdhán*. But it must not be forgotten that this theory is not absolutely borne out by *i*- and *u*-stems. In these stems, *-ei-i* and *-eu-i* are proethnic endings; but we cannot say for certain that there were parallel endings *-ei* and *-eu*, although we do find *-ēi* and *-ēu* (§§ 260 Rem. and 261 Rem.). Nor is it clear whether such forms as Skr. *mūrdhn-i* Gr. *ἀρν-ί*, Gr. *πατρ-ί* Goth. *fadr*, Skr. *div-i* Gr. *Δι-ί* are older than Skr. *mūrdhán-i* Gr. *ποιμέν-ι*, Skr. *pitár-i* Gr. *πατέρ-ι*, Skr. *dyáv-i*; or whether they are really later (even then they may be proethnic), and followed other cases which had a weak grade of vowel, e. g. the dative singular. These questions I content myself with suggesting.

Remark. Bartholomae (Bezz. Beitr. XV 23) attempts to establish an Idg. locative suffix *-u* beside *-i*, e. g. in Skr. *múh-u* 'immediately'. But the forms concerned are only adverbs. Cp. § 356.

§ 257. I. Stems without any case-suffix used as Locative Singular.

1. *n*-stems. Cp. § 186 pp. 62 f.

Forms in *-en*. Ved. *mūrdhán* (*mūrdh-án-* 'point, head'), *udán* (*ud-án-* 'water'), *kárman* (*kár-man-* 'work, action') and the like; O.Pers. *xšapa-vā* 'or at night' i. e. *xšapan-vā* (stem *xšapan-*), see Bartholomae Handb. § 35 Rem. p. 22. Gr. *αἰ(φ)έν* adv. 'always', from *αἰ(φ)ών* 'space of time, eternity'; in the same group we place the infinitives in *-μεν*, found in Homer and in many dialects of Greek, such as *δόμεν ἴδμεν ἔμμεν* (Cret. El. *ἦμεν*, N.W. Greek *εἶμεν*), which served as the model for *ὀρνύμεν*, *ἀγέμεν*, *ἄξεμεν*, *ἐστάμεν*. O.C.Sl. *kamen-e* (stem *kamen-* 'stone') probably has the same obscure *-e* which occurs in the Lith. loc. sing. *rañkoj-e žēmėj-e* etc. (§§ 264, 265), cp. § 186 p. 62, § 246 p. 145 and § 409. A different explanation of *kamen-e* is offered by J. Schmidt, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 307.

Forms in *-ēn*. Avest. *cašman* (I § 200 p. 168) stem *cašman-* 'a look, eye'. Gr. Cret. inf. *δό-μην*.

Skr. Ved. *kṣāma* beside *kṣāman* 'on the earth' is regarded as a form in *-ṣ* by Bartholomae (Bezz. Beitr. XV 39).

Lastly, we place here O.Ir. *toimte* beside *toimtin* (Zeuss-Ebel p. 266), nom. *toimtiu* 'cogitatio' (Thurneysen, Bezz. Beitr. VIII 269); *-e* stands doubtless for **-ion*, and that for **-iōn*.

§ 258. 2. *r*-stems. Two groups of words fall in this section. (1) A few forms which stand upon the border line between an adverb unconnected with any declined noun, and the case of a noun; as Skr. *āhar-divi* 'day by day', Avest. *z'mar* 'in the earth', which are naturally associated with non-nominal forms such as Skr. *antār* 'inside, inwards' (beside *antāri-kṣa-*) Lat. *inter*, Gr. *ἔνθε* Lat. *s-uper*. Gr. *νύκτωρ* 'by night', perhaps containing *-ῥ*, and Skr. *mūhur* 'in an instant', containing *-ṛ* (cp. Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. XV 18, 23). (2) Secondly, certain living cases, as Skr. *mātār-i dātār-i dātār-i* Avest. *mātairi dātairi* Gr. *μητέρ-ι*, if they are really extensions of loc. **māter *dōter*; see § 256, last page. Cp. further § 186 pp. 62 f., § 224 Rem. p. 104.

§ 259. 3. *s*-stems.

W. Schulze (Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 546) cites Skr. *sa-dīvas* 'at once' *pūrva-dyūṣ* 'on the day before, early in the morning', and with the latter he connects Lat. *dīus* (*noctū diusque*). Another form is doubtless *śv-ās* 'to-morrow' (cp. Avest. *sā-ra-* adj. 'belonging to the morning'; Geldner, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 253, 261). Gr. Dor. *αἰς* 'always' beside acc. *αἰῶ* for **aiFo(σ)-a* (II § 133 p. 423). Lat. *penes* beside *penus -oris* (II § 132 p. 419). Also O.Ir. dat.-loc. sing. of neut. *es*-stems, as *taig* Mid.Ir. *tig*, from nom. *tech teg* 'house' (Thurneysen, Bezz. Beitr. VIII 269). Lastly, Slav. *sloves-e*, with affixed *-e* like *kamen-e*, see § 257 pp. 158 f.

§ 260. 4. *i*-stems. Pr. Idg. had parallel endings, *-ēi* and *-ē* with *-i* dropped (I § 645 p. 489).

Skr. has only **-ē*. Skr. Ved. *āva*, *agnā* (*agnī-ṣ* 'fire'); the variants *āvāu*, *agnāu*, which in the later language were used exclusively, took their *-āu* from *u*-stems, as *sūnāu* (§ 261). *pātyāu* (*pāti-ṣ* 'husband') took the place of *pātau*

owing to the influence of *pátyē pátýā* (see § 231 p. 120, § 249 p. 149), just as Goth. *kinmáu* instead of **kindau* got *-nn-* = **-nu-* by analogy (§ 261). Avest. *aša*, O.Pers. *ahī-frašta* (*ahī-frašti-* 'punishment by the sword').

In Greek *-ēi* or *-ē* was extended by the loc. suffix *-i*, and became *-ēi-i* or *-ē-i*, whence Hom. *πόλῃ* Att. *πόλῃ* from the stem *πόλι-*. Cp. acc. sing. *Zḥν-a* built up on *Zḥν* § 221 p. 98, gen. *ἐμε-ῖο* and acc. *ἡμε-ας* built up on **ἐμε* and **ἡμε* = Dor. *ἀμέ* §§ 443, 450. *πόλῃ* suggested *πόλῃος πόλῃες* and other cases of the same kind (cp. § 231 p. 120).

The Old Latin "dative" in *-e*, as *Salūte patre*, and the adverb *peregre* may possibly have this Idg. *-ē*; but *-e* may also be Idg. **-i*, the loc. suffix of consonant stems (cp. *rūr-e*, *Carthagin-e*), taken over by *i*-stems. The ending *-ēi* may be contained in the Osc. "dative" in *-eī*, as *Herentateī* 'Veneri, Volupiae', and in the Umbr. in *-e -i*, as *Tarsinate* 'Tadinati' Marti 'Marti' (§ 249 pp. 151 f.); but *-eī* may be derived from *-ēi-i* (§ 266). Lat. *ovī peregrī* too, and the like, may contain Idg. *-ēi*, as we saw on pp. 151 f. In the same passage it is mentioned that it is quite possible for the *-e* of Umbr. *ocre-m ocre* 'in ocre' to be the locative ending **-ē* (cp. Sab. *Flusare* 'in Florali').

O.Ir. *fáith* used as a locative (cp. neut. *muir* 'in mari') may have been either **matēi* or **matē* originally. Cp. § 249 pp. 151 f., and § 278. Perhaps Gall. *Ucuete* belongs to the same class (Bezz. Beitr. XI 131, 153).

Goth. *quma* 'for coming', for **kumē*? If so, the confluence of this case with the "dative" of *o*-stems (*vulfa*, see § 241 p. 137, § 246 p. 146) was merely one of form, and did not extend to use. (In § 231, page 119, we saw that the ending of the gen. sing. of masc. *i*-stems need not depend entirely upon borrowing from stems in *-o*). However, great doubts as to the correctness of this explanation are suggested by O.H.G. *chume* beside *wolfe*.

Goth. *anstái* ('favour', dat.) may come from *-ēi*, and Streitberg sees the same ending in O.H.G. *ensti*; he assumes

that the first change of pr. Germ. *-ēi* in West-Germ. was to **-ēi* (cp. § 263 Rem. pp. 165 f.), just as he derives Goth. *sunāu* O.H.G. *suniu* from the same ground-form **-ēu*. But other views of *ensti* and *suniu* are not excluded (see the Rem. below, § 261 and Rem., §§ 266, 267, 278); and in *anstāi* and *sunāu* it is at least possible that *a* is due to the gen. sing. (*anstāis sunāus*) — cp. A.S. *zuman* as contrasted with Goth. *gumin* § 269, and the like.

Old Lithuanian had an infinitive in *-tē*, which still survives in some parts: e. g. *dēk-tē* trans. and intrans. 'to burn' (beside nom. *dekti-s*, seen in *ugnā-dekti-s* f. 'stinging cold', cp. II § 100 pp. 304 ff.). This doubtless comes from **-tēi*: **-ēi* became first **-ei* (I § 615 p. 465) and then *-ē* (I § 68 p. 60). There is another series of infinitive forms ending in *-tē*, which are added to cognate verbs to express an intensive meaning, as *dektē dēga* 'it burns up clear': *-tē* may be derived from **-tē* according to I § 664.3 pp. 523 f. Thus both the Idg. endings *-ēi* and *-ē* were kept in use together, but they were differentiated in use. With *dektē* we may possibly compare the adverbial form *szalē* 'at the side' (beside nom. *szalī-s* 'side'). As to Lith. *naktyjē*, see § 264. Slav. *-i* in the loc. of *i*-stems, as O.C.Sl. *nošti*, *žiti* (*žiti* 'life'), and in the infinitive, as *žī-ti* 'to live' (Lith. *gy-ti* 'to revive, become well') may be derived either from **-ēi* (**-ēi*, **-ei*, **-i*, I § 68 p. 60) or from **-ē* (I § 76 p. 66).

Remark. We have already several times assumed a change of *-ēi* (before consonants) to *-ei* in the European languages, in Osc. Herentatesf Umbr. *Tarsinate* Lat. *peregrī*, Lith. *dēktē* O.C.Sl. *nošti*, and cp. Streitberg's explanation of O.H.G. *ensti*. Now since in *men*-stems, *-mēn* and *-men* are both proethnic locative endings, it is at least a fair question to ask whether *-ei* was not really *-ēi*, and not *-ēi*, in Indo-Germanic. Bartholomae would regard Avestic infin. like *mrūitē* as forms of this kind with *-ēi*, see § 249 p. 150. The same question must be asked with regard to *u*-stems (§ 261 Rem.). Cp. § 256 p. 158.

§ 261. 5. *u*-stems. Pr. Idg. *-ēu*, **sūnēu* 'in filio'.

Skr. *sūnāu*. Avest. *bāzau* (O.Pers. *babirauv* stem *babiru-* 'Babylon', cp. the Remark, below). It may be conjectured

that this ending *-āu* served as a foundation for the Iranian nom. sing. in *-āu-š*, acc. sing. in *-āv-am*, gen. sing. in *-āu-š*, nom. acc. pl. in *-āv-as*, as Avest. *bāzāu-š* O.Pers. *dahyāu-š* etc. (§ 196 p. 76, § 215 p. 92, § 232 p. 122, § 318).

Greek. Perhaps we should place here the locative of nouns in *-εύς*, as *ἰππεύς χαλκεύς*, whose connexion with Skr. adjectives such as *aśvayú-š* 'desiring horses' *dēvayú-š* 'reverencing the gods' Wackernagel tries to make probable, without having fully mastered the phonetic difficulties (see II § 105 p. 319 and the Author's Gr. Gr.² p. 100). Supposing the existence of pr. Gr. **hippe(i)ēu* = Skr. *aśvayāú*, it might have been extended to **hippe(i)ēu-i*, as in *πόλη* Idg. **-ē* or **-ē* was extended by *-i*, whence arose *-ē-i* in the Greek form (§ 260 p. 160). And as *πόλη* gave rise to the forms *πόληος πόληες* etc., so **ἰππεηF-i* gave rise to **ἰππεηF-ος *ἰππεηF-εες* etc. (cp. above Avest. *bāzāu-š* etc. following the loc. *bāzāu*). *-εη-* was everywhere contracted into *-η-*, whence *ἰππηF-i ἰππηF-ος* etc.¹) Why this re-formation was confined to nouns in *-εύς* and did not affect stems like *πῆχυνς* and *ἡδύνς*, I must admit that I do not know. But the corresponding re-formation in *i*-stems did not affect all words any more than this did. *πόλις* is the only word in which it appears; but the reason for the limitation is quite obscure. As to the re-formed nom. sing. *γραφής* and its like, see Meister, Gr. Dial. II 110, 272, Zum el., arkad., und kypr. Dial. 40 f.; Johansson, Bezz. Beitr. XV 178.

Lat. adv. *noctū* (cp. Skr. *aktāú* 'by night') and Umbr. *manuv-e* 'in manu' must be placed here; so must doubtless the forms, used as datives, Lat. *manū ūsū* Umbr. *trifo* 'tribui'. **-ēu* in pr. Italic became **-eu* before consonants, and this became *-ou* (I § 65 p. 52, § 612 p. 462). On *manū ūsū* § 279 may also be compared.

Gall. *Ταρανοον* (*Taranou*) from *Taranu-* 'god of thunder'

1) The adjectives in *-η(F)-ιος* may have been formed directly from the old locative, e. g. *-ειος* for **-ei-ḡo-s* and the like (II § 63 Rem. 2 p. 128; Johansson, Bezz. Beitr. XV 179).

(cp. *Taranu-cno-*), where too *-ou* comes from **-eu*, **-ēu* (I § 66 p. 56). The same ground-form may be assumed for O.Ir. *biuth*.

Goth. *sunáu* may come from *-ēu*, and according to Streitberg so may O.H.G. *suniu sitiū*, Norse Run. *Kunimu(n)diu* O.Icel. *syni* 'to a son'. But there are other possibilities; see § 260 p. 161.

O.C.Sl. *synu* for **-ēu* through the intermediate stages **-eu -ou* (I § 68 p. 59, § 615 p. 465). For Lith. *sūnājė* see § 264.

It may be that this same case-ending lurks in many adverbial forms: e. g. in Gr. *ἄρην* 'without' O.C.Sl. *vūnu* 'forth, out' (both of these have *-eu*, the form assumed by *-ēu* before consonants) beside Goth. *inu* O.H.G. *āno* 'without' (cp. the Author, Gr. Gr.² p. 218). Bartholomae (Bezz. Beitr. XV 16) connects *ἄρην* with Skr. *sanu-tār*, but he too regards it as the loc. of a *u*-stem.

Remark. In the European languages, we have often assumed a change of *-ēu* (before consonants) to *-eu*, as in Lat. *noctū* Umbr. *manu-ve*, Gall. *Taparoov*, O.H.G. *suniu* O.Icel. *syni*, O.C.Sl. *synu* (Gr. *ἄρην*). Here, as with *i*-stems (§ 260, Rem.) the question arises whether there was not a proethnic ending *-eu* with short *-e*. Bartholomae, *loc. cit.*, cites, in support of this, Avest. *per^uitō* O.Pers. *babirauv* (Skr. Ved. *śānō* proves nothing), to which we add Avest. *anhav-a gātav-a* (Caland. Kuhn's Ztschr. XXX 539 f.; Jackson, Am. Or. Soc. Proceed., 1889, p. cxxv).

§ 262. 6. All remaining stems.

Avest. *dām* from the stem *dam-* 'house', Idg. **dēm*. According to a conjecture of Bartholomae's in Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 497 f., there is a similar locative formation contained in the adverbs Skr. *kam* Avest. *kām*, whose ground-meaning he would have to be 'at pleasure, for one's pleasure' (cp. Skr. *kām-a-s* 'desire').

Skr. *parut* adv. 'last year' beside Gr. *πέρους* O.Icel. *fjorð* *fjorð* adv. 'last year' O.Ir. *onn-urid* 'ab anno priore'. Is *parut* due to a confusion of **per-uli* and **per-yet*? In II § 4 p. 9 we connected the word with Gr. *ῥέτος*; but it must be admitted

that this hypothesis is not quite free from doubt. Cp. Feist, *Grundriss der got. Etym.*, pp. 30 f.

1- *ij-* and *ū-uy-* stems, in addition to *-ij-i* and *-uy-i* (§ 268), have *-i* and *-ū*: Skr. Ved. *gāurī*, from *gāurī-ṣ* 'the cow of the species *Bos Gaurus*', *camū* from *camū-ṣ* 'dish, platter'. It is very unsafe to assume this formation for Greek and Latin merely on the strength of Gr. Aeol. Dor. Ion. *πόλι* and Lat. *et*; for *πόλι* need not come from *πόλι-ς*, but may come from *πόλι-ς* (§ 249 p. 150), and *et* may be explained as being for **vij-i* (§ 268). Nor need we postulate **svēkry* to explain the existence of *svēkrū-e*; see § 268.

Remark. Bartholomae (Kuhn's *Ztschr.* XXIX 588) conjectures that *gāurī camū* were coined beside the loc. pl. *gāurī-ṣu camū-ṣu* the relation between them being suggested by *vfkẽ : vfkẽ-ṣu*.

In Irish, locatives without *-i* might be looked for in *cathir* beside *cathraig* (nom. *cathir* 'town'), *bethu* beside *bethaid* (*bethu* 'life'), and similar words; cp. *toimte* § 257 p. 159, *taig* § 259 p. 159, *biuth* § 261 p. 160. However, many of these short "datives" were doubtless first made from words whose nom. and dat. had run together, such as *athir* 'father'. Datives like *toimtiu* (beside *toimte toimtin*, see Zeuss-Ebel p. 266) give special support to this theory, because they can be explained on no other.

§ 263. II. Locative Forms with the suffix *-i*.

1. *o-* stems. Pr. Idg. **u̯lqo-i* 'in lupo', and also *-é-i*, as **jugé-i*, cp. § 240 p. 133. Perhaps this formation served for the genitive too even in Idg., see § 239 p. 132.

Skr. *vfkẽ*. Avest. *vehrkē*, O.Pers. *pārsaiy* (*pārsa-* 'Persian, Persia'); with the postposition *a* (or its unaccented by-form *a*, see § 246 p. 145) Avest. *zastay-a* 'in manu' (cp. § 308 for O.Pers. *dastay-ā*).

Gr. Att. *οἶκοι* 'at home', *Ἰσθμοῖ*. Since in Attic the only remaining examples of forms in *-oi* are adverbs (compare the pronominal adverbs *ποῖ*, *οἷ* and so forth), similar adverbs were made from other stems, as *Κικυρρ-οῖ* from *ἡ Κικυρρα*. But in Boeot., Arcad.-Cypr., Elean, and N.W. Greek, *-oi* did not

cease to be a living case-ending, and it became completely confused with the dative in orig. *-ōi* (§ 247 pp. 147 f.). In Thessalian the loc. in *-α* was used for the genitive as well (see § 239 p. 131), for which the use of *μοι οἱ* instead of a possessive genitive is primarily responsible (§ 447). The ending *-ει* is never a case-ending in any Greek dialect, but it is only found in adverbs; as Att. *οἴκει, αἰεὶ αἰεὶ* (with instr. *αἰῆ*, § 275) beside Lat. *aevo-m*, *ἀμαχεῖ* beside *ἄμαχο-ς*, Cret. *διπλεῖ* etc., cp. the pronouns Dor. *πεῖ ὀπεῖ* and others.

In Italic, *-ei* is clear in Osc. *múinikei terei* 'in comuni terra' *comenei* 'in comitio'. Latin has the locative only in adverbs, which had doubtless orig. *-ei*, e. g. *belli, domi*, spelt sometimes with *-ei* in early Latin; the explanation of *-e*, as in *die quinte*, is doubtful. As regards Umbr. *uze onse* 'in umero', cp. § 246 p. 146. Falisc. *Zextoi* 'Sexti' is a very dubious relic of Idg. *-oi*, see § 239 Rem. pp. 132 f.

O.Ir. *cinn* 'at the end, after' (nom. *cenn* 'point, head, end') for **kyennei* or **kyennoi* (Gall. *Penno*-).

Germanic. *-ei*, pr. Germ. *-ij -i* (I § 67.2 pp. 57 f.), is seen in A.S. *dægi* (*dæg* 'day'), and, with *-i* dropped, *hām* (*hām* 'home'), and in O.Swed. *dægghi* O.Icel. *dege* (cp. the pronouns *þi, hvī*), and doubtless, as Kögel says, in O.H.G. adverbs like *nidari, heimi* beside *nidare, heime* (Kögel, Ztschr. für deutsch. Alt., 1884, pp. 118 f.). *-oi* is seen in O.H.G. *tage, wolfe* A.S. *dæge*, O.Icel. *ulfe, ulfi*, and doubtless Goth. *daga vulfa* (cp. Rem.); though *ulfe, vulfa* may be dative in *-ē(i)* (§ 246 p. 146), ablative in *-ēd* (§ 241 p. 135), or instr. in *-ē* (§ 275), and the West-Germ. and O.Icel. forms may also be the dative in *-ōi* (§ 246 p. 146).

Remark. It has been proposed to derive Goth. *daga* from **dagaj*. Hitherto, in view of Goth. *gibái* (I § 659.8 p. 512), I have felt disinclined to believe that in words of more than one syllable *-ai* became *-a* in pro-ethnic Gothic — a theory, by the way, which is by no means adequately supported even by the distinction between *-ai* with the acute and with the circumflex (Hanssen, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVII 612 ff.; Sievers, Paul's Grundr. I 403). But Streitberg (Germ. Comp. auf *-ōs*-, pp. 22 ff.) has made it probable

that the shortening of the long vowels in pr. Germ. *-ēi -ēu -ōi -ōu* took place not in pr. Germ., but only in the separate dialects of Germanic. If this be so, the theory in question is not barred by *gibái* for pr. Germ. *-ōi*. It must be admitted that Streitberg's view is not certain; for O.H.G. *ensti suniu* O.Icel. *fundi syni* may contain Idg. *-ei -eu* (not *-ēi -ēu*), see § 260 Rem., § 261 Rem. It is quite possible to explain Goth. *bairdi* (3rd. sing. opt.) as re-formation of **baira* following the other persons.

Lith. *-ž*, now only adverbial, *namē* 'at home'; more widely used in O.Lith., as *dėvė-p* 'with God' (spelt *diewiep*). If O.Lith. spellings like *dieweie paneie* (Bezenberger, Zur Gesch. der lit. Spr., 133) are meant to express the sounds *-ėje*, and not *-ėje*, they must contain the ending *-ei*, to which has been affixed the same *-e* as *rañkoj-e* has (§ 264). *-ž* may be the same as the first part of *-ej-e* (see I § 68 pp. 59 f.); but it may represent Idg. *-oi* (I § 84 p. 81). How to dispose of the ordinary ending in modern literary Lithuanian, *-e* (as *vilkė*), is a doubtful question. Leskien (Decl. p. 47) and Brückner (Arch. für slav. Phil. III 277) conjecture that earlier *-ž* was changed to *-e* on the analogy of *-je*, which I cannot agree with. We shall return to *vilkė* in § 424. At present all *jo*-stems have *-yje*, the same ending as those in *-i* (§ 264); thus we have not only *žodyje*, *gaidyje* from the nom. *žodi-s* 'word', *gaidys* 'cock', but also *svetyjė* from nom. *svėczia-s*. In forms of the same kind as this last, *-yje* is comparatively late; in O.Lith. *kraueie* and *kraue* are the forms which come from *krauja-s* 'blood', and so forth. We have already offered a conjecture (§ 239 p. 132) that *žodyje* is the transformation of an original locative in *-i* (cp. Lat. *filī* used as gen. sing.).

O.C.Sl. *vlūcē* for **vlqoi*. But it is not clear why the ending is *-ē*, and not *-i* as it is in the nom. pl. *vlūci* = Gr. *λύκοι*. Little is gained by assuming that *vlūcē* is an ad-formate of the fem. *rqcē* (§ 247 p. 147, § 264). Compare I § 84 pp. 81 f., and to the authorities cited in Rem. 3 add Jagić, Arch. für slav. Phil. X 191.

264. 2. *a*-stems. Even in proethnic Idg., locative and dative had become the same in form (§ 247 pp. 146 f.). Pr. Idg. **ekuaī*. Skr. *áśvāy-am* O.Pers. *arbirday-a*, stem

arbirā- 'Arbela'. Gr. Ion. *Θηβαι-γενής* 'born in Thebes' El. *Ὀλυμπίαι* 'in Olympia'. Lat. *Rōmae*, on early inscr. *Romai*; Umbr. sate *sahate* 'in sancta', Osc. *víai* 'in via', cp. § 247 p. 148. O.Ir. *mnāi*, *tuai*, see § 247 p. 147. Goth. *gibái* A.S. *ziefe* (cp. § 263). Lith. *rañkoj-e*, O.C.Sl. *rqčē*.

Protoethnic Aryan had **-āi-a* with the postposition *a*. This ending remained in O.Pers., whilst in Sanskrit a further affix **em* was added to it (see § 186 p. 62), as in *bṛhatyām* (§ 265). In Avestic the *a* of the penultimate was shortened after the analogy of the instrumental ending *-aya*, whence *haēnaya* (cp. § 229 p. 115). The fusion of the particle *a* with this case in pr. Aryan distinguished it from the dative in *-āi*; and we may follow Streitberg in assuming that in the same period the resemblance between **aśuāia* and **bhyghyt(i)ā* (Avest. *ber'zantya* O.Pers. *haraυatiyā*, Skr. *bṛhatyām*) caused *ā*-stems to acquire the endings gen. *-āias* dat. *-āiāi*; see § 229 p. 115, § 247 p. 147.

In protoethnic Greek *-āi* became *-ai* before consonants (*Θηβαί-γενής*, *χωραί-τινός*), but remained unchanged before sonants and at the end of a sentence. For further details see § 247 pp. 147 f.

In Umbr. *totem-e* 'in civitate' (beside *tote*), L. Havet equates *-em* with the Skr. ending *-āyām* (Mém. de la soc. de ling., II 391 foll.). But Bücheler Umbr. p. 185 has a more satisfactory explanation of it. He holds that *totem* = *tote* + *en* 'in' (I § 209 p. 177); and to this he says *-e(n)* was added again, by assimilation to words in which *-e(n)* remained a distinct syllable, e. g. *manuv-e* 'in manu'. Cp. Prākṛit *tumaṇ* instead of *tum* 'thou' (Skr. *tvám*) following *aham* 'I'; Lith. dial. *jūke-sis* 'they mock', because *-si* and *-s* are both used for this part of the verb (thus it is a contamination of *jūkesi* and *jūkes*); Skr. Ved. 3rd. pl. mid. *duduhirē* instead of *duduhṛē* after the analogy of *jagmirē*; and other instances of the same kind which I have collected elsewhere (Morph. Unt. III 67 ff.).

Lith. *rañkoj-e* like *šėmėj-e* (§ 265) and perhaps *dėvej-e*

(§ 263 p. 166) with the same particle of uncertain origin which is in the loc. pl. *rañkos-e* (§ 356) and in the O.C.Sl. loc. sing. *kamen-e*, possibly the *-a* of Skr. dat. *vfāy-a* (§ 186 p. 62, § 246 p. 145, § 257 p. 158, § 409). *rañkoje žēmeje* were incorrectly analysed, and the ending was imagined to be *-je*; hence such re-formations as *naktyjē* (*nakti-s* 'night') and *sūnūjē* (*sūnū-s* 'son'). These forms lost their *-e* before vowels in pre-historic times, and thus arose *rañkoj rañko*, *žēmē*, *nakty*, *sūnu*.

§ 265. 3. *i- iē-*stems (cp. p. 68 footnote 1). Locative and dative had become identical in form in proethnic Indo-Germanic (§ 248 pp. 148 f.). Pr. Idg. **bhṛghṛt(i)iēi* and *-(i)iē* 'in celsa'. Avest. *barentya*, O.Pers. *harauvatiyā* 'in Arachosia' (as to the nom. *harauvatiš* see § 191 p. 68); Skr. *bṛhatyām* with the particle **-em* (cp. *āsvāyām* § 264 pp. 166 f., O.C.Sl. instr. *toja* § 276), so also we have Avest. *-yām* beside *-ya* (Bartholomae, Ar. Forsch. II 104). Lat. *faciē*, cp. § 248 pp. 148 f. Mid.Ir. *Brigti insi*; *-i* for **-iē*, and this for **-(i)iēi* or **-(i)iē*, cp. loc. cit. Lith. *žēmėj-e žēmē*, cp. § 264; O.C.Sl. *zemlji*, cp. § 248 p. 149.

In proethnic Aryan the dat.-loc. forms **-iāi* and **-iā* were differentiated in use: **-iāi* was appropriated to the dative, **-iā* to the locative. The loc. use of **-iā* was natural, because *-ā* was the loc. ending of *i*-stems (§ 260 pp. 161 f.), and other loc. forms had the postposition *ā* tacked on to them; while *-ai* recalled the dative ending of *a*- and *o*-stems (§ 246 p. 145, § 247 pp. 146 f.).

Lith. *vėščancziój-e* follows the *iā*-stems; so probably Goth. *frijōndjai* (cp. § 248 p. 149).

§ 266. 4. *i*-stems. *-ei-i* beside *-ē(i)* (§ 260 pp. 161 ff.), cp. dat. *-ei-ai* § 249 p. 149.

In the Veda, a few forms in *-ayi*, on the analogy of *sānāvi*, have been restored by conjecture in place of the *-āu* of the texts, which violates the metre: e. g. *ajāyi* (*ajī-š* 'contest'). See Lanman, Noun Inflexion pp. 387 f. As regards the fem. *āvyām*, see § 231 p. 120, § 278 pp. 181 f.

Greek Hom. πόσει πόλει, Att. πόσει πόλει; it must not be forgotten that (1) Att. *η* and *ει* expressed the same sound by the beginning of the fourth century B. C. (the Author, Gr. Gr.² p. 36), and so (2) we cannot tell whether *-ει* was not meant to express the old formation in *-ηι -η* (§ 260 p. 159). Ion. Dor. Lesb. Boeot *-ι*, as βási, can hardly be contracted from *-υ* (cp. *υι*), but contain the Idg. ending *-ι*, see § 249 pp. 149 f., § 278. Cypr. πτόλιφι doubtless follows βασιλῆφι, as gen. Τιμοχάρηφι follows βασιλῆφι; cp. Stolz, Ztschr. für öst. Gymn. 1889, p. 748; Meister, Zum el. ark. und kypr. Dial., 37.

-ει-ι is perhaps contained in Osc. Herentatei Lat. *ovī*, see § 249 p. 150, § 260 p. 160.

O.H.G. *ensti* A.S. *este* may be derived from pr. Germ. **anstei-i -iḡ-i* (I § 67. 2 pp. 57 f.), as O.H.G. *suniu* from **suneu-i* (§ 267). Other possibilities are suggested in § 260 p. 161, § 278.

For Lith. *naktyjė nakty*, see § 264 p. 168.

§ 267. 5. *u*-stems. *-eu-i* beside *-ēu* (§ 261 pp. 161 ff.), cp. dat. *-eu-ai* § 250 p. 152.

Ved. *-av-i*, *sūnāv-i*, rarer than *-āu*. For the fem. *dhēnām* see § 232 p. 122, § 279.

Gr. Hom. ἡδέι ἄσσει Att. ἡδεῖ ἄσσει πήχει. A non-original re-formation in *-υ-i* is Ion. δουρί Att. δορί (δέρν n. 'wood, shaft, spear') for **δορφ-ι* (I § 166 pp. 146 f.), following the analogy of the gen. δουρός δορός for **δορφ-ος* (see § 232 b p. 122). Cp. Germ. **many-i* below.

O.H.G. *suniu* *sitiu* Norse Run. *Kunimu(n)diu* O.Icel. *syni* may belong to the same group (pr. Germ. **-eu-i *-iḡ-i*, see I § 67. 3 p. 57); another possible explanation is given in § 260 p. 161. A non-original formation in *-υ-i* is Goth. *mann* O.H.G. *man* A.S. *men(n)* for **manni* earlier **many-i*, which follows the analogy of the gen. Goth. *mans* etc. for **many-iz* or **many-az* (see § 232 b p. 122). Cp. above, Gr. δουρί δορί.

For Lith. *sūnājė sunuī* see § 264 p. 168. — Did the *ā* of dialectic forms in *-āje -ā*, as *danguoje Wilnuo*, come from the loc. pl. in *-āse* (§ 357)? Other suggestions are offered

by Bezzenberger, *Nachr. von der Ges. der Wiss. zu Gött.*, 1885, pp. 161 f., and lately by Wiedemann on p. 35 of his *Litauisches Praeteritum*.

§ 268. 6. *i-* *iġ-* and *ū-* *uġ-* stems; stems in *-ġ*, *-ġ*, *-ġ*.

The ending is *-iġ-i* *-uġ-i* (beside *-i* *-ū*, see § 262 p. 164). Skr. *dhiy-i* *bhruv-i*, Ved. *śvaśrūv-i*. Also, with the fem. endings, *dhiydm* *bhruvdm* *śvaśruvdm*, see § 233 p. 123, § 280. Gr. *αἰ ὅφρ' ἔχου* (nom. *ἔχου-ς*). Lat. *su-e* and perhaps *vi* for **vi-i* (§ 262 p. 164). O.C.Sl. *svēkrūv-e* may have once been **svēkrūv-ī*, and *-ī* have given place to *-e* (cp. *kamen-e* etc., § 257 p. 158). The forms *svēkrūv-i* *krūv-i* follow the analogy of *i*-stems, § 260 p. 161.

Similarly, Skr. *gir-i* *pur-i* *gō-ṣaṇ-i*; see § 255 p. 156.

§ 269. 7. *n*-stems. Pr. Idg. *-en-i* *-n-i* beside *-en* *-ēn* (§ 257 p. 158). Cp. § 256 pp. 156 ff.

Skr. *mūrdhān-i* *mūrdhn-i*, *āśman-i*; the forms with a weak stem are very rare in Vedic (see Lanman, *Noun Infl.* 535). Avest. Gāthic *cašmainī* from stem *cašman-* 'eye'; *asn-i* from *azan-* 'day' like Skr. *āhn-i*.

Gr. *ποιμέν-ι*, *ἀρν-ί* *κυν-ί* (Skr. *śūn-i*); and with other strong grade forms by analogy, *τέκτον-ι*, *πενθη-ν-ι*, *ἀγῶν-ι*.

Lat. *homin-e* *Carthāgin-e*, *carn-e*; with other strong grade forms substituted, *edōn-e* *mentīōne*. Umbr. *menzn-e* 'mense', cp. nom. acc. neut. *sakre* 'sacre' for **sakri*. In Lat. and Umbr., locative and instrumental forms had become identical, see § 274.

In Irish there was bound to be a confluence of loc. and dat., as *coin* (Gr. *κυν-ί*), *arain*, see § 251 p. 154.

Goth. *gumin* *aūhsin* (Skr. *ukṣān-i*), O.H.G. *gomen* *gomin*. In Anglo-Saxon and Norse, this case has taken *-an-* = Idg. *-on-* from the other cases: A.S. *guman*, Norse Run. *-halaiban* 'socio' O.Icel. *guma*; along with this, there are traces in Norse of *-in-* = Idg. *-en-*; see Noreen, Paul's Grundr. I 494. Goth. *gōdein* (nom. *gōdei* 'kindness'), cp. Gr. *ᾠδῆν-ι*. Goth. *tuggōn* *raþjōn* like Gr. *ἀγῶν-ι* Lat. *ratiōn-e*.

Lith. *szun-yjè akmen-yjè* follow the analogy of *i*-stems (§ 266 p. 169).

§ 270. 8. *r*-stems. Pr. Idg. *-er-i -r-i*, cp. § 256 pp. 157 f., § 258 p. 159.

Skr. *mātár-i* Avest. *mātairi*, Skr. *nár-i* Avest. *nairi* = Gr. *ἀνέρι*, Skr. *dātár-i* Avest. *datair-i*.

Gr. Hom. *μητέρ-ι ἀνέρι* Hom. Att. *μητρ-ί ἀνδρ-ί*. *δώρο-ι* follows *δώρο-υ* etc., *δοτήρι-ι* follows *δοτήρ*. *φράτρε-ι* belonged originally to the same set of forms as *φράττορα*, as Skr. *dātár-i* belongs to *dātár-am*. Cp. II § 120 p. 379.

Lat. *mātr-e*; *datōr-e* with *-ōr-* following the nom. sing.

O.Ir. *māthir* for **māter-i* or **mātr-i*, which is dative too; see § 252 p. 154.

Goth. *fadr* = Gr. *πατρί*. O.Icel. *mædr* A.S. *mæder* O.H.G. *muoter* = Gr. *μητρι*.

Lith. *moter-yjè* and O.C.Sl. *mater-i* are modelled upon the *i*-stems (§ 260 p. 161, § 266 p. 169).

§ 271. 9. Stems ending in an Explosive. How far there was originally a strong stem in these, analogous to the endings *-en-i -er-i*, is not clear. In another place we have conjecturally restored such forms as **dént-i* 'in dente' **uég-i* 'in voce' (II pp. 395, 480), cp. § 262 pp. 163 f., on Skr. *par-ut*.

Skr. *bṛhat-i*; Avest. *astvaiti astvainti* from *ast-vant-* 'having bones'. Gr. *ἰδόντ-ι φέροντ-ι*, in which the original form of the stem has been changed. Lat. *rudent-e ferent-e prae-sent-e*, where it is doubtful how far *-ent-* is derived directly from *-nt-* (II § 125 pp. 395 f., and footnote 1 on p. 105 of this volume). O.Ir. *carit*, also dative, see § 253 p. 155. Goth. *frijōnd* O.H.G. *friunt*; A.S. *tēð* (= Gr. *δόντ-ι*) with the *i*-mutation, nom. *tōð*.

Skr. *sarvātāt-i* 'in completeness', Gr. *ολόγητ-ι*. Lat. *novitāt-e juventūt-e*. O.Ir. *bethid* from nom. *beothu* 'life', also dative, see § 253 p. 155. Goth. *mēnōþ* A.S. *mōnað* beside nom. Goth. *mēnōþ-s* 'month' (cp. Kluge, Paul's Grundr. I 360); Goth. O.H.G. *naht* beside nom. Goth. *naht-s* 'night'.

Skr. *šarād-i* 'in autumn'. Gr. *φνυάδ-ι*. Lat. *lapid-e*. O.Ir. *druid*, also dative, see § 253 p. 155. Skr. *pad-i* O.Pers. *nipady* i. e. *nipad-i* 'on the foot, at once', Gr. *ποδ-ί*, Lat. *ped-e*, A.S. *fēt* for **fōt-i*. A.S. *hnyte* for **hnut-i* (nom. *hnut-u* 'nut'), in which the locative ending has not ceased to be a separate syllable, because the stem-syllable is short (I § 661.2 pp. 517 f.).

Skr. *uśij-i*, stem *uśij-* 'desiring'. Gr. *μείρακ-ι*, *ὄρνυκ-ι* *ὄρνυγ-ι*. Lat. *bibac-e*. Skr. *vāc-i* Gr. *ὀπ-ί* Lat. *vōc-e*, see II § 160 p. 480. Skr. *-raj-i*, Lat. *rēg-e*, Goth. *reik*. O.H.G. *buoh* A.S. *bēc* (with *i*-mutation) 'libro'. O.Ir. *nathraig* (nom. *nathir* 'water-snake'), *rig* 'regi' are also dative; but we cannot say that Gall. *-rigi*, in proper names, contains a loc. in *-i*, because for all we know the dative ending *-ai* may have become *-i* (*-i*) in some Gallic dialects (cp. *Βηλγασαμ* § 247 p. 147).

Skr. *ap-i* Avest. *aipya* i. e. *aipi* + the postposition *a*, stem *ap-* 'water'. Gr. *κλων-ί*. Lat. *dap-e*.

§ 272. 10. Stems in *-s*.

a. Pr.Idg. **menes-i* 'in mente'. Skr. *mānas-i* *dur-manas-i*, Avest. *manah-i* *duš-manah-i*. Gr. Ion. *μένει* *δυο-μενεί* Att. *μένει* *δυο-μενεί* (cp. the Author, Gr. Gr.² § 17 pp. 36 f.). Lat. *gener-e* *dē-gener-e*, *rūr-e*; infinitives like *stiver-e* (cp. Skr. dat. *jivās-ē*), see II § 132 p. 418; *tempor-e* with *-o-* from the nom. acc. sing. neut., see II § 132 pp. 418 f. Perhaps the A.S. dat. loc. *sizor* from nom. *sizor*, beside Northumbr. *ēher* from nom. *ēher* 'ear of corn', is of the same kind as Lat. *tempor-e* (cp. Kluge, Paul's Grundr. I 360. 4).

With a weak grade of the *es*-suffix, **mē-ns-i*: Gr. Att. *μηρί* Lat. *mēns-e* O.Ir. *mīs*, cp. II § 132 p. 415.

In Attic, beside *Σωκράτει* there are found a few examples of *-κράτῃ* following the model of *a*-stems (cp. acc. *-κράτην* gen. *-κράτου*, § 220 p. 97, § 237 p. 128). It must of course be remembered that there was a confluence of *η* and *ε* in Attic as early as the 4th century B. C. (see the Author's

Gr. Gr.² p. 36). This fact may have done a great deal to help the constant spread of the forms *-πατήν -πατέρα* (Meisterhans, Gr. der att. Inschr.² pp. 105 ff.). Lesb. *Θεογένη* too follows the *a*-stems, see § 237 p. 129.

b. Pr. Idg. comparative **ōk(i)jes-i* 'in ociores': Skr. *āśtyas-i*, Lat. *ōciōr-e* (*-iōs-* from the nom. sing.). In Greek, with the suffix *-jen-*, *ηδιότι*.

Pr. Idg. part. perf. act. **ueid-ues-i* (stem **ueid-ues-* 'knowing'). Skr. *vidúṣ-i*. In Greek, with the suffix *-uet-*, *ειδότης*.

c. Root Nouns. Skr. *ās-i* Lat. *ōr-e*. Skr. *māṣ-i* (inferred from nom. pl. *māṣ-as*), Gr. *μῦ* instead of **mū-i*, which would have been the regular form (see II § 160 p. 485), Lat. *mūr-e*, A.S. *mgs*.

§ 273. 11. Certain Root Nouns.

Skr. *nāv-i*, Gr. *νη*, Lat. *nāv-e*. **d(i)jēu-i* **diu-i* 'in daylight': Skr. *dyāv-i* Lat. *Jov-e*, Skr. *div-i*, Gr. *Δι* *Δι*, cp. II § 160 p. 481. **gēu-i* 'in bove': Skr. *gāv-i* Lat. *bov-e*; — Gr. *βο* *Ir. boin* are re-formates (§ 255 p. 156). Skr. *kṣām-i* 'in terra', Idg. **gzhēm-i*, see II § 160 pp. 482 f. Avest. *bar°z-i* *ber°z-i* 'in alto' (not actually found, but inferred from cases of the word which are), O.Ir. *brig*, Goth. *baúrg* O.H.G. *burg*, see II § 160 p. 479.

Instrumental Singular.¹⁾

§ 274. There are two distinct methods of forming the Instrumental.

1. All noun-stems from the proethnic period onwards have had a suffix, whose original form may have been *-a* or *-e*, but which, is a vexed question. In considering what form to

1) Schleicher, Die beiden Instrumentale des Indogermanischen, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. II 454 ff. (= Compendium⁴ pp. 560 ff.). Moller, Über den Instr. im Heliand und das homer. Suffix *-φι*, Danzig 1874. Lissner, Zur Erklärung des Gebrauches des Casussuffixes *φι* bei Homer, Olmütz 1865. J. Grimm, Der deutsche Instrumentalis, Germania III 151 ff.

restore as original, the following have to be taken into account: Skr. gerund *prati-bhidy-a* 'with splitting' (§ 278), Gr. *πεδ-α παρ-α ἄμ-α* and the like (§ 280), Lat. *ped-e* Umbr. pure 'igne' (Iguvine Tables, I. b. 20). In the present state of the question I consider *-a* the more likely of the two.

Remark. *-a* is supported by Osthoff, Zur Gesch. des Perf., 574 ff.; *-e* by J. Schmidt, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVII 292 f., Pluralb. 41 f. Schmidt thinks that he has proved that the Idg. form of the suffix was *-e* and not *-a*; but here he makes a mistake. He says that the Idg. feminine formative suffix *-ā* arose by contraction of the ending of *o*-stems with a certain *a* which forms feminine stems. He infers that *-ε -ο*, the instr. ending of *o*-stems, cannot contain a case suffix *-a*. But this supposed feminine *a* is an entirely imaginary quantity. And even supposing that *-ia* in *πόντ-ια* is the same as the sound-group from which comes *-i* in Skr. *pātn-i*, which I deny (see § 191 p. 68, and Morph. Unt. V 29), even then, before refusing to admit an instr. suffix *-a*, a scholar would have to prove that the *a* of *-ia* represents Idg. *a* and not *ə*. By far the simplest explanation of the above named Greek adverbs *πεδ-α παρ-α μετ-α* is to suppose them to be instrumental (*πεδ-α* = Mid.H.G. *bet-* according to Bugge, Paul-Braune's Beitr. XII 419 f.); and if Dor. *κρυφῇ* Att. *κρυφῇ*, like *πάντῃ*, are to be classed with the instr. Att. *πῇ ταύτῃ* (§ 276), which has more to say for itself than Schmidt's view that they are nom.-acc. pl. neut. (Pluralb., pp. 40 f.), then *κρυφᾶ* too will be instrumental. No hesitation need be felt in deriving Lat. *ped-e* from **ped-a*; it is quite possible phonetically (see I § 97 p. 91). There would be more cause for doubt in deriving Umbr. *-e* from **-a*, because of words in which *a* has not been weakened, as *tu-plak* (see § 225 p. 106) *procanurent* **procinuerint* *prehabia* 'præhibeat'. But these forms prove nothing for final *-a*. No other examples are found which can explain the treatment of pr. Ital. unaccented final **-a*; but it is important to notice that **-o* becomes *-e*, in *ere* 'is' = Skr. *ēṣā* Idg. **eḡ-so* (§ 418) and in *este* for **esto*, **estod* = Lat. *istu-d* (§ 417). When we remember, too, that **-i* becomes *-e* when final, but not otherwise, as in the nom. acc. neut. *sakre* and in *ote* (Osc. *avti*), we see that there is no need to hesitate in assuming that **-a* became *-e* in Umbr., and that pure comes from **pura*. This is not the only instance of special laws affecting the vowels of final syllables in Umbrian; others are the fluctuation between *ō* (*u*) and *ā* (I § 105 p. 98), and between *a* and *e* in *ocar pacer*, from the stems *ocri-* *pacri-*.

Perhaps Keltic may throw some light on the question. As far as I can see, *-e* in Gall. *are- ande- ate-* may come from *i*, notwithstanding *ambi-*. What is the relation of the O.Ir. proclitic *ar* and *ad- at- air* and *aith-*? Are we to gather that pretonic *-e* has become *-a* (**ara- *ata-*)?

With the final *-o* and *-e* of *o*-stems this ending became

-ō or -ē in the parent language; with the ending of *ā*-stems it contracted to -*ā*, with that of *iē*-stems to -*iē*. *i*- and *u*-stems show -*i* and -*u*; Osthoff (Morph. Unt. II 139 f., Perf. 573) explains these as due to "proportional analogy", following the endings -ō -ē, -*ā*; that is, that given -*o* -*e* : -ō -ē, and *a* : *ā*, it was natural to suppose that *i* and -*u* would have -*i* and -*ū* for the corresponding ending.

2. Secondly, the suffixes *-*bhi* and *-*mi* are used for the instrumental of nouns in various Idg. languages; *-*bhi* in Armenian and Greek, *-*mi* in Aryan, Balto-Slavonic, and doubtless in Germanic; besides which one example of each is found in Keltic. The same suffixes are used in pronouns. They are connected etymologically with other *bh*- and *m*-suffixes which from the proethnic period onwards have formed various cases of nouns and pronouns in all three numbers. Examples are: Skr. dat.-abl.-instr. dual *áśvā-bhyām* dat.-abl. pl. *áśvā-bhyas* instr. pl. *áśvā-bhiṣ* from *áśvā*- 'equa', dat. *tú-bhyam* 'tibi' *asmā-bhyam* 'nobis', O.C.Sl. dat.-instr. dual *pqŕi-ma* dat. pl. *pqŕi-mŭ* instr. pl. *pqŕi-mi* from *pqŕi* 'way' (instr. sing. *pqŕi-mŭ*), dat. loc. *te-bě* instr. *to-bojā* from *ty* 'thou'.

A number of words contain elements which remind us of the suffixes with *bh*, but have nothing to do with forming cases; and I would offer the conjecture that the two groups are etymologically connected. The -*qi* in *σ-qi* *σραρό-qi* is the same as in *ἀμ-qi*, and with this are connected *ἄμ-qi* Lat. *am-bō* Skr. *u-bhāu* Goth. *bái*, and perhaps Skr. *sa-bhá* 'assembly, place of assembly, court' Goth. *si-b-ja* 'kin', Gr. *qi-λο-ς* and some other words. Cp. Johansson, Bezz. Beitr. XIII 122 f. Since *bh* belonged specially to the instrumental, whose original meaning was sociative and comitative, one would be inclined to suggest that the original meaning of this root was that of being paired or together (this has been put forward already, § 186 pp. 61 f.). There will have been parallel forms *-*bho*- and *-*bhi*-, related somewhat in the same way as *-*go*- and *-*gi*- (§ 410). Then *bh* spread from the instrumental to other cases, as in pronouns

-sm- (e. g. Skr. *tásmīn*) and -sī- (e. g. Skr. *táśyās*) spread from one case to the others which show them (§§ 424, 425). The *m*-suffixes, -*mī* etc., are to be set down to another root. It may be conjectured that in the parent language these two elements came in contact at some point, and had some one use in common, which made them influence each other in form. But what the exact forms and uses of each were to begin with can no longer be made out. Generally speaking, the *bh*-forms are preferred in Aryan, Armenian, Greek, Italic, and Keltic, and the *m*-forms in Germanic, Baltic, and Slavonic. For a general discussion of these suffixes the following references may be given: Sievers, Paul-Braune's Beitr. IV 391; Bartholomae, Handb. der altiran. Dial. p. 68 footnote 1; the Author, Techmer's Internat. Zeitschr. für allgem. Sprachwiss., I 241 f.; Henry, Mém. de la Soc. de ling., VI 102 ff.; Strachan, Bezz. Beitr. XIV 174 f.

§ 275. I. Instrumental forms with the Suffix -*a* (-*e*).

1. *o*-stems. Pr. Idg. **u₁qō* 'with a wolf'; and side by side with -*ō* is -*ē*, as **jugē* 'with a yoke'; cp. § 240 p. 133.

Skr. Ved. *vfka*, Avest. *vehrka* O.Pers. *karā* 'with a people or host'. In Greek only adverbs are left: -*ō*, the pronominal *πω* in *οὗ πω* etc. (O.Sax. *hwō* 'how, in what degree'), whilst it is doubtful whether any adverbs like *οὕτω καλῶς* fall in this class, and if so, which of them (see § 241 p. 135); -*ē*, Tarent. *αιῆ* beside loc. *αιεῖ* (§ 263 p. 165)¹), and in adverbs from pronoun-stems such as Lac. *πη-ποκα* (cp. Att. *πῶ-ποτε*), Gort. *ῆ ὅ-πη* (cp. Goth. *hvē* 'with which, for how much, perhaps'), Cret. Heracl. Cypr. Att. *ῆ* 'if' beside (loc.) *εἰ* 'if'²). In Latin, certain adverbs come into this class, as *quō*

1) The old grammarians accent the word wrongly *αιῆ*, on the analogy of *αιεῖ*.

2) In Attic, *ῆ* is contained in *ἐῖς* and *ἄν* for *ῆ-άν*, whilst *εἰ-άν* became *ἐ(ι)άν ῆν*. However, *ἐ(ι)άν* may possibly have become *ἄν* after *καί* and like words, cp. *ὑγῆ* beside *καφῆ* for *-ε(σ)α* (the Author, Gr. Gr.² § 10 p. 27).

(cp. Umbr. *sei-podruh-pei* 'utroque' *ulo ulu* 'illo, illuc') *cito modo, bene male*; and it seems best to add *arē are* in *arē-bam are-facio* (*facit are*), *suē-* in *suē-bam -suē-facio* and the like (Wiedemann, Beitr. zur altbulg. Conj. 125 f., and Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. XII 91). O.Ir. *fiur* for **firu*, *cēliu*, see below. O.H.G. *tagu*, later *tago*; from words with a long initial syllable regular forms are only occasionally met with, e. g. *hūs* (I § 661.2 pp. 517 f.), for they usually have the ending of forms with a short initial syllable as *wolfu wolfo* (cp. *gebu* : *wīs* : *erdu* § 276); *ō* is kept in O.Sax. *hwō* 'how'; in Gothic we find *-ē*, *hōē* = Gr. Lac. *πῆ-πονα*; see below. Lith. *vilkū*, cp. *gerū-ju* beside *gerū*, I § 664.3 pp. 523 f. In Slavonic, the instr. in *-ē* is contained in comparatives in *-ě-jī*, as O.C.Sl. *nově-jī* (II § 135 p. 437) and in the first part of the periphrastic imperfect, as *nesě-achū* from *nēs-ti* 'to carry' (see Wiedemann, loc. cit.).

In Aryan, the ending Idg. *-ē* (not *-ō*) seems to be vouched for by Skr. *paścā* 'behind' Avest. *pasca* 'after, afterwards' with *c*, as compared with the abl. Avest. *paskap* 'behind, afterwards' with *k* (I § 445 p. 331); the latter form therefore has Idg. *-ōd* (§ 241 pp. 134 f.).

In Sanskrit the ending *-ēna* as *vfkēna* is commoner than *-ā* in the Veda, and is universal in the classical language; This is a re-formation following the pronouns, see § 421. Vedic has also *-ēna* instead of *-āna*, as *sūriyēna*, *tēna*, which is probably due to the influence of the older instrumental formation in *-ā*, as *vfkā* (J. Schmidt, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVII 292; Wackernagel, Das Dehnungsgesetz der gr. Compp., 13).

Keltic. Forms like *fiur cēliu* (Gall. e. g. *Alisanu*) must be instrumental. This is proved by the way in which they are used. Without a preposition, they always have the instrumental meaning (for even with comparatives they are doubtless instr. and not abl.).

Remark. *fiur* has often been taken for a dative in orig. *-ōi*. This assumption can hardly be made good, because the dat. of *ā*-stems,

tuaiθ, must be derived from **teuāi*, whether we choose to regard this form as dative or locative (§ 249 p. 147, § 264 p. 167), and -*āi* must have been intermediate between this ground-form and the form actually found (cp. I p. footnote 1). I make this observation on account of what is said by Strachan, Bezz. Beitr. XIII 131.

Germanic. O.H.G. *tagu* may also be explained as abl. in -*ōd* (§ 241 pp. 134 f.). *demu* is certainly ablative, see § 423.

Goth. *vulfa* may be considered an instr., in Idg. -*ō* or -*ē*, without doing violence to any phonetic law. But it may also be abl. in -*ēd* (§ 241 pp. 134 f.), dat. in -*ē(i)* (§ 246 p. 146), or loc. in -*oī* (§ 263 p. 165). Cp. *þamma*, which may be taken for either abl. in -*ēd* (cp. Skr. *tásmād*) or dat. in -*ē(i)* (cp. Skr. *tásmāi*); see § 423.

Should we add to this class Goth. adverbs like *ubila-ba* (see § 241 p. 137)?

Streitberg (Die germ. Comp. auf -*ōz-*, p. 37) explains such adverbs as Goth. *ga-leikō* O.H.G. *gi-līhho* 'similar, like' and Goth. *svarē* 'in vain' as being forms in *-*ōm* and *-*ēm*, that is -*ō* and -*ē* + the particle **em*. But *ga-leikō gi-līhho* may also come from Idg. -*ām*; see § 276 p. 180. A third explanation was mentioned in § 213 p. 90. Views by no means to be adopted are set forth by Mahlow, Die langen Vocale 54, 131, and Hanssen, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVII 614.

Lithuanian. In dialects and in O.Lith. is found also *vilkūmī*, an extension of *vilkū* by -*mi* like *tū-mī*, § 421.

§ 276. 2. *a*-stems. Pr. Idg. **ek̑uā* 'with a mare'. Skr. Ved. *áśvā*, Avest. *haēna*, see below. Greek Cypr. *áqā* 'ex voto' and the like, see below; all other examples are adverbs (from nouns or pronouns): Ion. Att. *κρυφῇ λάθρη* (Att. *λάθρᾳ*) *πάντη πῇ ῇ*, Lesb. *ἄλλᾳ ὅπ-πᾶ*, Dor. *κρυφᾷ παντᾷ ἄ-τε*; the adverbial crystallisation is clearly shown in the re-formate *πάντ-η* (cp. *Κικυννοί* § 263 p. 164)¹⁾; cp. below. O.H.G. *gebu*,

1) J. Schmidt's conjecture (Pluralb. 40) that *πάντη* is a nom. acc. pl. neut., is opposed to the meaning of the word, which cannot be separated from *πῇ*, *ταύτῃ* and so forth.

later *gebo*; with *-u* dropped after a long initial syllable *wīs* ('manner, wise'), and with the ending assimilated to *gebu* we have *erdu* ('earth') *slahtu* ('kind, species') etc.; cp. *tagu* : *hūs* : *woľfu* § 275 p. 177; O.Icel. *drotningo* ('queen') *fiqðr* ('feather'), cp. Noreen, Paul's Grundr. I 491. On Lith. *rankà* O.C.Sl. *raķa*, see below.

Aryan. In Vedic *-ayā* is found with nouns, but more rarely than *-ā*, e. g. *āśvayā*; and this became universal in the later language. In Avestic *haēnaya* is far commoner than *haēna*. *-ayā* came from the pronouns (*táyā*, see § 422), and was doubtless intended to avoid the same ending in the instr. and nom. sing. Cp. O.C.Sl. *raķojā* (beside *raķa*), also an adformate of the pronouns (*toja*); see below.

Remark 1. There is a group of Sanskrit adverbial forms from *o*-stems, ending in *-ayā*, as *ṛtayā* 'rightly' (stem *ṛtā-*) *svapnayā* 'in a dream' (*svāpna-*). Perhaps these are modelled upon the pronominal adverb *ayā* 'in this way'. See J. Schmidt, Pluralb. 212 ff., where however only those adverbs which are built up on adjective stems, as *ṛtayā*, are so explained. Another explanation is offered by Bartholomae in Bezz. Beitr. XV 20 f. Cp. § 279 Rem.

Greek. In Cyprian the old form in *-ā* seems to have remained in use as an ordinary case, and the dative forms in *-āi* (*-āi*) seem to have lacked the instrumental meaning (Meister, Gr. Dial. II 295 f.). In the other dialects, instrumental uses had all passed over to the dative form, and the instr. form in *-ā* survived only as fossilised in adverbs. But in time these very adverbs in *-ā*, and the dative in *-āi*, ran together into one form. In Attic inscriptions of the classical period they have almost always the ending of the dative, as *ιδία*, *ῆ*, and similarly in Gortynian *ῆ*, *ἄλλῃ*. Forms in *-ā* are related to these in the same way as e. g. adv. *οἴκοι* to adv. *κύκλω*, adv. *Πλαταιᾶσι* to adv. *Πλαταιᾶς* (the Author, Gr. Gr.² p. 210). Later on *-āi* and *-ā* ran together in the regular course of things, see I § 132 p. 120. In Homer *λάθρη πάντη*, the true instrumental, are still used; which is proved by the fact that in thesis before vowels *η* is always shortened, but *η* as a rule is not (J. Schmidt, Plur. 40).

Remark 2. In Attic, η and η represented different sounds even as late as the Christian era; but ϵ was written sometimes instead of η (the Author, Gr. Gr.² p. 36). Now adverbs like η , $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\eta$, $\pi\alpha\nu\tau\alpha\chi\eta$ are sometimes written with ϵ (Meisterhans, Gr. der att. Inschr.² p. 114); which proves beyond a doubt that the iota adscript in η is right, and therefore that the form is dative.

Whether any of the Latin adverbs in *-ā*, such as *hā-c ūnā rectā dextrā*, are instrumental cannot be made out. *frustrā contrā* may possibly be so, but the short vowel must then be due to analogy (I § 655. 2 pp. 502 f.)¹⁾.

Lith. *rankā* (for **rankā*, the original long vowel kept in *gerā-ja* beside *gerā* 'cum bona') is pronounced in some dialects *runku*, in Lettic *rūku*, which gives **rankān* or **rankām* as the Baltic ground-form. This is confirmed by O.C.Sl. *raċqā*, a form rare, it is true, in the remains of O.C.Sl., but also found in West-Slavonic, and therefore proethnic in that branch of the language. The usual instr. of O.C.Sl. is *raċojā*, an ad-formate of pronouns like *tojā* (§ 422), cp. Skr. *āśvayā* following *tāyā*. Afterwards the analogy of *raċojā* suggested *nošĭjā* and *materĭjā* (§§ 278, 282). The difference between Skr. *āśvā tāyā āśvayā* and O.C.Sl. *raċqā* Lith. *rankā* O.C.Sl. *tojā raċojā* is merely that the latter group have another affix **em*, which we saw in the Skr. locative ending *-yām* §§ 264, 265 pp. 167 f.; cp. § 186 p. 62. It still remains a question whether the instr. ending *-ām* is also represented by adverbs such as Skr. *uttarām* 'further' Gr. *ἀντιστήν* Lat. *palam perperam* and Goth. *ga-leikō* O.H.G. *gi-līhho* (cp. § 275 p. 178).

In Lith. there is a re-formation with *-mi*, as *kalbūmi* (*kalbā* 'speech'), *duonomi* (*dūna* 'bread'), according to Mikuckij (Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. I 240 f.), cp. *vilkūmi* § 275 p. 178.

§ 277. 3. *i- iē-*stems (cp. p. 68 footnote 1). Pr.Idg. **bhṛghṛt(i) iē*. Skr. *bṛhatyā dēviyā*, Avest. *barentya*. Lat. *faciē* Umbr. *uhtretie* 'auctoritate', but these may be regarded

1) O.Ir. *echtar* 'extra' (Mid.Cymr. *eithyr*) has often been derived from **echtrā* (cp. *briathar* I § 634 p. 475). But more probably it had the same ending as *eter*. *-ar* because of *-cht-*, see Thurneysen, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVI 311 footnote 1.

as ablative, see § 243 p. 139. Mid.Ir. *insi* (-i for *-ī, and a step further back *-iē), but this may be dat. (§ 248 p. 149) or loc. (§ 265 p. 168). Lith. *žemè*, see below.

Vedic has a few examples with -ī (-i), on the analogy of i-stems (§ 278), as *śāmī* (*śāmi*) from nom. *śāmī* 'work'. A few scattered examples of the same kind are found in Avestic: *aži*, stem *azyā-* *aži-* 'cow'.

O.H.G. *kuninginnu* following *sipp(i)u gebu*, see § 276 pp. 178 f.

Lith. *žemè*, O.C.Sl. *zemlja* (-ja = *-jēm as in the acc. sing., see § 216 p. 92) *zemljeja* are to be explained in the same way as *rankà*, *raķa* *raķoja* § 276, preceding page. Be it observed, also, that in Lith. dialectic -i instead of -e points to an older *-ēn with just as much certainty as *runku* instead of *rankà* points to **rankan*.

§ 278. 4. i-stems. Pr.Idg. **oyī* from **oyi-s* 'ovis', which seems to have been used as a dative even then, see § 249 p. 150. Skr. Ved. *matī* from *matī-š* 'mind, spirit, devotion'; Avest. *aži*. It is more probable that Lesb. Boeot. Dor. Ion. *βάσι*, *πόλι* have Idg. -ī, than that they come from -u (loc.), see § 266 p. 169. Lat. *turrī*, Umbr. *poni* *puni* *pone* 'posca', but these may be ablative in pr.Ital. -īd (§ 243 p. 139); cp. pronominal adverb *qui* from *qui-s* (§ 421). O.Ir. *faith* for **uati*, see below. O.H.G. *ensti*, *steti* (*stat* 'place'), see below. Lith. dial. *aki*, see below.

Aryan. Only the Veda has -ī in feminines; this is shortened to -i before a vowel or at the end of a 'pāda' (see Lanman, Noun Infl. 380 f.). Side by side with -ī -i the following endings are found in Sanskrit:

1. -yā¹⁾ in Vedic both masc. and fem., later almost exclusively fem. It is probable that this ending is the weak i-stem + instr. suffix -ā (§ 280), cp. *krátvā* = Avest. Gāthic *xraþwā* (§ 279), and was not borrowed from (fem.)

1) Possibly O.Pers. *āpiyā*, Beh. I 95, is such a form. The passage is mutilated, and the form may be loc. sing.

*i- iē-*stems (*bṛhatyā*). But since the same ending *-yā* is found in fem. *i- iē-*stems, it was gradually restricted to feminines among the *i-*stems; and the point of contact thus gained between these two classes of stems doubtless suggested the further step of coining gen. *āvyās* dat. *āvyāi* loc. *āvyām* (§ 231 p. 120, § 249 p. 150, § 266 p. 168); compare the re-formates *dhiy-ās dhiy-āi dhiy-ām* beside *dhiy-ā* (§ 280). The only masc. in *yā* which held its ground in later Sanskrit is *pātyā*, which was preserved by the dat. *pātyē* see § 231 p. 120, § 249 p. 149.

2. *-y-a* in "gerunds" from verbs compounded with a prefix; as *prati-bhīd-y-a* (orig. 'with splitting'): Germ. **biti-* 'bite, bit' O.Sax. *biti* O.H.G. *biz*; *a-gam-y-a* ('with approaching'): Germ. **kumi-* 'a coming' O.Sax. *kumi* O.H.G. *chumi*; *a-ga-ty-a* ('with approaching') beside *gā-ti-* Gr. *βά-σι-ς*. When this formation was produced, consonantal stems must still have had *-a*, not yet changed to *-ā* (§ 280). It is therefore very closely connected with (1) *-y-ā*; *-a* being kept because the ordinary case meaning had sunk out of sight in these verbal nouns (on the same principle, old case-endings remain in the Greek infinitives *δό-μεν* § 257 p. 158 and *δό-μεν-αι* § 251 p. 135). In the Veda, gerunds often end in *-yā* as well as *-ya*; the reason being not so much the analogy of the living instrumental case, as that of gerunds in *-tvā* (§ 279).

3. *-inā, āvinā*. This formation is due to the analogy of *n-*stems (cp. § 393). Even in the Veda, it is the commonest instr. for the masc.-neut., and is found in a few feminine words; in later Sanskrit it is the regular ending of the masc.-neut. instrumental.

Old Irish *faith* is probably instrumental, simply because has the form without a preposition only the instr. meaning (cp. § 275 p. 177). But as far as form goes, it might be locative, cp. § 260 p. 160.

Old High German feminines, such as *ensti* (*anst* 'favour'), which may be loc. in orig. **-ēi* or **-ei-i* (§ 260 pp. 160 f., § 266 p. 169), may also be the instr. in *-i*. *-i* is regular only

in words whose first syllable is short, as *steti*; although most forms with a long first syllable, as *ensti*, have *-i* too, yet a few remain in which developement has been regular, as *anst* (mit *dinera anst* 'with thy favour'). Compare von Bahder, *Die Verbalabstracta*, pp. 19 f.; Osthoff, *Paul-Braune's Beitr.*, VIII 262. *-i* is found in a very few masculine words, as *quidi* ('law-suit'); see Kögel, *Über das Keron. Gloss.* p. 158, and Osthoff, *loc. cit.* The usual masc. ending is *-iu*, which follows the *io*-stems (*hirtiu hirtu*), e. g. *gastiu gastu*; cp. the pronoun *hiu* in *hiu-tu* 'to-day' beside Goth. *hi-mma* as compared with *diu* from the stem *dia-* (II § 4 p. 10, III §§ 409, 421).

In Lithuanian, the original formation is perhaps represented by dialectic forms such as *akì* from *akì-s* 'eye'. Elsewhere the ending is *-mi*, as *nakti-mì aki-mì* (§ 282); compare the pronoun *manì* beside *manimì* § 449. In Slavonic, the datives *pąti nošti* are specimens of the old type, if we were right in conjecturing that they are instrumental (§ 249 p. 150); compare pron. instr. *či* (Mod.Slov. 'if' Czech. 'whether') beside *čř-to* 'quid' (§ 421). With instr. meaning we have masc. *pąti-mì* (§ 282), fem. *noštiųą noštiųą*, the latter of which is an ad-formate of *rakoją* (§ 276 p. 180).

§ 279. 5. *u*-stems. Pr.Idg. **sūnū* from **sūnu-s* 'son'. Avest. *bāzu*. Lat. *manū*, in which there has been a confluence of the instr. and the ablative in *-ād* (§ 243 p. 141). O.Ir. *biuth*.

Aryan. In both branches of Aryan we meet with a formation which is modelled upon consonant stems. Vedic: fem. and masc.-neut.: *hānv-ā hānuv-ā* (*hānu-* f. 'jawbone') *krātu-ā krātuṃ-ā* (*krātu-* m. 'strength, will, understanding'), *mādhv-ā* (*mādhv-* n. 'sweetness'). Of the same kind are instr. from masc. *tu*-stems which are used as gerunds, e. g. *śru-tod* orig. 'with the hearing', see II § 108 p. 327. In Avestic, we find not only *bāzu* but *bāzv-ā*, Gāthic *xraṇw-ā*.

In later Sanskrit the ending *-vā*, like *-yā* in *i*-stems, is confined to the feminine and the gerunds; and corresponding to the re-formates *avyās avyāi avyām* in *i*-stems there is

a similar set of *u*-forms, as *dhēnvās dhēnvai dhēnvām* from *dhēnú-* 'milch cow' (§ 232 p. 122, § 250 p. 152, § 267 p. 169); compare the re-formates *bhruv-ās bhruv-ai bhruv-ām* beside *bhruv-ā* (§ 280). An ending *-unā*, produced by the analogy of *n*-stems (§ 393), is the only one used with masculine and neuter words in later Sanskrit, e. g. *sūnūnā*. Even in the Veda this is by far the commonest ending for masc. and neut. instr.

Remark. As regards the Aryan adverbs in *-uyā*, as Skr. *āśnyā* Avest. *āsuyā(-ca)* 'quickly' (from *āśū- āsu-* 'quick'), the student may consult J. Schmidt, *Pluralb.* 213. Perhaps, as he suggests, these are ad-formates of *amuyā* 'in that wise'. A different view is taken by Bartholomae, *Bezz. Beitr.* XV 21. Cp. § 276 Rem. 1.

Germanic. Perhaps we should place here O.Icel. suffixless datives which have suffered a *u*-modification or "umlaut" of the root vowel, as *þvǫnd* from nom. *þvǫndr* 'branch'. O.H.G. instr. in *-iu -u*, as *sitiu situ*, are really locative forms (§ 267 p. 169) which have added the instrumental meaning to their own through being associated with the instr. sing. of *i*-stems (*gastiu gastu*, (see § 278 p. 183).

§ 280. 6. All remaining Stems.

Aryan. In Sanskrit the regular ending is *-ā*, the stem having usually the same weak form as the dative singular. This *-ā* came originally from stems in *-o-*, also the source of the ending of the nom.-acc. dual, *-au -ā* (§ 289). Why the original short *-a* (cp. *-bhīdy-a*) was altered cannot be made out. However, it is not by any means clear whether the Iranian endings Avest. *-ā* O.Pers. *ā-* represent pr.Ar. *-a* or **-ā*; if the latter, the change of *-a* to *-ā* will be proethnic Aryan; cp. I § 21 p. 25, § 649 p. 495. A consideration of the Sanskrit gerund in *-ya* would incline one to believe that it is only in Sanskrit that this ending was borrowed from *o*-stems.

Skr. *śūn-ā āśman-ā* Avest. *sūn-a asman-a*; on Ved. *prēṇā* from *prēmān-* 'love', *bhūnā* from *bhūmān-* 'plenty, crowd' see Streitberg, Paul-Braune's *Beitr.* XIV 205 f. Skr. *mātr-ā dātr-ā* Avest. *māpr-a dāpr-a*. Skr. *byhat-ā*

Avest. *ber'zat-a ber'zant-a*. Skr. *mānas-ā* Avest. *manas-ah-a*; Skr. *āśiyas-ā* Avest. *āsyas-ah-a*; Skr. *vidiś-ā* Avest. *vidiś-ā*. Skr. *dhiy-ā bhruv-ā*; the likeness of *dhiy-ā* to *dēviyā* etc. (§ 277 p. 180) produced a new set of forms, *dhiyās dhiyāi dhiyām* beside *dhiy-ās dhiy-ē dhiy-i*, *bhruvās bhruvāi bhruv-ām* beside *bhruv-ās bhruv-ē bhruv-i* (§ 233 p. 123, § 255 p. 156, § 268 p. 170), cp. *āvyās dhēnōds* and similar words § 278 p. 182, § 279 p. 184. Skr. *tanūv-ā* Avest. *tan(u)v-ā*. Skr. *nāv-ā, gāv-ā* Avest. *gav-a*. Skr. *viś-ā* (*viś-* 'settlement, house, community, stock, family'), Avest. *vīs-a* O.Pers. *vīp-ā* (*vīsvīp-* 'village community, clan').

In Greek stems such as we are now discussing, locative forms took over the instrumental uses. Only fossil instr. forms survive in certain adverbs, as *πρὸ-α ἄμ-α*; see § 274 p. 174. There were sufficient reasons for the disuse of such instrumental forms. The accusative singular masc. fem. had come to have the same ending *-α* (= *-η*); and besides, the original difference in stem between these two cases had disappeared long before in proethnic Greek. *πρὸ-α*, used in Aeolic and Doric with the same meaning as *μετ-α*, meant originally 'with one's foot' = 'at one's foot, immediately behind or with one', cp. Armen. *het yet* 'behind, after, with' from the same root-noun. *παρ-α* beside dat. *παρ-αι* gen. abl. *παρ-ος* and loc. *πάρ-ι*. *ἄμ-α* from *εἷς* for **sem-s* 'unus', cp. Dor. *άμᾱ* which follows the analogy of instr. adverbs from *ā*-stems (§ 276 p. 178). **fex-u* in *εἴνεκα ἐνεκα* 'on account of' (for *ἐν-φεκα*, I § 166 p. 146) and in *ἐνά-τογο-ς* 'working at one's own will, with unhampered judgement' beside O.Pers. loc. *vas-iy* 'much, very', properly 'in choice or liking, at pleasure' (unless we are to read *vasaiy*, loc. from a stem *vasa-* = Skr. *vāśa-*). Cp. Osthoff, *Zur Gesch. der Perf.*, 334 ff. and 574 ff.

Italic. In Latin the ending is *-e*; there has been a confluence of the instr. and the locative in Idg. **-i*: *carn-e* *homin-e*, *mātr-e* *datōr-e*, *ferent-e* *pras-sent-e*, *gener-e* *ōciōr-e*, *su-e*, *nāo-e*, *bov-e*. These forms added the ablative function to their own, and are consequently called ablative in the

grammars; cp. § 243 pp. 140 f. Umbrian too seems to possess the instr. with the ending *-e*, see § 274 with the Rem. p. 174.

From Keltic no undoubted examples can be cited. But it must be observed, that if the Idg. ending was really *-e* and not *-a*, there is no phonetic difficulty in regarding as instr. the forms which we have already explained as dat. or loc. (§§ 251 ff. and 269 ff.), e. g. *coin*, *māthir*, *carit*.

Neither can any certain examples be found in Germanic. But, as in Keltic, some or all of the forms which we regarded as loc. in **-i* may be instrumental too: all, if **-e* was the Idg. ending (for **-e* became **-i* in protoethnic Germanic, see I § 67.4 p. 58), some at least, if it was **-a*. Examples of such possible instrumentals are Goth. *frijōnd* O.H.G. *friunt*.

§ 281. II. Instrumental Forms with the Suffix *-bhi* or *-mi*. A general account of these suffixes has been given already, in § 274 pp. 175 f.

a. The Suffix *-bhi*.

Armenian. *-b*, becoming *-v* after a vowel (I § 485 p. 358), cp. instr. pl. *-bē -vē* § 379. *o*-stems: *gailo-v* from nom. *gail* 'wolf', cp. Gr. *θελόφι*. Proper names have *-a-v*, as *Trdata-v*, compare what is said on the gen. *Trdatay* in § 239 p. 130. *i*-stems: *srti-v* from nom. *sirt* 'heart'. *u*-stems: *zardu* for **zardu-v* (cp. instr. pl. *zarduē* for **zardu-vē*) from nom. *zard* 'adornment'. *akamb* from nom. *akn* 'eye', *-amb* = **-y-bhi*, cp. Ir. *anmimm anmaimm* below. *mar-b* from *mair* 'mother', *dster-b* from *dustr* 'daughter'.

Old Irish. Neuter *n*-stems have **-bhi*, as *an-mimm an-maimm*, if we are to take **-my-bhi* as the ground-form (I § 243 p. 201, § 520 p. 378, § 657.1 p. 506); cp. *-b n-* and *-b* in the instr. dual and plural (§§ 296 and 379). But the ground-form may be **-my-mi*; cp. what is said in § 379 on the Avestic instr. sing. *nāmēnī*.

Greek. Beside *-φι* we find *-φιν* (as *σ-φιν* beside *σ-φι*, § 449), which may represent an Idg. **-bhi-m* (§ 186 p. 62; Leskien, Ber. der sächs. Ges. der Wiss., 1884, p. 102; and

the Author's Gr. Gr.² p. 134). *o*-stems: *θεό-φι(ν)*. *a*-stems: *ἀγέλη-φι(ν)*. *es*-stems: *ὄρεσ-φι(ν)*. *i*- *iġ*-stems: *ἰ-φι*. *ναῦ-φι(ν)*. *κοῤῥ-εσφι(ν)* is a re-formate like *φερόντ-εσσι*, *κοτυληδον-όφι* another like *φερόντ-οις* (§ 360). Then there are the adverbs *ἐννῆ-φι(ν)*, *νόσφι(ν)*, *λακρί-φί-ς*, the last extended by the same *-ς* which is seen in *ἀμ-φί-ς* (§ 241 pp. 135 f.); *ἀμ-φί-ς* too must be added to the list.

Such of these forms as are not adverbs were living cases in the language of Homer and his imitators, but now here else. They were used for the instrumental, locative, or ablative; and no difference at all was felt between them and the other forms which were used for these cases, as is clear from phrases like *ἄμ' ἡοῦ φαινομένηφι*. Now and then Homer has them in the sense of dative or genitive; but this was because they had by that time become archaisms, and the linguistic instinct of those who then used them could not clearly distinguish the meanings which they might legitimately have. To extend their applicability thus was an easy matter. In their instrumental use they were associated with the instr. *ἵππῳ χώρῳ* etc., which might also be dative; and in their ablative use with the abl. *ἵππου χώρῳς* etc., which might be genitive (cp. *ἐμέ-θεν* used as gen., § 244 Rem. 2 p. 143). How these forms came to be used for instrumental, locative, and ablative (no distinction is made between *-φιν* and *-φι* as case-suffixes) is uncertain. The *φι*-cases could be either singular or plural; e. g. Θ 474 *παρὰ ναῦφι* 'beside the ships', *et saepe* (for details see Kühner, *Ausf. Gr.* I² pp. 380 f.). So, too, in Gallic, *-bo* is used in the sense of Lat. *-bos -bus*, and in Germanic *-m* for **-mi* (or **-mo*) can be used for the plural, on which matter see § 367; and be it remembered that *σ-φί(ν)* is not restricted to one number. It appears that in Indo-Germanic itself the instr. *-bhi*, *-mi*, and the corresponding suffix of the dat.-abl., were not yet completely pluralised by the addition of *-s*.

§ 282. b. The Suffix *-mi*.

Sanskrit and Germanic afford but scanty materials for tracing this suffix. Skr. *sanē-mi* adv. 'from olden days'

from *sána-* 'old', formed like O.C.Sl. *tě-mě* from *to-* 'the, that'; with the stem final cp. instr. pl. *sáně-bhiš* (§ 380). In Germanic *-mi* is conjectured to be the suffix of O.H.G. *zi houbitan* Mod.H.G. *zu haupten*, O.Icel. *at hofdum*, A.S. *miolcum* beside *mioluc* dat. of *mioluc* 'milk' (see Kluge, Paul's Grundr. I 386); a safer example is O.Icel. *þei-m* A.S. *ðæ-m* (§ 421). Of Irish words, *anmimm* may possibly contain *-mi*, see § 281 p. 186.

Remark. *-mi* is said to be the suffix of the Latin pronominal adverbs *olim*, *interim*, *istim* *istin-c*, *hin-c* and so forth; the orig. ending is supposed to be **-e-mi* (cp. Armen. *ardare-v* adv. beside *ardaro-v*, pp. 138 f.), which became **-imi -im*. But all this is thoroughly uncertain.

-mi is a living case suffix only in Balto-Slavonic, where from the proethnic Balto-Slavonic period onwards it has made the instr. sing. of *i-* and *u-*stems. Lith. *nakti-mi* (dial. *nakti*, see § 278 p. 183), O.C.Sl. masc. *pačĭ-mě* (while feminine words have the re-formation *-ĭja* following *-oja*, as *noštĭja* *noštĭja*, see § 276 p. 180). Lith. *sānu-mi*, O.C.Sl. *synomĭ* for **synū-mi*, which by a mere chance is not actually found (I § 52 p. 44). In the proethnic stage of Balto-Slav. the ending *-i-mi* was borrowed from *i-*stems by stems in *n*, *r*, and *s* (the same thing happened to the corresponding endings of the dual and plural *m*-cases, § 402): Lith. *akmen-imi* O.C.Sl. *kamen-ĭmĭ*; Lith. *mōter-imi*, but Slav., instead of **mater-ĭmĭ*, has *mater-ĭja* *mater-ija*, just as it has *noštĭja* *noštĭja* instead of **noštĭmĭ* for the feminine (see above); Lith. *debes-imi* (cp. II § 132 p. 422) O.C.Sl. *sloves-ĭmĭ*. In Slavonic *-mi* is found with *o-*stems as well, as *vlūko-mě*, also *vlūkū-mi* on the analogy of *u-*stems (cp. Vetter, Zur Gesch. der nom. Decl. im Russ., pp. 22 f.); *zūlo-dějĭmĭ* (beside *-dējemĭ*) with the old weak grade form of the suffix *-jo-*, see § 368. Compare further Lith. dial. *vilkumi* and *kalbumi*, § 275 p. 178, § 276 p. 180.

*Nominative and Accusative Dual Masculine and Feminine.*¹⁾

§ 283. The Indo-Germanic system of dual cases was probably fuller than any of those which have been preserved in separate offshoots of the original language. It is true, there is reason to believe that there was only one form for the nominative, accusative, and vocative dual in each class of stems; but it is improbable that there were no more than two besides — one for dative, ablative, and instrumental, and one for genitive and locative. For one thing, the genitive and locative have different forms in Avestic (gen. *-ā*, loc. *-ō*); but if there were no other reason, it would be improbable simply because in the different languages we find the same meaning given to endings which can neither be connected phonetically, nor be so manipulated as to suggest that one of them is original, and one due to analogy. No single ground-form can be given for these endings of the dat. (abl.) instr.: Skr. *-bhyām* Avest. *-byām*, Avest. *-byā*, O.Ir. *-b n-* (in *dib n-*), Lith. *-m* (after which something must have dropped) and O.C.Sl. *-ma*, even if we disregard the different initial of the suffix, now *bh* and now *m*, and take off the affix **em* (see § 296). So we are drawn to conjecture that there was originally a different ending for the dat. (abl.) and the instr. But here we meet

1) For the Dual, see the following authorities: W. von Humboldt, *Über den Dualis*, Berl. 1828 (Ges. Werke VI 562 ff.). Silberstein, *Über den Dualis in dem idg. Sprachstamm etc.*, Jahn's Jahrb. Suppl. XV (1849) pp. 372 ff. Fr. Müller, *Der Dual im indogerm. und semit. Sprachgebiet*, Wien 1860. Meringer, *Über den indogerm. Dual der o-Stämme*, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVIII 217 ff. Osthoff, *Über den nom.-acc.-voc. dual. der i- und u-Stämme*, Morph. Unt. II 132 ff. Fritzsche, *De formis quibusdam numeri dualis in lingua Graeca*, Rostock 1837. Bieberg, *De duali numero apud epicos, lyricos, Atticos*, Jena 1864. Ohler, *Über den Gebrauch des Dual bei Homer*, Mainz 1884. Keck, *Über den Dual bei den griech. Rednern mit Berücksichtigung der att. Inschr.*, Würzburg 1882 (M. Schanz' Beitr. zur hist. Synt. der gr. Spr. II). Doerwald, *De duali numero in dialectis Aeolicis et Doricis quae dicuntur*, Rostock 1881. Danielsson, *Alte Dualformen im Latein*, Pauli's Altital. Stud. III 187 ff. Ebel, *Über den celtischen Dualis*, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. II 70 ff.

with a fresh difficulty. It is always possible that a given case had different endings in different stems, one of which was kept in one language, another in another. Thus we are as far from certainty as ever.

Remark. Following Benfey (*Abh. der Gött. Ges. der Wiss.*, XIX 142 ff.), Mahlow and Meringer assume that Sanskrit has inherited from the parent language a special dual vocative in *-a* (Mahlow, *Die langen Voc.* 130; Meringer, *Kuhn's Zeitschr.* XXVIII 233). Meringer thinks that Gr. *δύο* may be an example of this formation. I believe that these forms must be otherwise explained; see § 289 Rem., § 293.

We shall see anon (§§ 285 and 311) that some dual forms have the look of singular cases, and that the dual idea is conveyed not by the case ending, but by the part of the word immediately preceding it, that is, by the stem.

A fairly large variety of dual noun forms may be seen in the oldest stages of Aryan, Greek, and Irish; and the dual is still living in some Lithuanian dialects, and in some Slavonic languages. Very few traces, if any, are to be found in Armenian, Italic, or Germanic, even in the earliest remains of these languages. In Italic and Germanic, the only words which can be so regarded are a few dual inflexions of the words *two* and *both*, and several noun forms which are explained, more or less hypothetically, as dual cases (see Danielsson's essay cited in the footnote to the preceding page, Kluge, *Paul's Grundr.* I 384, and Bartholomae, *Stud. zur idg. Sprachgesch.* I 61). Of Armenian words, *erku* 'two' and *ut* 'eight' (cp. Skr. *dvau aṣṭau*) may perhaps have dual endings which have undergone only regular change (cp. § 166 p. 7, § 172 p. 20).¹⁾

§ 284. Let us now turn to a special consideration of the nominative and accusative masculine and feminine. The first thing to notice is that this form, like the nom. pl.,

1) The gradual decay of the dual, and the way in which it is absorbed into the plural, can be best traced in Lithuanian and Slavonic. But this very instructive piece of study cannot be gone into here. For the Lithuanian, see Brückner, *Archiv für slav. Phil.*, III 262 f.; for Polish, Baudouin de Courtenay, *Kuhn-Schl. Beitr.*, VI 63 ff.

could be used for the vocative; and when it was so used, like the nom. pl., the first syllable carried the accent in Sanskrit. Cp. § 200 pp. 82, 83.

Five proethnic types of formation may be distinguished, each belonging to a special stem or stems. (I) $-\bar{o}\mu$ $-\bar{o}$ in o -stems: (II) $-ai$ in a -stems: (III) $-\bar{i}$ in \bar{i} - $\bar{i}\bar{e}$ -stems: (IV) $-\bar{i}$ and $-\bar{u}$ in i - and u -stems: (V) $-e$ in consonant stems, stems in $-\bar{i}$ - $-\bar{i}\bar{i}$ -, and stems in $-\bar{u}$ - $-\bar{u}\bar{u}$ -.

§ 285. I. Masculine o -stems have the endings $-\bar{o}\mu$ and $-\bar{o}$, $*\mu\bar{l}q\bar{o}\mu$ $*\mu\bar{l}q\bar{o}$. Different explanations are given of these doublet forms.

Remark. Osthoff (Morph. Unt. IV 259), supported by Torp (Beitr. zur Lehre von den geschlechtslosen Pronomen, pp. 45 f.), holds that $-\bar{o}$ was the original case-ending ($-\bar{o}$ for $-o + e$, the ending of Gr. $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\text{-}e$, or merely the suffix o lengthened, compare the $-\bar{i}$ and $-\bar{u}$ of stems in $-\bar{i}$ - and $-\bar{u}$ -, § 288); $-\bar{o}\mu$ he believes to be this $-\bar{o}$ + a particle \bar{u} . Both these endings, the older $-\bar{o}$ and the later $-\bar{o}\mu$, he regards as having originated during the separate growth of separate languages; the former being used in Vedic by preference before consonants, and the latter before sonants, merely because it was easier to pronounce them so. Quite another view is taken by Meringer (Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVIII 217 ff.). Taking his stand upon the use of $-\bar{a}$ and $-\bar{a}\bar{u}$ in Vedic (see I § 645 p. 488), he assumes that the original case ending was $-\bar{o}\mu$, which became $-\bar{o}$ before consonants in the parent language. Perhaps both these explanations may be combined as follows. We may suppose u to have really been an independent particle which became attached to the case ending $-\bar{o}$; but that the historical $-\bar{o}$ (Skr. which we have $-\bar{a}$ Gr. $-\omega$ etc.) is not directly descended from the unextended $-\bar{o}$ which became $-\bar{o}\mu$ in the manner suggested, but is the shape assumed by $-\bar{o}\mu$ before consonants, as Meringer holds ($-\bar{o}$ for $-\bar{o}\mu$ like $-\bar{e}$ for $-\bar{e}\bar{i}$, see § 246 pp. 144 f.). u may be compared with u 'two' in $*\mu\text{-}i$ - $*\mu\text{-}o$ - (seen in Lat. $vi\text{-}ginti$ etc., see § 177, and Morph. Unt. V 23 ff.) and Skr. $u\text{-}bh\bar{a}\bar{u}$ 'both' (op. Goth. $b\bar{a}i$);¹ and then we might compare e. g. $*t\bar{o}\mu$ (= Skr. $t\bar{a}\bar{u}$) with Lith. $t\bar{a}\bar{u}\text{-}du$, the dual of $t\bar{a}s$ 'the, that'. If the proethnic ending of the gen. dual of o -stems was $*\text{-}o\mu s$ or $*\text{-}e\mu s$ (Skr. $-\bar{o}\bar{s}$ O.C.Sl. $-\bar{u}$), the same u might be contained in the

1) If the u - of $u\text{-}bh\bar{a}\bar{u}$ once meant 'two' or something of the kind, it is natural to connect the first part of Gr. $\bar{\alpha}\mu\text{-}\rho\omega$ Lat. $am\text{-}b\bar{o}$ with Goth. $an\text{-}\bar{p}ar$ Lith. $an\text{-}tra\text{-}s$, and to compare as follows: Skr. $u\text{-}bh\bar{a}\bar{u}$: Gr. $\bar{\alpha}\mu\text{-}\rho\omega$ = $v\bar{u}\text{-}tor\bar{u}$: Goth. $an\text{-}\bar{p}ar$.

genitive and we might regard *-s* as the singular genitive suffix. The Avestic loc. dual in *-ō* = Idg. **-oy* or **-ey* would be a form without any case suffix, just like, say, Gr. loc. *δδ-μεν* beside nom. *ποι-μῆν*. Compare Meringer, as cited, p. 283, and § 311 of this volume. We must, however, be careful not to infer from these facts that all dual cases were once formed by adding singular case endings to a dual stem. To explain such suffixes as O.C.Sl. *-ma* Skr. *-bhyām* as originally belonging to the singular would be an arbitrary assumption. It is quite likely that the cases of the dual are formed upon more than one principle.

Aryan. Skr. Ved. *ṛk̐au ṛk̐ā*; in the later language only *ṛk̐au*, although the ending *-ā* is kept in compounds, as *dvā-daśa* 'duodecim'. Avest. *vehrka* (*-āu* cannot be found, see Bartholomae in Bezz. Beitr. IX 307); O.Pers. *gauša* from *gauša-* 'ear'.

In Armenian, *erku* 'two' and *uʃ* 'octo' may be isolated examples of this case ending; see § 283, page 190.

Greek *λύκω*, *δύω*; on *δύο* see § 293 pp. 197 f.

Latin has no dual form left except *ambō*, *octō*, *duo* (I § 655.2 p. 502). Umbr. *dur* 'duo' has the plural flexion throughout; cp. § 166 p. 7.

Both endings are shwon in Irish. O.Ir. *dau dō*, older *dāu*, O.Cymr. Mid.Bret. *dou* 'two' = Skr. *dvāu*, and O.Ir. *da* (before substantives) = Skr. *dvā* (I § 90 p. 85). In the unaccented final syllables of other dual words no trace can be found of the two endings side by side. O.Ir. has *da fer*, whose origin is not quite clear (one would expect **da fiur* like the instr. sing. *fiur* = **uirō*); the form looks like a nom. sing. It is true that there was a confluence of the nom. dual and the nom. plural in *i-* and *u-*stems and *r-*stems (*faith*, *bith*, see § 288; *mathir*, see § 289); but it seems to me not at all probable that the form of the nom. sing. was used for the dual in masc. *o-*stems simply on this analogy. I may be allowed to suggest that the *-ō* of **duō* in **duō uirō* prevented **uirō* from becoming **uirū*, or changed it by backward assimilation, so that the phrase became **duā uirā* and then *da fer*; while, conversely, in the feminine, *dí* was assimilated forwards to the ending of the substantive (§ 286). Thus the nom. sing. and nom. acc. dual came to have the same form in

o-stems, which had happened before in all other stems in the regular course of phonetic change; and it was in this way that the sing. masc. *tene* ('fire') and the sing. neut. *dliged*, *tech*, *ainm* came by the dual meaning which they have (as in *da thene*, and so forth).

It is a question whether Gall. *verco-breto*, cited by Stokes, Bezz. Beitr. XI 142, 152, is to be translated 'the two judges', and to be regarded as an instance of the old dual formation. See Ernault, Mém. de la Soc. de ling., VI 158 ff.

Germanic. The only clear survivals of this dual form are O.Icel. *tvau* 'two' (which has become neut., see Streitberg Die germ. Compar. auf -ōz- p. 33) = Skr. *dvāu*, *tottogo* 'twenty' = **iō-tugu* = Skr. *dvā*, and Goth. *ahtáu* O.H.G. *ahto* = Skr. *aṣṭāu*. Kluge, in Paul-Braune's Beitr. VIII 506 ff., conjectures that a few Germanic substantival forms contain Idg. -ō, as A.S. (nom. acc. sing.) *nosu* 'nose' (gen. *nosa*), compare Paul's Grundr. I 334 and 609; this change from dual to singular, if correctly assumed, should be compared with the change of the Skr. dual forms *nās-a rōdas-i* to fem. sing. Bartholomae would explain Goth. *bajōþ-s* 'both' as a dual derived from **bajō þō* 'both these' (Stud. zur idg. Sprachgesch., I 61).

Balto-Slavonic shows only Idg. *-ō: Lith. *vilkū*, *gerū'-ju* beside *gerū* (I § 664.3 p. 523), O.C.Sl. *vlūka*.

§ 286. II. *a*-stems had pr.Idg. *-a_i, **ekya_i*. The formative suffix appears as -a-, which may be compared with that of the pronominal nom. sing. in -a_i (§ 414), and the voc. sing. in -a (I § 318 p. 257, II § 59 p. 108). The case suffix is apparently the same as in the ending -o_i of neuter *o*-stems (§ 293), and this cannot be separated from -i in the neuter **kmt-i* 'two tens' (§ 294). This -i- has become part of the stem in Avest. *dvaē-ibya* O.C.Sl. *dvě-ma*, Skr. *dvāy-ōṣ* O.C.Sl. *dvōj-u* (see §§ 297 and 311).

Aryan. Skr. *ásvē*; Avest. *haēnē*. In Avestic there are a few scattered examples with -a, the masculine ending; see Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. IX 303. Skr. *aṣṭāu aṣṭā* 'eight' is also used for the feminine, in all periods.

Greek. *χῶραι*, used for the nom. pl., seems to represent the Idg. dual, and to have been misunderstood and regarded as a plural owing to the ending *-αι* in the nom. pl. masculine; see the Author, Kuhn's *Ztschr.* XXVII 199 ff.¹⁾ But the dual forms Att. *χώρα*, *νύμφα* follow the analogy of the masc. in *-ω*; Homer has no duals in *-α* except those coming from masculine *a*-stems.

The Latin *equae*, *duae* (cp. Ved. *duvê*), like Gr. *χῶραι*, seem to represent the Idg. dual ending *-aî*; see the Author, *loc. cit.*

Old Irish *tuaith*, and beside it *dā* 'duae' = Skr. *dvê*, see I § 657. 4 p. 508. *dā*, instead of **dai* **dae*, has been assimilated to **tōtā* (cp. § 285 p. 192).

Germanic. A dubious survival of this formation is Goth. *tva þūsundja* 'two thousand', which is usually regarded as neut. pl. (on *-a* for pr. Goth. *-aî*, see § 263 Rem. pp. 165 f.). Compare Noreen on Norse Run. *þai-ar*, in Paul's *Grundr.* I 501 f.

Balto-Slavonic. Lith. *ranki*, *gerė-ji* beside *geri*, see I § 664. 3 p. 523. O.C.Sl. *raqč*, but *zmiji* (*zmija* 'snake') with **-iî* for **-iei*, earlier **-ioi*, Idg. **-iai*, see I § 100 p. 95.

§ 287. III. *i- iê*-stems (cp. footnote 1 on page 68) probably had pr. Idg. *-î*, **bhṛghyt-î*, which may be explained like *-aî* in *a*-stems, and derived from *-î-i*.

This may be legitimately regarded as the ground-form of Skr. *bṛhat-î*, Avest. Gāthic *barent-î*, O.Ir. *inis*, Lith. *žemi* (I § 664. 3 p. 523).

In Vedic Sanskrit these forms were assimilated to *i- iî*-stems (§ 291), whence *bṛhatyān*, the only form used in the later language (cp. nom. pl. *bṛhatyās* § 316).

1) Something just like this has happened in Polish. When the dual number fell out of use, the loc. dual *ręku* 'in both hands' (§ 311) was regarded as loc. sing. masc. by mistake, so that there arose phrases like *w mojem ręku* 'in my hand'. See Baudouin de Courtenay, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. VI 77, 81.

Gr. *φερονσα* follows the *iā*-stems (§ 286). So also O.C.Sl. *zemlji* (§ 286), but *zemlji* may be a transformation of **zemī* with Idg. *-ī*, cp. nom. sing. *vezqšti* instead of **vezqti* § 191 p. 68.

§ 288. IV. *i*- and *u*-stems had pr. Idg. *-ī* and *-ū*, **ouī* and **sūnū*. If Idg. *-ōu* is an extension of *-ō* (§ 285 Rem. p. 191), it is natural to assume that this *-ō* and the above *-ī* *-ū* were related in the same way as the corresponding endings of the instr. sing.; cp. § 274 pp. 174 f., Osthoff, *Morph. Unt.* II 132 ff., and J. Schmidt, *Kuhn's Zeitschr.* XXVII 291 f.

Skr. *āvī*, Avest. *aži*. O.Ir. *faith* for **uāī*. Lith. *nakti* (I § 664.3 p. 523), O.C.Sl. *nošti*.

Skr. *sūnū*, Avest. *bāzu*, beside *bāzv-a* which follows the consonant stems (§ 289). O.Ir. *bith*. Lith. *sūnu* for **sūnū* (I § 664.3 p. 523), O.C.Sl. *syny*.

In Greek nothing is to be found but re-formations which follow the consonant stems (§ 289). *i*-stems: Att. inscr. *άλύσει* with *-ει* for **-ε(ι)-ε*, MSS. *πόλει* and *πόλεε* (*πόλις*), the latter of which should be compared with *πόλεος*, which apparently remained uncontracted (§ 231 p. 120). *u*-stems: Hom. *πήχε(F)-ε* *ραχί(F)-ε*, Att. inscr. *νίει*.

§ 289. V. All other stems had pr. Idg. *-e* preceded by the strong stem, as **pōtér-e* = Gr. *πατήρ-ε*. This type remained in Greek and Irish, and there are a few questionable traces of it in Sanskrit, Germanic, and Lithuanian.

Remark 1. In the Vedas, instead of *-ā*, which must be assumed for the Idg. ending of *o*-stems, we often meet with the shortened termination *-a*; and *māṭara-pitarāu* (instead of *mātarā-pitarāu*) is cited from later Sanskrit. See Benfey, *Sāmavēda* p. LXIII; *Abhandl. der Gött. Ges. der Wiss.*, XIX 142 ff.; Mahlow, *Die l. Voc.* 130; Lanman, *Nom.-Infl.* p. 342. It is quite possible (cp. Osthoff *Morph. Unt.* I 226 f.) that this *-a* was the *-a* = Gr. *-ε* which belonged originally to consonant stems only; that it was kept in certain instances, and was then, by a mistake, extended to other stems; and in particular, by a reminiscence of the vocative singular in *-a*, was used for the vocative; e. g. R.-V. I 151 4 *asura*. I have no belief in the view held by Meringer (*Kuhn's Ztschr.* XXVIII 233) that

there was an Idg. dual voc. in **-o* = Skr. *-a*; Meringer would even call Gr. *δύο* an example of this! But compare what he says on pp. 230 f.

A dual form **kunūn-e* is conjecturally restored by E. Brate as the origin of Old Swedish *kunu* 'two women' (Bezz. Beitr. XIII 42 f.).

J. Schmidt (Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVI 860) believes that he has found this suffix *-e* in Lithuanian dialectic participial forms such as *isz-gēruse* instead of *isz-gērusiū* (*isz-geriū* 'I drink up'). But in my opinion it is quite possible, in spite of Schmidt's assurance to the contrary, that here *-iū* has become *-e* regularly.

In Sanskrit, *-āu*, *-ā*, the ending of *o*-stems, was borrowed in the prehistoric period by consonant stems, just as the instr. sing. *-ā* spread from *o*-stems to consonant stems (§ 280 p. 184). It is impossible to make out whether the Iranian endings of consonant stems, Avest. *-ā* O.Pers. *-ā*, represent pr. Iran. **-ā* = Skr. *-ā*, or pr. Iran. **-a* = Gr. *-ε* — whether, for example, Avest. *nar-a* = Skr. *nār-ā* or Gr. *ἀνέγ-ε*. If the former, the ending of *o*-stems became universal in the protoethnic stage of Aryan. The same doubt meets us in considering the endings of the instr. sing. Avest. *-ā* O.Pers. *-ā* § 280 p. 184.

§ 290. 1. *n*-stems. Pr. Idg. **k(u)non-e*. Gr. *κύν-ε* instead of **κνον-ε* **πον-ε*, and similarly *κύν-α* *κύν-ε*; have adopted the weak stem; *τέκνον-ε*, *ποιμέν-ε*, *ἀγών-ε*. Mid.Ir. *coin*, *drain*. — Skr. *śvān-āu* *-ā*, Avest. *spān-a*. Lith. *szun-iū* *ākmen-iū* following the *io*-stems, O.C.Sl. *kamen-i* following the *i*-stems.

2. *r*-stems. Pr. Idg. **māter-e*, **dōtor-e*. Gr. *μητέρ-ε*, *δώτορ-ε*; *ἄνδορ-ε* (Hom. has also *ἀνέγ-ε*) like *ἄνδο-α* § 218 pp. 94 f., *δοτῆρ-ε* following *δοτῆρ*. Mid.Ir. *māthir*, Mid.Ir. *siair* (cp. II § 120 p. 379). — Skr. *mātār-āu* *-ā*, *dātār-āu* *-ā*; Avest. *mātar-a* and by re-formation *māpr-a*, *dātār-a*. Lith. *mōter-i* O.C.Sl. *mater-i* follow the *i*-stems.

3. Stems ending in explosives. Pr. Idg. **bhr̥ghont-e*. Gr. *φῆγορτ-ε*, O.Ir. *carit*. — Skr. *bhānt-āu* *-ā*, Avest. *ber'zant-a*. Lith. *vėžancziū(-du)* O.C.Sl. *vezqšta* following the *io*-flexion.

Gr. *quyád-ε*, *μείραx-ε*. O.Ir. *druid* 'Druids' *rīg* 'kings'.

4. *s*-stems.

Pr. Idg. **dus-menes-e*. Gr. *δυσμενεῖ*, to be explained in the same way as *τὸ σκέλει* (§ 294). — Skr. *durmanas-āu* *-ā*, Avest. *dušmanash-a*.

Pr. Idg. compar. **ōk(ā)ios-e*, modified by analogy in all languages. Skr. *āśtyāś-āu -ā* like the acc. *āśtyāś-am* (§ 220 p. 97), Avest. *āsyāñh-a* instead of **āsyāñh-a*, cp. acc. sing. *āsyāñh-em* (loc. cit.). O.C.Sl. *slazāšā*, declined as a *io*-stem. Gr. *ῥόδιον-ε* with the formative suffix *-ien-*.

Pr. Idg. part. perf. act. **ueiḍyos-e*, modified by analogy in all languages. Skr. *vidvāś-āu -ā* like acc. sing. *vidvāś-am* (§ 220 pp. 97 f.). Lith. *mirusiu(-du)* O.C.Sl. *mīrīša*, declined as *io*-stems. Gr. *εἰδότε-ε* with the formative suffix *-yet-*.

§ 291. 5. Stems in *-ī -iḡ, -ū -uḡ*, and certain Root Nouns.

Gr. *ξι-ε, ὀργυ-ε σύ-ε*; Skr. *dhīy-āu -ā, bhrūv-āu -ā*.

Gr. *ρῆε* (inferred, but not actually found) for **rāf-ε*; Skr. *nāv-āu -ā*. Pr. Idg. **goṃ-e*: Gr. *βό-ε*; Skr. *gāv-āu -ā*; O.Ir. *boin* following *coin* (§ 290 p. 196), cp. § 221 pp. 98.

Nominative and Accusative Dual Neuter.¹⁾

§ 292. *o*-stems had *-oiḡ*, and doubtless *-eiḡ* also; consonant stems had *-ī* or *-ī*, and *i*-stems had *-ī*. It is a doubtful point whether or no *-ī* was the original suffix for all stems; see § 294.

Consonant stems which admitted of vowel gradation had always a weak grade of stem.

§ 293. 1. *o*-stems. Pr. Idg. *-oiḡ* and doubtless *-eiḡ* also; for the difference between these cp. § 240 p. 133.

Skr. *yugē, dvē*; Avest. *xšāprē* from nom. acc. sing. *xšāpre-m* 'lordship, realm'. Skr. *aṣṭāu aṣṭā* may always be neuter.

The Greek *ἑσι-* 'two', in *ἑλ-κας εἰ-κοσι* 'two tens', is probably the dual of a stem **uo-*; according to a guess of Thurneysen's, we should recognise the same **uei* in the *u-* of O.Cymr. *u-ceint* (Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVI 310). I add another guess, that *δύο* (beside *δύω*) is the old neuter, and is the form assumed by **duoi* when the next word began with a sonant;

1) References are given in the footnote on page 189.

perhaps Lac. *δύε* comes from **δύεκ* in the same way, cp. Att. *δυεῖν*, which seems to point to **δύει-ιν* (§ 312). Cp. the Author, Gr. Gr.² p. 79 footnote 1, p. 124; Morph. Unt. V 23 ff. Similarly we find Boeot. *όκρό* beside *όκρω* in the other Greek dialects. Elsewhere in Greek the masc. ending *-ω* has taken the place of the neuter, as *ρω ζυγώ* like *ρω ἱππω*.

Lat. *vī-gintī* may contain in both parts the neuter ending **-ei* or **-oi*. See the Author, Morph. Unt. V 22 f., 24, and below, § 294 of this volume. The masc. forms *duo ambō octō*, like Gr. *δύω*, are used for the neuter as well as masculine.

There seems to be no trace left in Irish of this formation. *dā*, the masc. form, is used with neuter substantives; but when so used *-n* is added, as *dā n-gruad* 'duae genae', which can hardly be due to any cause except the analogy of the nom. acc. sing. neuter (cp. Windisch, Paul-Braune's Beitr. IV 223). *dliged* is probably a singular form used as dual, see § 285 p. 193 (sing. *dliged n-* 'law').

Germanic examples are doubtless to be recognised in the following neuter words: O.Sax. *tuē* A.S. *tuā* = O.C.Sl. *dvē* Idg. **duoi*, while Goth. *tva*, as well as masc. *tvái* and fem. *tvōs*, is plural in form. But it is possible to regard *tvái* as the neuter form, turned into a masculine by association with *þái* etc.

O.C.Sl. *izē* = Idg. **jugoi*, from *igo* 'iugum' (I § 84 pp. 81 f.). Also *polji* (from *polje* 'field') for **-iei*, earlier **-ioi* (I § 84 pp. 80 and 82).

§ 294. 2. Consonant stems. The case-suffix *-i* with the weak stem is found in Idg. **kmt-i* 'two tens' (§ 176 pp. 29 f.): Gr. *ἑλ-κати*, Armen. *Ēsan* for **gī-santi* just as *beren* 'they carry' = Skr. *bhādranti* (§ 177 p. 34), Avest. *visaiti*, but Skr. *viśati*-ṣ, which arose as follows: **viśati* became indeclinable, and was then attracted by the analogy of *śaṣṭi*-ṣ '60' etc., and became fem. sing.

Elsewhere the Sanskrit consonantal and *u*-stems regularly show not *-i* but *-ī*, as *dhāmn-ī* *dhāman-ī*, *bṛhat-ī*, *mānas-ī* *dśtyas-ī* *vidúṣ-ī*, *mādhv-ī* (*mādhun-ī*, see § 393). Now Old

Church Slavonic has *-i* (side by side with the commoner *-ě*), as *imen-i sloves-i*. Putting this and that together, we may allow ourselves to believe that *-ī* as well as *-i* was used for a suffix of the nom. acc. dual neuter in the parent language. If so, it is not necessary to derive the final *-ī* of *vīgintī* from *-ei* or *-oi* (see § 293, last page). But can *-ī* in Skr. and O.C.Sl. have been borrowed from the case-system of *i*-stems? (see § 295).

The Avesta seems to give us but one form, *vīsaiti*, which belongs to this class.

Just so in Greek the only trace of the formation is *ῥι-κατι*. In all other instances, *-ε* has been borrowed from masc. and fem. nouns, just as neuter *o*-stems borrowed *-ω* from the masculine (§ 293 p. 198). Att. inscr. *σκέλει* for **σκελε(σ)-ε*; MS. forms in *-εε*, as *γένεε*, found in Attic writers, are a re-formation following those words in which *-ε* has not been contracted. Compare the adoption of *ε* by the neuter *ὄσσε* § 295. *γένη* in phrases like *γένη δύο* is the plural, as is *ἄσση* in *ἄσση δύο* (§ 295).

Irish. *ainm* and *tech*, like *dliged* (§ 293), are probably singular forms used for the dual; see § 285 p. 193.

Remark. J. Schmidt, Pluralb. 52, would apparently derive *ainm* from **an-mn-i*; against which there is a great deal to be said. Nor should we admit Stokes's derivation from a pr. Kelt. **an-men-e* (Bezz. Beitr. XI 166).

Old Church Slavonic *-ě*, borrowed from *o*-stems (§ 293, last page): *imen-ě, sloves-ě*. Also *-i*, whose origin has just been discussed.

§ 295. 3. *i*- and *u*-stems.

In *i*-stems the proethnic Idg. termination was *-ī*. Skr. *akṣī* Avest. *aši* 'the eyes', *śuci* from stem *śuci-* 'pure, clean'. O.C.Sl. *oči* (*oko* 'eye') and *uši* (*ucho* 'ear'); Lith. *akl* *ausl*, which have become feminine. If there was an Idg. **ṛtī-hṛti* 'twenty', **ṛtī* was nom. acc. dual neut. of the stem **ṛi-* (§ 177 p. 33). Re-formates: Skr. *śucin-ī* (§ 393) and Gr. *ὄσσε* 'the eyes' for **ὄσκη-ε* (other cases are *ὄσσων ὄσσοισι*, with plural endings).

This Idg. *-ī* was doubtless a contraction of the stem-final *-i-* with the case-ending *-i* (or *-ī*).

Ved. *mādhv-ī* is either (1) the regular descendant of the Idg. ground-form, or (2) **madhv-i* re-formed, *-i* having been replaced by the ending of *i*-stems; cp. § 294. Gr. ἄσση in phrases like ἄσση δύο is really plural, cp. γένη § 294.

*Dative, Ablative, and Instrumental Dual.*¹⁾

§ 296. The different languages have such diverse modes of formation that it is impossible to restore the Indo-Germanic flexion with any certainty. Compare § 283, page 189. Skr. *-bhyām*, and *-bhiyām* very rarely in the Vedas. The Avesta has one example of *-byqm*, in the word *brvad-byaqm* from the stem *brvat-* 'eyebrow', elsewhere *-bya*, Gāthic *-byā*, with the variant *-we* (the difference is merely phonetic, and quite regular see I § 125 p. 115, § 481 p. 355). O.Ir. gives *dib n-* (from *da* 'duo'), for **d(y)o-bhēn*, for whose suffix more than one ground-form is possible, for instance **-bhēm* or **-bhēn*. O.C.Sl. *-ma*, the *-a* of which (= pr. Slav. *-a*) must represent Idg. *-ō* or *-ā*, and may have lost a final *-s*. Lith. *-m*, after which something must have dropped; if the last syllable is accented, the form has the incisive accent when it is dative, and the gliding accent when instrumental (I § 691 pp. 558 ff., and II § 90 p. 274 with the footnote); e. g. *abēm vilkām* 'to both wolves', but *sū abēm vilkām* 'with both wolves', dat. *naktīm* instr. *naktīm*. This variation of accent — given by Kurschat, though nothing definite is known as to how widely it is recognised in the Lithuanian dialects — has come in through association of these forms with the corresponding plural cases (e. g. dat. *naktims* instr. *naktims*); and in the same way other dual forms have been assimilated to the plural in this language.

The affix **em* may have become attached to Skr. *-bhyām* Avest. *-byqm* and O.Ir. *-b n-*, cp. Skr. *tū-bhyam* beside *tū-bhya*

1) References are given in the footnote on p. 189.

Avest. Gāth. *taibya* 'tibi', and the like, § 186 p. 62. The agreement of Aryan with Keltic in having *bh-* seems to make it certain that initial *bh-* is older than the Balto-Slav. initial *m-* (cp. § 274 pp. 175 f.). But be it observed that the *-m* of Goth. *tvái-m* O.H.G. *zwei-m* may possibly represent the old dual suffix (although there can be no mistake about the plural suffix in O.Icel. *vei-mr*), and perhaps **vi-m*, implied in Skr. *vi-bāti* '20', is another dual case belonging to this class, so that we should have to compare O.H.G. *zwein-zug*, with a crystallised dative dual for its first part (§ 177 p. 35).

-b n- seems to have disappeared from Irish, except in *dib n-*; elsewhere we find *-b*, as in the plural (§ 380), cp. in *dib n-uairib deac* 'duodecim horis' instead of **uairib n-deac*. The reason why *-b n-* gave place to *-b* is that some of the dual endings had been worn down into the same sounds as the plural (Windisch, Paul-Braune's Beitr. IV 225 f.). Compare § 297.

For the Greek endings *-ouv -ov -av* etc. see § 312.

§ 297. 1. *o*-stems. Skr. *vfkā-bhyām*, *yugā-bhyām*, *dvā-bhyām*, pronom. *tā-bhyām*; Avest. *vehrkaē-ibya vehrkaē-wē*, *dvaē-ibya*: no pronominal forms found. O.Ir. *feraiḃ* may be derived from pr. Kelt. **uīro-bhīn*, cp. § 296; *dib n-* (once written *deib*) for **duo-bhīn*, with *i* in the first syllable because of the word's being proclitic. Lith. dat. *vilkā-m* instr. *vilka-m̃*, O.C.Sl. *vlūko-ma igo-ma* (on *zūlo-dějī-ma* see § 368), but Lith. dat. *dvė-m* instr. *dvė-m* dat. *tė-m(-dvėm)* instr. *tė-m(-dvėm)*, O.C.Sl. *dvě-ma tě-ma*.

The stem-final *-oī-* or *-eī-* is certainly original here in the numeral 'two' and in pronouns, as it is in the gen. loc. dual, e. g. Skr. *dvāy-ōṣ tāy-ōṣ* O.C.Sl. *dvoy-u toj-u* (§ 311). I conjecture that it was also used in the dat. abl. instr. of substantives — we actually find it in Avest. *vehrkaē-ibya* — and that this stem in *-oī -eī* was the ending of the acc. dual neuter of the word, which similarly belonged to both nouns and pronouns originally. Cp. e. g. O.C.Sl. *dvě-ma : dvě* (§ 293 pp. 197 f.), and Skr. *akṣī-bhyām* O.C.Sl. *oči-ma* beside *akṣī*

oī (§ 300). In Sanskrit the diphthong (**vṛkē-bhyām*) was exchanged for the ending of the nom. acc. masc., *vṛka* = Gr. *λύκος* (cp. Bartholomae, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 582 and Bezz. Beitr. XV 38, where Avest. *nārkā-bya* is taken to be another such form); in the European languages the dual was influenced by the corresponding cases of the plural: O.Ir. *feraiḃ* like dat. pl. *feraiḃ* for **uīro-bis* (cp. § 296 p. 201, § 380), Lith. *vilkā-m* like dat. pl. *vilkā-ms*, O.C.Sl. *vlūko-ma* like dat. pl. *vlūko-mū*.

Remark 1. Meringer's assumption that this dual form ended in Idg. '*u-(bhyām?)*' or '*ou-(bhyām?)*' I hold to be unfounded (Meringer, Zeitschr. für d. österr. Gymn., 1889, p. 1017). The forms of the dual cases, as I have already insisted in § 285 Rem., page 192, need not all be of the same kind.

Remark 2. The way in which the form of the nom. acc. dual becomes a base for the other dual cases is well illustrated by what happens in the Lithuanian dialects, as described by Brückner, Archiv für slav. Phil., III 308 f.

§ 298. 2. *a*-stems. *-ā-* was the stem-final in pr. Idg. Skr. *āśvā-bhyām dvā-bhyām*, pron. *tā-bhyām*. O.Ir. *tuathaib*, and, with the length of the stem-final kept, *mnāib* from *ben*, gen. *mnā*, 'woman' (cp. § 296 p. 201, § 381). Lith. *rañko-m* (dat. *mergō-m* instr. *mergō-m* from *mergā* 'girl'), pron. dat. *tō-m(-dvēm)* instr. *tō-m(-dvēm)*, O.C.Sl. *raqa-ma*.

Is it possible that the numeral *two* originally had no special feminine form in *-ā-*? O.Ir. *dīb n-*, Lith. *dvē-m dvē-m*, O.C.Sl. *dvē-ma* are both masc. and fem., and so are the gen. loc. O.C.Sl. *dvoj-u* Skr. *dvāy-ōṣ* (cp. too Lith. *dvėjū* used for the feminine). Compare § 311 p. 209. Skr. *dvā-bhyām* would in that case be an Aryan re-formate. The fem. use of O.C.Sl. *tě-ma* may be a consequence of that of the pl. *tě-mū tě-mi*, and of the fact that *toju*, gen. loc. du., could be used from early times to express all genders (§§ 310 and 311).

§ 299. 3. *i- iē-* stems (cp. p. 68, footnote 1). *-i-* was the pr. Idg. stem-final. Skr. *bṛhatī-bhyām*, Avest. *barenti-bhya* (*i = ī*). O.Ir. *insi-b* (cp. § 296 p. 201, § 382).

In Balto-Slavonic we find *-iē-* instead of *-i-* (cp. dat. instr. pl. §§ 370, 382): Lith. *žėmė-m* (dat. *katė-m* instr. *katė-m*

from *katě* 'cat'), O.C.Sl. *zemlja-ma*. Following stems in *-iā-*: Lith. dat. *vežanczió-m(-dvēm)* instr. *vežancziō-m(-dvēm)*, O.C.Sl. *vezqšta-ma*.

§ 300. 4. *i*-stems. Skr. *ávi-bhyām*, Skr. *aži-bya*. O.Ir. *faithi-b* (cp. § 296 p. 201, § 383). Lith. dat. *nakti-m* instr. *nakti-m̃*, O.C.Sl. *nošti-ma*.

With neuter *i*-stems it would appear that as far back as pr. Idg. the form of the nom. acc. dual in *-ī* was used for the stem in this form: Skr. *akṣī-bhyām* O.C.Sl. *oči-ma* beside *akṣī oči* 'the two eyes', and so also O.C.Sl. *uši-ma* from *uši* 'the two ears' (cp. Osthoff, *Morph. Unt.* II 132 f.; J. Schmidt, *Kuhn's Zeitschr.* XXVI 17). Of *o*-stems, O.C.Sl. *dvě-ma*, for example, bears the same relation to *dvě*; see § 297 p. 201.

§ 301. 5. *u*-stems. Skr. *sūnū-bhyām*, Avest. *bāzu-bya*. Lith. dat. *sūnū-m* instr. *sūnu-m̃*, O.C.Sl. *synū-ma*.

O.Ir. *bethaib* like instr. pl. *bethaib* (cp. § 296 p. 201, § 383).

§ 302. 6. Stems ending in *-n* and *-r*.

The stem was weak in pr. Idg., as it was in the same cases of the plural (§§ 373, 374, 384, 385). It remains weak in Skr. *śod-bhyām tākṣa-bhyām, mātṛ-bhyām dātṛ-bhyām*, Avest. *ner^o-bya* (nom. *nar-a* = Gr. *ἀνέρ-ε*).

In Irish and Balto-Slavonic, these cases of the dual, like the same cases in the plural, have taken the forms of the vowel-declensions (§§ 356.2 and 402). O.Ir. *conaib fiadnaib, mātṛ-ib* (cp. § 296 p. 201, §§ 384 and 385). Lith. dat. *szun-i-m akmen-i-m moter-i-m* instr. *szun-i-m̃ akmen-i-m̃ moter-i-m̃*; O.C.Sl. *kamen-i-ma mater-i-ma*.

§ 303. 7. Stems ending in an Explosive. These had the weak stem in pr. Idg., as also in the corresponding plural cases (§§ 367.2 and 379.2). Skr. *brhád-bhyām*, Avest. *ber^ozañ-bya ber^ozap-bya* and (with a change to the strong stem) *ber^ozan-bya*; for the stem-final see the sections just cited, and § 356.2. Avest. *brvañ-byam*, as has been said already (§ 296), is the only form with *-byam* in the Avesta.

O.Ir. *cairt-ib* and O.C.Sl. *telet-ī-ma* (from *tele* n. 'calf', cp. § 225 p. 107, § 244 pp. 142 f.), may be understood by referring to § 302.

§ 304. 8. Stems in -s.

Aryan. Skr. *mānō-bhyām* should regularly be **manad-bhyām*, but it has been influenced by the nom. acc. sing. *mānō* ('mind, thought'), like the pl. *mānō-bhiḥ*; see § 356.2. Hence *durmanō-bhyām* and the compar. *ḍṣīyō-bhyām* from nom. sing. masc. *dur-manās* *ḍṣīyān* neut. *dur-manō* *ḍṣīyō*. Similarly, *havīr-bhyām* *cākṣur-bhyām* have been affected by the nom. acc. sing. *havīr* (*havīṣ*) 'libation' *cākṣur* (*cākṣuṣ*) 'eye', and have -*rbbh-* instead of the strictly regular -*ḍbh-* (I § 591 p. 448). But the regular -*d-* is found in the part. perf. act. *vidvād-bhyām* like *vidvād-bhiḥ*, only in these the formative suffix is strong, and the weak -*us-* is gone, see I § 591 p. 448, II § 136 pp. 440 f.). Other regular forms are Avest. *snaiṇiṣ-bya* from *snaiṇiṣ* n. 'sword', and the part. perf. act. *viṇāṣ-bya* to be inferred from *viṇāṣ-biḥ*. No form from any *es*-stem is found; but reasoning from the pl. *manē-biḥ*, which is built up on the form of the nom. acc. sing. neut. in -*ē* (in the Gāthās *manē*), we may venture to restore **manē-bya* **asyē-bya* (see §§ 376, 387).

O.Ir. *tigib* (*tech* n. 'house' for *(s)*tegos*) perhaps for **teges-o-bi-*, cp. instr. pl. § 387.

Balto-Slavonic again shows a change to the *i*-flexion (cp. §§ 302, 303): Lith. dat. *debes-ī-m* instr. *debes-i-ṁ* (nom. sing. *debes-ī-s* 'cloud', II § 132 p. 422), O.C.Sl. *sloves-ī-ma*.

§ 305. 9. *ī-* *īi-*, *ū-* *uy-* stems and Root Nouns in -*u*.

Skr. *dhī-bhyām* *bhra-bhyām* (similarly *pūr-bhyām* *gīr-bhyām*, see II § 160.4 pp. 485 f.). In Old Church Slavonic the corresponding form of *svekry* and the like is not recorded.

Skr. *nāu-bhyām*, *gō-bhyām*.

*Genitive and Locative Dual.*¹⁾

§ 306. With these cases as with the others, it is difficult to make out what forms the parent language had. It is probable that the two cases were not expressed by one form, but that they were regularly distinguished.

First of all will be given the facts gathered from each branch of the parent speech; this will be followed in § 311 by an examination of the previous history of the recorded forms, as far as it can be made out. Lastly, in § 312 the Greek forms for the genitive, locative, and other cases of the dual will be described.

§ 307. Sanskrit. Both cases have the same ending, -ōṣ = pr. Ar. *-ayš.

Stems in -o- and -a- end in -ayōṣ, e. g. *vfka-yōṣ* from *vfka-s* 'wolf', *yugá-yōṣ* from *yugá-m* 'yoke', *áśvayōṣ* from *áśvā* 'mare'. Side by side with this formation are Ved. *ēnōṣ* (also *ēnayōṣ*) from *ēna-* 'he' and *avōṣ* from *avá-* 'this', as in O.C.Sl. *vlūku* from *vlūko-* (§ 310).

Remark. No trustworthy evidence for the shorter formation is to be got from Ved. *yōṣ* beside *yáyōṣ* from *yá-* 'qui', *nīniyōṣ* from *nīniyá-* 'inside, hidden', *pastiyōṣ* from *pastiya-* n. 'habitation, lodging', *pāṣiyōṣ* from *pāṣiya-* n. 'pressing-stone'. In all these -ay- may have dropped out by syllabic dissimilation (I § 643 p. 482), as -āy- seems to have done in *śuvapatyāi* § 247 p. 147.

ī- īē-stems: *bṛhaty-ōṣ*.

i- and u-stems: *ávy-ōṣ*, *sūnv-ōṣ*.

Consonant stems (with the weak form of the stem): *śún-ōṣ* (for the accent see p. 70 footnote 2), *rājñ-ōṣ* from *rājan-* 'king', *mātr-ōṣ* *dātr-ōṣ*, *bṛhat-ōṣ*, *mānas-ōṣ* *dśtyas-ōṣ* *vidúṣ-ōṣ*.

dhiy-ōṣ *bhruv-ōṣ*, *nāv-ōṣ*, *gáv-ōṣ* (cp. gen. sing. Ved. *gáv-as* § 231 p. 120).

§ 308. Iranian.

In the Avesta, the genitive dual ends in -ā -ās(-ca) = pr. Ar. *-as, the loc. dual in -ō, which may be derived

1) For references on this subject, see the footnote on page 189.

regularly from either pr. Ar. **-as* or pr. Ar. **-ay* (cp. Bartholomae in Bezz. Beitr. IX 208, 312 f., XIII 83).

Stems in *-o-* and *-ā-* have gen. *-ayā*, as in Sanskrit both stems have *-ayōṣ* (§ 307): *vehrkayā* from *vehrka-* m. 'wolf', *haēnayā* from *haēnā-* f. 'hostile host', and similarly in pronouns *yayā* from *ya-*, *aētayā* from *aēta-*, *ayā* from *a-*. This case is found without the syllable *-ay-* in Dvandva phrases, e. g. *fratīrā baēšatastīrā* 'of F. and B.', a pair of brothers (stem *fratīra-* and *baēšatastīra-*); *fratīrā : vehr kayā* = Skr. *ēnōṣ : ēnayōṣ*. Of the locative ending *-ayō*, examples are only found with *o*-stems: *vehr kayō*, *ubayō* from *uba* 'both'.

u-stems: gen. *bāzv-ā* loc. *bāzv-ō*.

n- and *r*-stems: gen. *sūn-ā*, *nar-ā*; the strong stem of *nar-ā* is not original.

nt-stems: gen. *ber'zant-ā*, with non-original strong stem.

tāt-stems: gen. *amar'tāt-ā* from *amar't[a-t]āt-* (I § 643 p. 482) 'genius of immortality'. *ḡ*-stem: *hvar'z-ā* from *hvar'z-* i. e. *hu-var'z-* 'doing good'.

Old Persian. Spiegel and Osthoff regard *dastayā* (from *dasta-* 'hand') and *duvarayā* (from *duvara-* 'door, gate, court') as loc. dual. They may of course be regarded, if we please, as loc. sing. with the postposition *ā*, *dastay-ā* = Avest. *zastay-a* (§ 263 p. 164); this notwithstanding Osthoff's objections set forth in Morph. Unt. II 100 f.

§ 309. In Irish the genitive dual has a special form. Several classes of stems furnish no examples earlier than Middle Irish.

o-stems: *da* ('duorum'), *fer*, *cēle*. *ā*-stems: *tuath*, *ban*. *i*-stems: *fātho fātha*. *u*-stems: *betho -a*. *n*-stems: *con*, *āran*. *r*-stems: *māthar*. *nt*-stems: *carat*. *es*-stems: *tige*. *bō* 'of two kine'.

The "aspiration" of the initial of a following word (I § 658. 1 pp. 510 f.) has no very strong support in Old Irish; in Middle Irish, the practice varies apparently without reason, and sounds are sometimes aspirated, sometimes left alone.

The original ending of the formation therefore still remains to be discovered. In some instances the gen. loc. dual seems to have been affected by the analogy of the genitive singular. Compare further Ascoli, *Note Irlandesi* p. 32.

§ 310. Lithuanian dialects use a form in *-ms* with the meaning of a gen. dual, as *šodiu-ms sunu-ms dukterė-ms tū-du-ms* (of both'), fem. *anė-dvi-ms* (of those two'). See Geitler, *Lit. Stud.* 56, *Beitr. zur lit. Dialektologie* 38; and Brückner, *Arch. für slav. Phil.* III 309 f. With Brückner, we must regard the form as an extension of the dat. instr. in *-m* by the gen. sing. *-s*; compare these genitive forms built up on *mu-m ju-m*: — *muma juma* (the ending doubtless assimilated to *mana tava = māno tāvo*) and O.Lith. *mumu jumu* (*-ū*, gen. pl.), cp. § 458.

Slavonic gives *-u* as the ending of gen. and loc.; this brings us back to **-ou* in the first instance; after it *-s* may have dropped (I § 185 p. 161, § 588.7 p. 445). *o*-stems: *vlūku*, but *dvoju toju*. *ā*-stems: *raķu*, but *dvoju toju*. *i*-stems: *paťju paťju* (*-ij- -ij-* as in the gen. pl. *paťj-ī paťi-jī*, § 348). *u*-stems: *synov-u* (*-ov-* as in the gen. pl. *synov-ū*, § 349). *n*-stems: *kamen-u*. *t*-stems: *telet-u*. *s*-stems: *sloves-u*.

§ 311. We may now take a general view of the forms which have been given in the last four sections, for the purpose of comparison. At two points we are on firm ground: (1) Skr. *-ōṣ*: O.C.Sl. *-u*; and (2) the *i*-diphthong before the suffix in *o*-stems, as Skr. *táy-ōṣ*, Avest. *aetay-ā ubay-ō*: O.C.Sl. *toj-u*.

1. The proethnic ending of the genitive dual may have been **-o-u-s* or **-e-u-s*, consisting of the ending of the *o*-stems, the *u* of the nom. acc. masc. in *-ōu* (Idg. **duōu* = Skr. *dvāú*), and *-s*, the suffix of the genitive singular (§ 228 pp. 111 f.). The Avestic locative ending *-ō*, if derived from Idg. **-ou* or **-eu*¹⁾, would be the dual stem without any case-

1) It may be that this case is to be recognised in the Sanskrit word **durō-nis* 'within our (two) doors, at home with us', which is inferred from *durōnā-* by Bartholomae *Bezz. Beitr.* XV 198 f.

suffix, to be compared with singular locatives like Skr. *kārman* Gr. *δόμεν* (§ 285 Rem. p. 191). Some form of this kind might be used to explain *-of-* in the Greek *ὄγδο(φ)-ος ὄγδο(φ)-ή-χώρα*, although there are other possible explanations of it (the Author, *Morph. Unt.* V 36 ff.).¹⁾ O.C.Sl. *vlūku* as a genitive may be derived from **-oys* **-eys*, and as a locative from **-oy* **-ey*. These proethnic endings spread beyond their own proper sphere in two directions: they passed (1) into the *ā*-class (O.C.Sl. *raķu*, certainly not containing Idg. **-ay*, cp. gen. pl. *raķū* like *vlūķū*); and (2) into the consonant, *i*-, and *u*-classes (Skr. *rājā-ōṣ āvy-ōṣ* etc., O.C.Sl. *kamen-u paťj-u* etc.). The absence of *-s* final from the original form of O.C.Sl. loc. *raķu* is established, as Leskien points out to me, by Lith. *pusiaū* 'half, in twain' (beside the subst. *pūsė* 'half'), cp. O.C.Sl. *mešdu* 'between', lit. 'within the bounds', loc. dual of *mešda* 'middle, boundary'.

Remark 1. Danielsson, starting from this assumed pr. Idg. **-oys* (**-eys*), has made an attempt to shew how certain nouns in Italic have been absorbed into the *u*-class (Pauli's *Altital. Stud.*, III 187 ff.). He supposes that e. g. the gen. *cornūs* was originally a genitive dual from the stem *corno-* = Goth. *haurna-*, and gen. *manūs* the same case of a stem *man-* (*man-ceps*); it would then be possible to see original locatives of the dual in *cornū manū*. Similarly Kluge (Paul-Braune's *Beitr.* VIII 509) identifies the A.S. gen. sing. *nosa* (nom. *nosu* 'nose') with the Skr. gen. loc. dual *nas-ōṣ*; if this were correct, **-oys* and not **-eys* must have been the original ending. These and other like conjectures and comparisons, ingenious though they be, are not to be trusted, as any one may see; the *u*-flexion of such stems can be always explained in other ways.

As regards Avest. *ā* = pr. Ar. **-ās*, two questions offer themselves for consideration. (1) Was it properly the ending of *ā*-stems, which spread at some later period to those in *-o-*; (2) does its *ā*-vowel represent the Idg. *-ō* of the nom. acc. masc. of *o*-stems (Avest. *vehrka*)? Osthoff's conjecture (*Morph.*

1) This would offer a possible means of connecting *δέιπρος* directly with *δῶν*, by deriving both from **dFev-*. All the same, I hold fast to my own explanation of the ordinal as by far the more probable (§ 166 p. 8).

Unt. II 93) that Avest. *-ayā* is a re-formation of **-ayaos* on the analogy of the gen. sing. *haēnayā* (§ 229 p. 114) I cannot accept. O.Pers. *-ay-ā*, locative in meaning, if indeed we are to allow the form at all (§ 308), is also obscure. It is quite possible to compare *-ayā* with the Avest. gen. *-ayā*.

2. The *i*-diphthong of Skr. *dvāy-ōṣ tāy-ōṣ* etc. is without doubt connected with that of Avest. *dpae-ibya* Lith. *dvē-m dvē-m* O.C.Sl. *dvē-ma* (§ 297 p. 201). Not only these languages, but apparently Germanic and Baltic, have it in this same case; for there are certain forms which seem to have taken a plural case-ending instead of the dual, but to have kept the dual type in the stem to which the suffixes were attached. These forms are Goth. *tvaddjē* O.Icel. *veggja* O.H.G. *zweiȝo* 'duorum' O.Icel. *beggja* 'amborum' (for the treatment of *-i-* between sonants in these Germanic forms see I § 142 p. 127), and Lith. *dvēja abėjū* (cp. Skr. *uḥhāy-ōṣ* O.C.Sl. *oboȝ-u*); the Lith. words were doubtless previously **dvaj-ū* **abaj-ū* or **dvej-ū* **abej-ū*, which became *dvėj-ū* *abėj-ū* because influenced by the analogy of *dvē-m dvē-m*. This same original *i*-diphthong of the dual is doubtless to be traced in O.Sax. *twē-ne* from **duoi-no-* (cp. Meringer as cited, p. 235), in Gr. *δωοί* from **duoi-ō-*, and in Skr. *dvē-dhā* 'twofold, on two occasions'.

It is very probable indeed that the *i*-diphthong of the gen. loc. was used with *a*-stems in the parent language itself; and it is therefore hard to make out whether these did not have *-ai-* (cp. nom. dual fem. **tai*), so that it would be necessary to derive e. g. the O.C.Sl. masc. *toju* from **tojou(s)*, but the fem. *toju* from **tajou(s)*, cp. Gr. *κόραν* beside *ἑπτα* (§ 312). It may also be asked whether Skr. *tay-* in the masculine may not represent Idg. **tei-* (cp. Att. *δευῖν* and the rest, § 293 pp. 197 f.).

Remark 2. If Idg. *o* in open syllables became *ū* in pr. Ar. (I § 78 p. 69), the masc. Skr. **tāyōṣ*, not *tāyōṣ*, would answer to O.C.Sl. *toju*. Then what would *tāyōṣ* be: the feminine form, with Idg. **-ai-* (cp. § 422 Rem., on the instr. sing. Skr. *tāyā* O.C.Sl. *toja*) or a masc. form with

*-eĭ-? Compare Meringer, Zeitschr. für österr. Gymn. 1889, pp. 1017 f. Meringer's conjecture, that the stem *dġi- in Skr. *dvi-pā-* etc. was once closely connected with the nom. dual fem. *dġai neut. *dġoi and with Skr. *dady-ō-* etc., seems to me improbable, because the *i*-diphthong was most certainly not peculiar to the word *two*, nor can it be shewn that it first appeared in this word, and afterwards spread to all other stems. On *dġi-, see § 166 p. 7, § 177 p. 33.

Keltic genitives such as *dā*, *fer*, *tuath* and so forth (§ 309 pp. 206 f.), remain obscure.

§ 312. Gen. Abl. Dat. Loc. Instr. Dual in Greek.

Hom. -οιν, Att. -οιν (contracted from -οιν), found in all stems but the *a*-class, ἵπποιν ἵπποιν from ἵππο-, ποδοῖν ποδοῖν from ποδ- etc. A variant found on Attic inscriptions is -οι, for *-οι, as θανόντοι, and similarly in inscr. from Argos, as τοῖ Φανάχοι. Elean -οιοις, δνοίοις, αὐτοίοις (for this -ρ see I § 653 p. 500). Attic *a*-stems have -αιν, κόραιν.

Attempts to explain the suffixes have been made by Fick, Bezz. Beitr. I 67 f.; J. Baunack, Mém. de la Soc. de ling., V 25 ff., Die Inschrift von Gortyn 70 f., Stud. auf dem Gebiete des Gr. und der ar. Sprachen, I 174 f.; Thurneysen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 177; Torp, Zur Lehre von den geschlechtl. Pron. 47 f.; and the Author in his Greek Grammar, ed. 2, p. 124.

No doubt the relation of ἵπποι-ιν ἵπποιν to νῶ-ιν σφῶ-ιν, νῶν σφῶν (nom. νῶ σφῶ) is the same as that of Avest. *vehrkaē-ibya* to Skr. *vṛkā-bhyām*. Then we have in Greek the same diphthong (-eĭ- beside -oĭ- is seen in Att. δνεῖν) as we saw in the dat. abl. instr. and gen. loc. of the other languages, which we regarded as identical with the ending of the nom. acc. neuter (§§ 297 and 311). If the fem. Skr. *táyō-* O.C.Sl. *tojū* comes from Idg. *tai-ous (§ 311, last page), κόραιν for *κοραι-ιν would be parallel to it. In considering these comparisons, it should be borne in mind that apparently forms are found in Greek which retain the endings -οι (-ει) and -αι, for the nom. acc. neuter of *o*-stems and the nom. acc. of *a*-stems; see § 286 p. 194 and § 293 pp. 197 f.

Elean *-oi-oi* is without doubt a late re-formation following the dative plural, which in this dialect has *-oi* in place of *-oi*, as *ἀγών-οι* (§§ 360, 361). The change perhaps belongs to a time when *-oi* had become *-oi*, so as to cause confusion between this case and the loc.-dat. singular in *-oi* (§ 263 pp. 164 f.). Similarly the Polish loc. dual *dwu* 'duobus' *obu* 'ambobus' were changed into *dwuch obuch* by adding the *-ch* of the loc. plural, *trzech* 'tribus' etc. (Baudouin de Courtenay, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. VI 79 f.).

The doublets *-oi-iv* and **-oi-i* recal Lesb. *ἄμμ-iv ὕμμ-iv* and *ἄμμ-ι ὕμμ-ι* (compare too Gort. *ὄ-τιμ*), also *σ-φίν* and *σ-φί*, *τοῖ-σιν* and *τοῖ-σι*. But how are we to proceed? Does *-iv* represent a pr. Idg. dual case-ending, say **-ui(m)*, which Greek alone retained; or is it a special Greek formation? This question has not yet been answered. In any case one hypothesis deserves mention. According to this, some dual suffix, which began with a consonant, but of which nothing further is known, gave place to the plural locative suffix *-oi -σιν*; hence arose **νω-σιν* like *duð-bus*, **τοῖ-σι(ν)* like O.Icel. *tvei-mr* (compare too gen. Goth. *tvaddj-ē* Lith. *dvėj-ū* § 311 p. 209); *-σ-* dropped according to rule (I § 564 p. 420), but in the corresponding plural forms it was preserved, or restored, by the analogy of *φύλαξ-σι(ν)* and the like. This hypothesis certainly does not explain why the final nasal is differently treated in dual and plural. Of course *κόρου* might be a late formation following the analogy *ἱπποί : κόρου*. Of *νῶιν* something more will be said in § 458.

Nominative Plural Masculine and Feminine.¹⁾

§ 313. Consonantal stems, and those in *-i-* and *-u-*, had in the parent language the case-suffix *-es*, which was perhaps

1) W. Schulze, Das Suffix des nom. pl. masc. und fem., Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVIII 275 ff. The Author, Der nom. pl. der *ā*-Stämme im Griech. und Lat., *ibid.* XXVII 199 ff. Zeyss, Über den nom. plur. der consonantischen Declin. im Umbr., *ibid.* XVII 421 ff. Förstemann, Zur Gesch. altdeutscher Declin.: der nom. plur., *ibid.* XIV 161 ff.

originally only a sign of the plural (§ 186 p. 60). There is no reason why we should not see the same suffix in *-ōs*, *-ās*, and *-īēs*, the Idg. endings of the *o*-, *a*-, and *i*- *īē*-classes respectively; see I § 115 pp. 107 f., II § 185 p. 57.

o-stems have in Aryan, beside pr. Ar. *-ās* = Idg. *-ōs*, pr. Ar. *-āsas*, which we may conjecture to be an Aryan re-formation.

Armenian has *-ē* for the case-sign, e. g. *dster-ē* 'daughters', undoubtedly the same as *-ē* in the suffix of the instr. plural, *-bē* *-vē*; compare the terminations of the 1st. and 2nd. plural present of verbs, *-mē* and *-yē*. Bugge (Beitr. zur etym. Erl. der arm. Spr., 43 f.) explains *-ē* as follows. He supposes that the particle *u* attached itself to the inflexional *-s* (cp. Gr. *πάρ-υ* Skr. *bhārat-u* etc.), making **-su*, pronounced **-sū* before sonants; **-s-sū* became *ē*, as initial *sū-* does (I § 560 pp. 416 f.), and *ē* was then adopted universally. The hypothesis at least deserves consideration.

The nom. plural, like the nom. dual (§ 284 pp. 190 f.), served in all periods for the vocative, and in Sanskrit both numbers when so used were accented upon the first syllable (§ 200 p. 83).

§ 314. 1. *o*-stems. Pr. Idg. **u₁qōs* 'lupi'. Skr. *vṛkās*; Avest. *-ā* very rare, *amešā* = Skr. *amṛtās* 'immortales'; on O.Pers. *martiyā* 'homines' see below. Armen. *gailē*, see § 313. Umbr. *prinuvatus* *prinuvatu* *prinivatur* 'legati' *screihtor* 'scripti', Osc. *Núvlanús*. O.Ir. voc. *a* *fíru*, cp. below. Goth. *vulfōs* O.Icel. *ulfar* with pr. Germ. **-ōz*, O.Sax. *dagos* A.S. *dagas* 'days' with pr. Germ. **-ōs*, see I § 581 p. 434, § 661.5 p. 519, and Paul in Paul-Braune's Beitr. VI 550 f.

Remark 1. There is no sure foundation for an Idg. *-zs* beside *-ōs* (cp. abl. sing. *-zā* : *ōd* and the like, § 240 p. 183). Lat. *magistrēs* is doubtless an ad-formate of the *i*-class, and O.H.G. *wolfā* *-a* of the *a*-class; see below p. 214.

1. Aryan. Pr. Ar. *-āsas* beside *-ās*: Skr. Ved. *vṛkāśas* (Pāli *-āse*); Avest. *vehrkānhō*, O.Pers. *bagaha* 'gods'. Outside of the Aryan languages no credible proof has been given of

the existence of this ending. We are accordingly drawn to conjecture, with Bopp (Vergl. Gr. I³ 450), that the Idg. suffix *-ās* has been extended by the *-as* of the consonant-class.

Remark 2. It is a very common thing to find a second case-suffix added to a fully formed case. The most obvious comparison is that of Pāli nom. pl. *kaññāyo* beside *kaññā* = Skr. *kanyās* 'maidens': from *rattiyo* (sing. *ratti*) and *vadhuyo* (sing. *vadhu*) it was imagined that *-yo* was a nom. pl. suffix, and this was used to extend *kaññā*. In § 312 p. 211 we noticed El. *δωτ-οι*; Pol. *dwu-ch*. Again, nom. pl. masc. O.Icel. *þei-r* 'the, these' (Runic *þai-R*) = Goth. *þei* Gr. *τοί* has taken *-r* (for *-z*) from substantives. Gr. acc. *Ζῆν-α* (§ 221 p. 98). Gen. Dor. *ἐμίο-ς*, § 450. Lith. instr. *tū-mi*. Mod.H.G. *den-en* in place of *den*, and the like (the Author, Morph. Unt. III 70).¹⁾ Examples from Russian are collected by Vetter zur Gesch. der nom. Decl. im Russ. pp. 36, 37.

Since Scherer, it has often been maintained that O.Sax. *dagos* A.S. *daȝas* contain a suffix which answers to Skr. *-āsas*; see, for example, Mahlow Die 1. Voc. 128, W. Schulze in Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVIII 275. But this cannot be proved. It would be preferable to assume this suffix for O.Fris. *dagar* (see Möller, Paul-Braune's Beitr. VII 505), but the ending of *dagar* may equally well be derived from **-ōz* (cp. O.H.G. *ir* I § 661. 5 p. 519). To say that forms corresponding to the Skr. *-āsas* are to be found in the O.Ir. plurals in *-a* from the pret. pass. in *-t*, such as *do-bretha* (sing. *do-breth*, II § 79 p. 232) is conjecture run wild. To support it we should at least need to show *-ai* used side by side with *-a*.

If, in spite of all considerations to the contrary, Skr. *-āsas* should prove to be prosthetic, I would connect Idg. **-ōs*, in Skr. *ṛkās* etc., with Skr. *-āsas* in the following manner: I would assume a pr. Idg. termination **-ōss* side by side with **-ōses* or **-ōsos* (cp. the gen. sing. *-s* beside *-es* *-os*), whose *-es* would in all languages be treated just like Idg. *-s* (cp. § 356 Rem.).

In Avestic, *-a* (Gāth. *-ā*), as *vehrka*, is very common beside *-ā* and *-ānəhō*. The form is also used for the acc. plural. Its origin is doubtful.

Remark 3. Since Bopp, scholars have usually regarded this *-a* as the ending of the nom. acc. neuter. J. Schmidt, who agrees, compares Gr. *τὰ αἶρα* from *ὁ αἶρο-ς*, Lat. *loca* from *locu-s*, etc. (Pluralb. 7 f.). Osthoff's view has at least as much in its favour (Morph. Unt. II 93 f.). He regards these forms as dual (cp. nom. dual Gr. *χῶραι* Lat. *equae* used for the plural, § 315). On this view, forms in *-a* from consonantal stems, as *nar-a* 'men' *vac-a* 'voices', can be understood at once; Bopp's explanation makes it necessary to suppose that *-a* spread to these stems from the nom. pl. *vehrka*.

1) The conjecture offered in this place — that Skr. *-āsas* was first used with *ā*-stems — can hardly be right (cp. § 315).

Whether O.Pers. forms like *martiyā* (see above) are to be compared with Avest. *-ā* (Skr. *-ās*), or with Avest. *-a*, cannot be decided.

Old Irish. The form in **-ōs*, which became *-u* (I § 657. 6 p. 509) held its ground only in the vocative use, and its place in the nominative was taken by the pronominal ending **-oi* (see below, under 2); cp. Gr. voc.-nom. *Ἐκῆϊά* beside *Ἐκῆϊά-ς* § 190 p. 67. The confluence in form of the nom. in *-ōs*, used for the voc., and the acc. plural (§ 326) caused the acc. pl. of other stems to be used as a vocative, e. g. *cairtea* acc. voc. beside nom. *carit* (§ 334).

Old High German. I regard *wolfā -a* and *hirte* 'herdsmen' (*io*-stem) as adformates of feminine forms like *gebā -a* and *sunte* (§ 315).

2. In five groups of languages the pronominal ending **-oi* has spread to nouns (the reverse is found in Umbro-Samnitic, as Osc. *pūs* 'qui'): these are —

Greek. *λύκοι* like *τοί*.

Latin. O.Lat. *poploe*, *pīlumnoe*, later *populī*, *lupī* (I § 81 p. 74). An ending found on inscriptions of the sixth and seventh century of the city, in Plautus, and elsewhere, — *-ēs* (*-eis -īs*), as *magistrēs* — is taken from the *i*-class (§ 317). It was suggested by variant forms in the pronouns, *quēs* (stem *qui-*) and *quī* (stem *quo-*), *heis* and *hī*. Also Falisc. *magistreis*.

Remark 4. *deivos*, in the Duenos inscription, has been repeatedly explained as nom. plural (the latest attempt is by Conway, in the American Journ. of Phil., X 452). It is more likely to be locative plural, see § 357.

Old Irish. *fir* 'viri', *eich* 'equi', *cēli* 'comrades' (*io*-stems) for **-iī*; Gallic retains *-oi*, *Tanotaliknoi*. See I § 82 p. 77, § 657. 4 p. 508.

Germanic. This ending has been borrowed by adjectives only: Goth. *blindái* O.H.G. *blinte* pl. of 'blind' (I § 661. 6 p. 520); Goth. *blindái* doubtless for the regular **blinda* on the analogy of the monosyllabic *pái* (§ 263 Rem. pp. 165 f.).

Balto-Slavonic. Lith. *vilkaĩ*, *geri* and *gerė-ji*, beside

which we have *tē*, see I § 84 pp. 80 f., § 664.3 p. 523, § 671 p. 536, II § 406, Morph. Unt. V 57 footnote 1. O.C.Sl. *vlūci*, *novi* 'novi', *ti* (I § 84 p. 82).

§ 315. 2. *a*-stems. Pr. Idg. **ek̑ās*. Skr. *áśvās*, Avest. *haēnā*. Umbr. *urtas* 'ortae' *iuvengar* 'iuvencae', Osc. *scriftas* 'scriptae', Marruc. *asignas* 'hostiae' (or some meaning of the kind); Latin seems to have preserved this type in the form *matrona* found on two inscriptions of Pisaurum (C. I. L. I 173, 177; cp. I § 655.9 p. 505). O.Ir. nom. voc. *tuatha*, *mnā* 'women' (I § 106 p. 99, § 657.6 p. 509). Goth. *gibōs*, O.H.G. Alemann. *kebo* (on O.H.G. *gebā -a*, see below) A.S. *ziefæ*, O.Icel. *gjafar*, pr. Ger. **-ōz*. Lith. *rañkos*.

Sanskrit. The Veda has not only *-ās* but *-āsas*, *áśvāsas*, as with the *o*-class (§ 314). It is much rarer with *a*- than with *o*-stems, and in Iranian it is never found with *a*-stems at all; hence it would seem to have spread from *o*-stems to those in *-a*-. Now and then *-āsas* from an *a*-stem has the meaning of the accusative (Lanman, Noun Infl. p. 363); the reason being that in this class nom. and acc. have always had the same ending, *-ās*.

Greek and Latin have *-ai* both in nouns and pronouns: Gr. *χῶραι*, *ταί*, Lat. *equae*, *istae* (O.Lat. inscr. *tabelai datai* and the like). These forms are probably not a re-formation following the *-oi* of the *o*-class, but the Idg. dual, whose value was changed to match them with *-oi*; see § 286 p. 194.

Old High German *gebā -a* and *sippe sippeā sippiā -a* (*iā*-stem) took their ending, we may conjecture, from the *i-iz*-class (as *gutinne*, *gutinnā -a*), which had **-iēs* as their original ending (§ 316). Before **-iā* (**-iā*) = pr. West Germ. **-iēz* became *-e* (Braune, Ahd. Gr. § 58 Anm. 1), *-a* (*-a*) spread to *a*-stems which had no *-i-*, and afterwards was restored from these to the *i*-stems again (cp. Braune, *op. cit.* § 209 Anm. 3). There is the same form-transference in the accusative singular, § 213 p. 91, and in the genitive singular, § 229 p. 117. In Anglo-Saxon levelling took place in the opposite

direction, and *zydenna* was due to the analogy of *ziefə sibba* = Goth. *gibōs sibjōs*. The Idg. ending *-as* is preserved in pronouns, *deō dio* = Skr. *tyās*.

Old Church Slavonic *raky* and *zmiĵe* (*zmiĵa* 'snake') are accusative plural (§ 327). The use of this form was perhaps caused by the fact that the old form of the nom. pl. **ronkas*, when the *-s* dropped (I § 588.7 p. 445) became identical with the nom. sing. (*raĵa*); and it was helped on by the singular nominative and accusative having so frequently the same form (in Russian, the masc. acc. in *-y* is found used as nom. from the 13th or 14th century onwards).

§ 316. 3. *ī- iĕ-*stems (cp. p. 68, footnote 1). The Pr. Idg. form was doubtless **bhṛghṇt(i)īĕs*. Lat. *faciēs*. It is doubtful whether O.Ir. *insi* is of this class (*-i* for **-iĕ(s)* with *-ī* for *-ē*), see § 229 Rem. 3 p. 117. O.H.G. *gutinne*, later *-innā -a*, see § 315. Lith. *žēmės*.

In Aryan there has been a twofold re-formation. (1) Skr. Ved. *bṛhatīṣ* Avest. *barentīš*, with a weak stem, like the acc. pl. (§ 328), whence arose a symmetrical group *bṛhatī*: *bṛhatīm*: *bṛhatīṣ* matching with *áśvā*: *áśvām*: nom. acc. *áśvās*. (2) Skr. *bṛhatyās* Ved. *-īyas* (only *bṛhatyās* in post-Vedic Sanskrit) and Avest. *barentyō*, *daēvyō* (read *daēviyō*) 'she-devils', following the *ī- iĕ-*class (§ 323), cp. nom. acc. dual Skr. *bṛhatyāu* § 287 p. 194. Once in the Avesta occurs *-yā*, *bāminyā* 'lucidae', certainly not the direct representative of pre-Aryan **-iĕs*, but following the *iā*-class (§ 315).

Greek too has the formation which follows the *iā*-class, *φίρονται*; and so have Germanic — Goth. *frijōndjōs* A.S. *zydenna* (see § 315) — and Lithuanian, *vėžancziōs*. Compare p. 68, footnote 1.

Old Church Slavonic. *zemljē vezaštē* are accusative forms like *raky zmiĵe* (§ 315).

§ 317. 4. *i-*stems. Pr. Idg. **ouei-es*. Skr. *dvay-as*, *trāy-as* 'three'; Avest. *ašay-ō*, *tray-ō* with non-original *a*. Armen. *ereĕ* 'three' for **tre(i)-es*, see § 313 p. 212. Greek Att. *οὔρις* for **-ε(ι)-εs*; Ion. Att. *τρεις* Lesb. *τρῆς* Cret. *τρέες*.

Lat. *ovēs turrēs trēs*, Umbr. *puntes 'pontes' pacrer 'propiti'*, -ēs for *-e(i)-es I § 134 p. 121. O.Ir. *fāithi, trī*, see below. Goth. *ansteis þreis*, O.H.G. *ensti drī* (I § 142 pp. 125 f.). O.C.Sl. *patij-e patij-e m.* (I § 68 p. 60, § 146 p. 131).

Aryan. Isolated examples of -i-as are found. Ved. *ary-ās (ari- 'active, eager, pious')*, cp. acc. pl. and gen. sing. *ary-ās*; also *vr̥ṣṭi-as* (M.Bh.) from *vr̥ṣṭi-* 'rain', Avest. *fravašyō* beside *fravašayō*, female genii.

The ending contained in Armenian *sirtē* is doubtful (cp. § 313 p. 212).

Greek. All dialects have *-eī-es in *τρεῖς* (see above), but Heracl. acc. *τρεῖς* (§ 330) is used for the nom. and acc. both. Substantives, except in Attic, have -ιες, ὄφεις βάσιες, on the analogy of ī-ī-stems such as πόλιες (§ 323), cp. the gen. sing. ὄφιος § 231 p. 119. As regards Hom. πόλεις see § 260 p. 160.

Italic. Lat. has -is beside -ēs, *ovīs oveis*, which I regard as the form of the acc. pl. (§ 330). The use of -ēs and -is together was natural when once -ēs had found its way into the accusative plural on the analogy of *ped-ēs*, and was used along with -is for the accusative. The explanation of Osc. *aīdilis 'aediles'*, with -is = -īs, is uncertain, owing to the scanty remains of the language.

Old Irish. *trī* (Cymr. *tri*) may be derived from **tre(i)es* by supposing that -ee- became -ē- in protoethnic Celtic; **trēs* thus formed would become regularly *trī* (I § 74 p. 64); or we might assume that *-ees became *-eīs, *-iis, *-īs and lastly -ī. I think it not so probable that the ending contained in it is **-īi-es*, or that the form should be the accusative plural.

Balto-Slavonic. Lith. *nāktys trys* may be derived from **-īi-(e)s*, as *sūnūs* from **-uū-(e)s*; but whence came these assumed endings? They can hardly be original. Did i and u come from the other cases of the plural, and take the place of e and a (for **-eū-es* would have become *-aū-(e)s*, I § 68 p. 59)? O.C.Sl. *nošti* (fem.) is the form of the acc. pl., like fem. *raky* § 315 p. 216.

§ 318. 5. *u*-stems. Pr. Idg. **sūneṃ-es*. Skr. *sūnāv-as*, Avest. *bāzav-ō*. Gr. Ion. *πηχέες ἡδέες* Att. *πήχεις ἡδεῖς*. Lat. *manūs* can be explained as **manou-(e)s* (-*ou-* for -*eu-* according to I § 65 p. 52)¹⁾; but see below. O.Ir. *mog^ai* (*mug* 'servant'), O.Corn. *lichou* 'swamps', Gall. *Lugoves*; **-eu-es* first became **-ou-es* according to I § 66 p. 56, and then Irish **-o(u)i(s)*, British -*ou*. Goth. *sunjus* O.Icel. *syner synir* for pr. Germ. **-iu-iz* (I § 179 p. 156, § 660.1 p. 516). O.C.Sl. *synor-e* (I § 68 pp. 59 f.).

Aryan. Sometimes -*v-as* in the Veda, as *śata-kratv-as* 'effecting an hundredfold', similarly Avest. *yātv-ō* 'magicians'; cp. acc. pl. Skr. -*v-as* Avest. -*v-ō* beside -*ān -ūš*, -*ūš* (§ 331), and gen. sing. Skr. -*v-as* Avest. -*v-ō* beside -*ōš -aoš* (§ 232 p. 122). As to the re-formation Avest. *dañhāv-ō* = O.Pers. *dahyāv-a* 'lands, regions' see § 261 pp. 161 f.

It is a question what termination we are to see in Armenian *zardē* (cp. § 313 p. 212).

Lat. *manūs* (see above) may also be the form of the accusative plural. This use of the accusative would have resulted from the relation between nom. *ovēs* : acc. *ovēs*, nom. *ped-ēs* : acc. *ped-ēs*. *manūs* in Plautus is shortened metrically, like *canēs* and similar words (§ 319).

Germ. Goth. *mans* O.H.G. *man* A.S. *men* 'men' for **manu-iz*, like the gen. sing. Goth. *mans* (§ 232 p. 122). O.H.G. *siti* follows the *i*-flexion.

Lith. *sūnūs* like *nāktys*, see § 317, last page.

§ 319. 6. Nasal stems.

a. *n*-stems. Pr. Idg. **k(u)non-es* 'canes'. Skr. *śvān-as*, Avest. *spān-ō*; with the weak stem substituted Ved. *maghōn-as* beside *maghāvān-as* 'dispensers, givers, offerers', Avest. *ašāun-ō* beside *ašavan-o* pl. 'holy, pious'. Armen. *šunkē*, *akanē* *akunkē*, *elinkē* 'stags' (cp. Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. X 294), see § 313

¹⁾ The syncope of the *e* of the final syllable would be later than the contraction of the two *e*'s in **ome(i)-es* (§ 317).

p. 212. Gr. *κύν-ες* instead of **κυν-ες* **πον-ες* (cp. *κύνα* § 218 p. 94), *τέκτον-ες* *ποιμέν-ες*, *ἀγών-ες* *πενθῆν-ες*; *ἄρν-ες* like *κύν-ες*. Osc. *humun-s* (*ū* in the last syllable) 'homines', cp. Lat. *homōn-ēs* and Umbr. *homon-us* 'hominibus' with *-ōn-*, II § 114 p. 351. O.Ir. *coim*, *draim*. Goth. *guman-s*, O.H.G. *gomon gomun*; A.S. *æxen exen* O.Icel. *yxn* 'oxen' for **uxsn-iē* (Skr. *ukṣān-as*) like Norse Run. *dohtr-iR* § 320; Goth. *tuggōn-s* O.H.G. *zungūn*; on the formative suffix in O.H.G. *gomon gomun*, *zungūn* cp. Streitberg Paul-Braune's Beitr. XIV 218 ff. Lith. *szūn-s* like Gr. *κύν-ες*, *ākmen-s*. O.C.Sl. *jelen-e* 'stags', *dīne* 'days' with weak stem (II § 114 p. 356), *zemljan-e* 'countrymen' (II § 115 p. 362).

Avestic has also *-a* instead of *-ō*, *xšafn-a* 'nights', see § 314 p. 213.

Latin. With this as with all the classes which follow, the old ending **-ēs* gave place to *-ēs* (the ending of *i*-stems, § 317) before the Latin tradition begins: *can-ēs* *homin-ēs* *edōn-ēs*. This gave the means of distinguishing nom. pl. from gen. sing., but caused confusion with the acc. pl., but perhaps *-ēs* = **-e(i)-es* and *-ēs* = **-ys* were still distinct at the time when this change of ending took place. Survivals of Idg. *-ēs* are seen in *quattuor* and perhaps *foris* (§ 320). Plautine scansions like *canēs turbinēs* are due to metrical shortening, as also is *manūs*, § 318 (see A. Spengel, Reformvorschläge zur Metrik der lyr. Versarten bei Plautus, 309 ff.); original **-ēs* must needs have become *-is*, as it did in the genitive singular.

Balto-Slavonic. Lith. *szūn-ys*, following the *i*-flexion (§ 317), beside *szūn-s*. Similarly O.C.Sl. *kamen-ije* *-ije* (*kamen-e* is not found) and *dīn-ije* *-ije* beside *dīn-e*.

b. *m*-stems. Skr. *kṣām-as* from *kṣam-* 'earth'; Gr. should have *χθόν-ες* instead of **χθου-ες* (I § 204 p. 172), but it is hardly likely that the form ever occurs. Avest. *zim-a* from *zyd* 'winter frost' (weak stem instead of strong, and *-a* instead of *-ō*, § 314 p. 213), Gr. *χιόν-ες* 'falls of snow' instead of **χιου-ες* (I § 204 p. 172), Lat. *hiem-ēs* (*-ēs* instead of *-ēs*, see above). Compare II § 160 pp. 482 f.

§ 320. 7. *r*-stems. Pr. Idg. **māter-es*, **dōtor-es*, **qetvor-es* 'quattuor'. Skr. *mātār-as* *dātār-as*, Avest. *mātār-ō* *dātār-ō*; Skr. *catvār-as* Avest. *caṇvār-ō*; the feminine of this is Skr. *cātasr-as* Avest. *catasr-ō*, with non-original weak stem like Skr. *tisr-ās* f. 'three'; that the weak stem is not original is clear from Avest. *tišār-ō* and O.Ir. *teoir*, *cetheoirā cetheora* (with *-a* following *inna* etc.); see § 167 pp. 8 f.'). Armen. *markē*, *dsterkē* 'daughters', *çorē* 'quattuor', *durē* 'doors', see § 313 p. 212. Gr. *μητέρ-ες* *θυγατέρ-ες* Hom. *ἀνέρ-ες* (Hom. *θύγατρ-ες* Hom. Att. *ἄνδρ-ες* are re-formates), *δωτορ-ες*; *δοτῆρ-ες*; Dor. *τέτορ-ες* Ion. *τέσσερ-ες*, with weak stem Att. *τέτταρ-ες* Lesb. *πίσυρ-ες*. Lat. *quattuor*, Osc. *keenstur censur* 'censores' Umbr. *frater* 'fratres' (cp. the Remark) with *-r* for *-r(e)s* according to I § 655.9 p. 506. O.Ir. *māthir*, *cethir*, fem. *teoir* (I § 657.5 p. 508). O.H.G. *muoter*, Norse Run. *dohtr-iR* O.Icel. *dǫtr* A.S. *dehter* 'daughters' like Hom. *θύγατρ-ες*; Goth. *fidvōr* (*ō* doubtless from the neuter) O.H.G. *fior* 'quattuor' (§ 168 pp. 9—11); O.H.G. *turi* f. 'door' was perhaps originally nom. pl. = Skr. *dūr-as*, *-i* = **-is* **-es* according to I § 661.2 p. 517. Lith. *móter-s*; O.C.Sl. *datel-e* 'datores' (II § 122 p. 389), *četyr-e* m. 'quattuor'.

Avest. *nar-a* beside *nar-ō* 'ἀνίρες' and the like, see § 314 p. 213.

Italic. Perhaps Lat. *foris* f. 'door', since the word may really be a nom. pl. from *for-*, like O.H.G. *turi* above. In any other case it will be needful to assume that a singular *for-is* was coined at some period to correspond to the plural *for-ēs*, on the analogy of *ovēs* : *ovis*. *mātr-ēs* *datōr-ēs* follow the *i*-class, see § 319 p. 219.

Remark. Beside *frater frater* in Umbrian, *frateer* is found once, Tab. V. b 16. It should hardly be compared with Gr. *φραιήρ-ες*; (beside *φραιήρ-ες*; *φραιήρ-ες*) *δοτῆρ-ες* (II § 120 p. 379), although the word, in Umbrian as in Greek, bears only the sense of 'comrades'. The reasons

1) The change of stem from strong to weak in the nominative was due to the absence of singular and dual cases, so that the nominative was the only case which had the strong stem at all.

for not allowing this form are: (1) In line 11 we read *frater*, with the fifth letter erased. It was doubtless *e*; and if so it seems that we have here a mistake made twice, and only corrected once. (2) Along with this nominative the gen. *fratrom* and dat. *fratrus* are in use. But a stem *frātēr-* would doubtless have been carried through all the cases, as are those in *-tōr-* (*ars-fertūr-* 'flamen'). Nor do I see any means of supporting the view that an older Umbr. nom. pl. *frātēr* has lengthened its *e* in order to draw a line between nom. pl. and nom. sing. (Bücheler, Umbr. pp. 180 and 191). I therefore consider *frateer* to be nothing but an oversight. The form *frātēr* may be explained as **frātr-(ē)s* (cp. Lat. *frātr-ēs*), compare *ager* for **agr(o)-s*, I § 655.9 p. 506.

Germanic. Goth. *brōþrjus* follows *sunjus* because of the resemblance between *brōþrum* and *sunum* (II § 122 p. 388). O.H.G. *bruoderā -a* and *tohterā -a* (cp. Braune, Ahd. Gr. pp. 171 f.), following *o-* and *a-*stems (§§ 314, 315).

Old Church Slavonic *materi* follows the *i*-class (§ 317 p. 217).

§ 321. 8. Stems ending in an Explosive.

Pr. Idg. **bhyghont-es*. Skr. *bṛhánt-as*, Avest. *ber'zant-ō*. Gr. *φῆρον-ες*. O.Ir. *carit*. Goth. *frijōnd-s* O.H.G. *friunt*. O.C.Sl. *vezašte* instead of **vezate*, the *š* coming from cases which had *-jo-*, cp. *vezašti* § 219 p. 96.

The *nt*-participles in Lithuanian show a double formation. One group of dialects has *vėžantys* after the analogy of *i*-stems (cp. dial. *ākmenys* beside *ākmens*, and the like); the other group (High Lithuanian) has *vežā*, which can hardly be anything else but the form of the nom. acc. neuter (cp. § 225 p. 105, and § 342); but how it came to be so used is still unknown (cp. Joh. Schmidt in Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVI 362 f., and Pluralb. 162 f.).

Gr. *νύκτ-ες*, Goth. *naht-s* A.S. *niht* 'nights'. Skr. *daśāt-as* Lith. *dėšimt-s* O.C.Sl. *deset-e* 'tens' (cp. § 174 p. 23).

Skr. *śarād-as* 'autumns'. Gr. *φῡγάδ-ες*. O.Ir. *druid* 'Druids'. A.S. *hnit-e* (*-e* = pr. Germ. **-iz*) beside acc. sing. *hnit-u* 'nit, louse's egg' (§ 219 p. 96), similarly A.S. *hnyt-e* 'nuts' = O.Icel. *hnöt-r*. Pr. Idg. **pod-es* 'feet': Skr. *pād-as*,

Armen. *ot-k* (cp. § 313 p. 212), Gr. πόδες, A.S. *fēt* O.Icel. *fēt-r* pr. Germ. **fōt-iz*, cp. II § 160 p. 480.

Skr. *uśij-as* 'those who are desirous', Avest. *miṣrō-druj-ō* they who deceive Mithra'. Gr. μείρακ-ες, ὄρνυκ-ες ὄρνυγ-ες. O.Ir. *na-thraig* 'water-snakes'. Skr. *spāś-as* Avest. *spas-ō* 'spies, inspectors' (Lat. *au-spīc-ēs*). Skr. *vāc-as* Avest. *vāc-ō*, Gr. **ōn-ες* (Lat. *vōc-ēs*). Skr. *rāj-as* O.Ir. *rīg* (Lat. *rēg-ēs*) Goth. *reik-s* (I § 74 p. 64), Idg. **rēg-es* 'rulers'. Osc. *medix* 'meddices' for **med-dik-es*, cp. Lat. *jū-dic-ēs* and Skr. *dīś-as* 'directions, indications, instructions'. O.Ir. *brig* 'mountains', Goth. *baúrg-s* O.H.G. *burg* A.S. *byrġ* 'fortresses, cities', Avest. *bar'z-ō* or *ber'z-ō* (inferred from the other cases which are found), cp. II § 160 p. 479. O.H.G. *buoh* A.S. *bēc* 'books', pr. Germ. **bōk-iz*.

Skr. *āp-as* Avest. *ap-ō* 'waters'. Gr. κλώπ-ες 'thieves'.

Avestic also has *-a* instead of *-ō*, as *vac-a* beside *vāc-ō*, see § 314 p. 214.

Lat. *-ēs*, *ferent-ēs* *lapid-ēs* *ped-ēs* *bibac-ēs* *vōc-ēs* *rēg-ēs* *dap-ēs*, following the *i*-class, see § 319 p. 219.

§ 322. 9. *s*-stems.

Pr. Idg. **dus-menes-es*. Skr. *durmanas-as*, Avest. *dušmanas-ō*. Gr. δυσμενέες *-εῖς*. — Skr. *uśās-as* *uśās-as*, cp. § 220 p. 97. — Gr. μῆν-ες Lesb. μῆνν-ες, (Lat. *mēns-ēs*) O.Ir. *mīs*, cp. II § 132 p. 415; Skr. *mās-as* Avest. *māraḥ-ō* 'months', cp. II § 134 pp. 424 f.

Pr. Idg. comparative **ōh(i)ios-es* 'ociores'. Skr. *ásīyā-as*, for the nasalised formative suffix see II § 135 p. 430; in the post-Vedic language rarely *-īyas-as*, like the acc. sing. *-īyas-am* § 220 p. 97. Gr. ἡδῖους for **-īo(σ)-ες*; with the weak stem, Hom. πλείες Cret. πλίες for **πληῖος-ες* (II § 135 pp. 429 and 432). O.C.Sl. *slazdīše* perhaps for **-īche*, earlier **-is-es* according to I § 588.2 p. 443; *š* may also have come from *-sī-*, with *-ī-* from the cases which had *-īo-*, cp. *vezašte* § 321 p. 221.

Pr. Idg. part. perf. act. **ueidyos-es*. Skr. *vidvās-as* (for *ā*, see II § 136 p. 441); in the Veda and later we sometimes

meet with the weak formative suffix *-ús-as*, *vidús-as* (cp. acc. sing. § 220 p. 97); Avest. *viđvđnəh-ō*. O.C.Sl. *mīrūše*, to be explained in the same way as *slaždiše*, above; and compare the acc. sing. *mīrūši* (§ 220 p. 97). In regard to Gr. *ιδότ-ες*, see II § 136 p. 440. Lith. *mīrę* following *vežā* (§ 321 p. 221), compare the nom. sing. *mīręs* : *vežās* (II § 136 p. 441, III § 193 p. 73); a dialectic variant is *-usys*, like *-antys*.

Pr. Idg. **mūs-es* 'mures': Skr. *mūś-as*; Gr. *μῦ-ες* and *μύ-ες*, the latter following stems in *-ū-* *-uy-* (II § 160 p. 485); A.S. *mȳs* O.Icel. *mȳs-s*.

Latin. *-ēs*, *dēgener-ēs* *honōr-ēs* *mēns-ēs*, *ōciōr-ēs*, *mūr-ēs*, following the *i*-class, see § 319 p. 219.

§ 323. 10. *ī-* *iī-* and *ū-* *uy-* stems, and stems ending in *-ī*, *-ī̄*, *-ū̄*.

Pr. Idg. **iī-es*, **uy-es*, e. g. **bhruy-es* (nom. sing. **bhrūs* 'brow'). Skr. *dhīy-as* 'thoughts, meditations' Ved. *nadiy-as* 'rivers', *bhrūv-as* Ved. *śvaśrūv-as* 'mothers-in-law'. In Avestic **iī-es* is represented by certain forms of *ī-* *iē-* stems, which follow the analogy of this class, e. g. *daēvyō* i. e. *daēviy-ō* (§ 316 p. 216); and **uy-es* by *tan(u)v-ō* 'bodies'. Gr. *κί-ες* *πόλι-ες* (from *πόλι-ς*), *ὀφρυ-ες* *ῥέκυ-ες* (from *ῥέκυ-ς*).

Lat. *su-ēs*, with *i*-flexion, see § 319 p. 219; *vīs* (beside *vīrēs*), to be explained like the gen. sing. *vīs* § 233 p. 123. O.Icel. *sȳr* 'aues' like gen. sing. *sȳr*, see § 233 p. 123. O.C.Sl. *krūv-i* f., *svekrūv-i* f. following the *i*-class (§ 317 p. 217).

Skr. *gīr-as* 'songs of praise' = **gyr-es*, *pūras* 'strongholds' = **pūl-es*, *gōśān-as* pl. 'gaining kine' = **sṃn-es*. Compare II § 160. 4 pp. 485 f.

§ 324. Certain Root Nouns in *-u* and *-i*.

Pr. Idg. **nāu-es* 'naves': Skr. *nāv-as*, Gr. *νᾱ-ες* *νη-ες* *νέ-ες* (I § 610 p. 461); Lat. *nāv-ēs* follows the *i*-class, see § 319 p. 219.

Pr. Idg. **gou-es*: Skr. *gāv-as*, Gr. *βό-ες*, and perhaps Mid.Ir. *bai* (*ai* and *oi* are confused in Middle Irish);

Lat. *bov-ēs* like *nāv-ēs*; O.H.G. *kuo* A.S. *cg* O.Icel. *kgr* are re-formates, see § 199 p. 80, § 221 p. 98, § 238 p. 130.

Skr. *ráy-as* 'treasures, goods', Avest. *ráy-ō*. Lat. *rēs* for **rē(i)-ēs*, or an Italic re-formate.

*Accusative Plural Masculine and Feminine.*¹⁾

§ 325. The general ending in the parent language for this case was *-ns*. The view which assumes *-ms* as the ending is opposed by what we find in Baltic; see § 186, page 61.

1. *-ns* was pronounced *-ŋs* after stems ending with a consonant. From *-ŋs* come Ar. *-as*, Armen. *-s*, Gr. *-ας*, Lat. *-ēs* Umbr. *-f*, Goth. *-uns*, Lith. *-is*. (See I § 224 p. 192, § 232 p. 197, § 233 p. 197, § 238 p. 200, § 244 p. 202, § 249 p. 204; as to Armen. *-s* for **a(n)s*, see further I § 202 p. 169, § 651.3 p. 497; for Umbr. *-f*, I § 209 p. 177 and Duvau's essay (see footnote 1); as regards Lith. *-is* for **-is*, I § 664.3 p. 523.

O.Ir. shows the ending *-a*, as *con-a* 'canes' *aithr'a*. The ending is *-as* in Gallic, *Lingon-as* *Bitwing-as* (it is true we know the forms only as Roman authors have preserved them), and Windisch (Paul-Braune's Beitr., IV 215) would have it that *-a* has come from the *ā*-class. But so long as the history of *ŋ* in Irish has not been made clear in all points, we shall have to regard *-a* provisionally as directly representing **-ŋs*. Perhaps *-ŋs*, becoming first **-ans*, passed very early into **-ās* **-ās*; for in tracing the suffix of the acc. pl. of *o*-stems, *-u* (§ 326), we come to **-ūs* at the first step, and this brings

1) Bartholomae, Der arische acc. plur. maso. der *i*-, *u*- und *r*-Stämme, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 483 ff. Curtius, Der griech. acc. plur., *ibid.* I 258 f. O. Keller, Der Acc. auf *is* der 3. Decl. bei den august. Dichtern, Rhein. Mus. XXI 241 ff. L. Duvau, Le group final **-ŋs* à l'acc. plur. des thèmes consonantiques de l'ombrien, Mém. de la Soc. de lingu. VI 223 ff. Stokes, Der acc. plur. in den britischen Sprachen, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. VII 69 ff.

us to **-ōs* and lastly to **-ōns*, which points to a very early loss of the nasal. Cp. Lat. *pedēs* for **-ens* as contrasted with *ēnsi-s* (earlier *ēnsi-s*), I § 208 p. 175.

Stems that show vowel gradation, such as Skr. *ukṣán-* Goth. *auhsan-* 'ox', have generally a weak stem in Sanskrit, and a strong stem in Greek. As to which of the two reproduces the older form, probability is on the side of Sanskrit (cp. *catúr-as* = Lith. *kėtur-is* Gr. Aeol. *πίουρ-ας*); but the matter is still an open question. Since *ǵ* in Aryan and Greek became *an av* (I § 226 p. 193), it must be provisionally assumed that Ar. *-as* is regular only in such forms as Skr. *tákṣṇ-as bhárat-as bhrív-as*, and spread thence to *ukṣṇ-ás bṛhat-ás* etc.

2. Whether or not *o-*, *i-*, and *u-*stems had *-o-ns*, *i-ns*, and *-u-ns* respectively in pr. Idg., is uncertain; not that Lith. *gerūs-ius* makes it so (see § 326), but because of Skr. *-ās -ān*, *-īr -īn*, *-ūr -ūn*, whose long vowel we must doubtless regard as belong to the proethnic period of Aryan at the latest (§ 327).

Remark. If we take Idg. *-ōns* as our starting point (cp. Hanssen in Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVII 615, and Bremer, Berl. phil. Wochenschr. 1887 p. 502), we should have to assume a shortening of the vowel for the European languages, according to the principles laid down in I §§ 611 ff. *-ōns* would be related to *-ṛs* as abl. sing. *-ōd* to the *-d* of Skr. *má-d* 'a me' (§ 240 p. 134): *-ins -ūns* might be regarded as an Aryan re-formation following *-ōns* — Skr. *-ṛr -ṛn* and Avest. *-erqš* in *r*-stems certainly are an Aryan re-formation; or if they were held to be original, *-ōns* would bear the same relation to *-ins -ūns* as the instr. sing. Skr. *vfkā* to Skr. *matí* Avest. *bāzu* (§§ 274 ff.), or as the nom. acc. dual Skr. *vfkā* to *dvī sunū* (§§ 284 ff.) But it is quite possible to regard the Aryan forms with a long vowel as an Aryan analogical formation: it may be supposed that **-āns* followed the nom. pl. in *-ās*, being influenced by the fem. acc. nom. pl. *-ās*, and that the long vowel thus produced in *o*-stems influenced those in *i-* and *u-*, and finally those in *-r-*. Compare Bartholomae, Stud. zur idg. Sprachg., I 37 f.

3. *a*-stems had pr. Idg. *-ās*, as in the nominative plural. J. Schmidt's theory that this ending came from *-āns* (see I § 220 p. 188) is unsafe enough.

§ 326. 1. *o*-stems. Pr. Idg. **u*lqo-*ns* (**u*lqōns? see § 325). Skr. *vfkāś vfkān* for *-āns (see I § 647.7 p. 494); *vfkānt* before *s*-, as we must assume with Whitney, is simply -ān *s*- with parasitic *t* serving as a transition sound, or glide¹). Avest. *vehrkañ vehrkaś(-ca)*, cp. below. Armen. *gail-s*. Gr. Cret. *λύκωνς* Dor. Boeot. -ως Ion. Att. Dor. -ονς Lesb. -αις, with the variant (pr. Greek and onwards) -ος for -ονς, see I § 204 p. 171, § 205 p. 172. Lat. *lupōs* (I § 208 p. 175); Umbr. *abrof* 'apros' Osc. *feihúss* 'fines' (I § 209 p. 177). O.Ir. *firu, cēliu* 'socios' (I § 212 pp. 178 f., § 657.6 and 10, pp. 509, 510, III § 325 p. 224); also *inna* (the article, from **sen* + *to*-), for *-*dās*, earlier *-*tōs*, when used before an accented syllable (cp. *inna n*- § 429). Goth. *vulfans* O.Icel. *ulfa*. Pruss. *deiwoans* 'deos', O.C.Sl. *vlŭky, kraje* from *kraĭ* 'edge, rim' (I § 84 p. 80, § 219.4 p. 187, § 665.4 p. 525).

Aryan. Seeing that Avestic *a* represents nasalised *a* both long and short (I § 21 p. 24, § 200 pp. 168 f.), it is impossible to say whether *-*ans* or *-*āns* is to be assumed as the parent form. An attempt will be made in § 330, Remark, page 231, to shew that it is more likely to have been *-*āns*.

The Avestic variants *vehrka* Gāth. *vehrkā* are to be explained like the same forms used for the nominative plural, see § 314 p. 213. We further find Avest. -*ā*, e. g. *amešā* 'immortales', which we conjecture to be the nom. form (= Skr. *amṛtās*, § 314 p. 212); its use as an accusative grew up from the use of acc.-nom. *vehrka* (cp. Skr. acc. fem. -*āsas*, § 315 p. 215); yet be it observed that the nom. acc. pl. neuter also had variants -*ā* and -*a* (§ 338).

The Old Persian *martiyā* 'homines' cannot be accurately estimated. In this dialect, sounds are most inadequately represented in writing; it should be noted in particular that nasalised vowels are not distinguished from others in writing (I § 200 p. 168). Moreover, the record of Old Persian is too

1) Compare the Author, Litau. Volksl. und Märch., 289; Bartholomae, Stud. zur idg. Spr., I 36 f. The conjecture offered in vol. I of this work, § 557.1 p. 412, cannot hold water.

scanty to give any satisfactory knowledge of the laws for final syllables. Compare what is said in § 314, p. 214, on nom. pl. *martiyā*.

In West-Germanic the nominative did duty as accusative: O.H.G. *tagā* -a O.Sax. *dagos* A.S. *dagas* (§ 314 pp. 212, 214). The same is true of the other classes of stems, and in some degree of all Germanic languages. The cause of this syncretism may have been that from a very early period acc. and nom. pl. had been represented by the same form in *a*- and *i*-*ī*-stems (§§ 327, 328).

Lith. *vilkus* (dial. *vilkuns*), *gerū's-ius* (dial. *geruns-ius*) and *gerūs*, *tū's* and *tūs* (cp. instr. sing. fem. *tā* and *tā*, on which variation of accent Bezzenberger offers a conjecture which deserves consideration, Bezz. Beitr. X 204); similarly Lett. *viļkus* and *tōs* (*ō* = *ū* with the 'lengthened' or 'drawled' accent). It cannot be shewn that the Lith.-Lettic group *āns* (Idg. **ōns*) became High Lith. *ūs*; and to take as a starting point Lith.-Lettic **-ūs* **-ōns* = Idg. **-ōns* is out of the question, because Idg. **-ōns* becomes *-āns* (I § 615 p. 465). I therefore assume that the *ū* *ō* of the ending **-ūs* **-ōns* (for the shortening to Lith. *-ū(n)s* see I § 664.3 p. 523) came from other cases, first of all from the loc. plural in *-ūs* *-ūse* (Lett. *-ūs*).

Remark. Before going on it may be well to follow out this matter to the end. In the locative plural, then, the old ending **-aisu* **-ēsu* = O.C.Sl. *-ěchŭ* Skr. *-ēṣu* (see § 357) was transformed to *-ūs* by proportional analogy, to match **-āsu* *-ōsu* in the *ā*-class and **-īsu* *-ēsu* in the *i*-*ī*-class, and similarly **-isu* = O.C.Sl. *-ichŭ* Skr. *-iṣu* (*i*-stems) became *-isu* (*nakty-su* *-sē*); compare loc. pl. Ital. *-ōs* following *-ās* (§ 357), Lat. *istōrum*, *equōrum* following *istārum*, *equārum* (§ 345), Gr. dual *νύμφα* (instead of *νύμφαι*) following *λύω* (§ 286 p. 194). This change was very old, as we know from Lett. *-ūs* *-is* (beside *-ās* *-ēs*)¹. The adoption of *ū* *ō* into the acc. pl. was all the easier because there was a close similarity of meaning between the acc. pl. with *-na* affixed (e. g. *namūs-na* 'homewards') and the loc. pl., and the fem. accusative endings *-ōs* *-ēs* (*-ōs-na* *-ēs-na*) had always had a long vowel. Once the re-formation **-ūs* was established, its influence was felt in three ways. (1) A dialectic

1) Lith. *vėnū-lika* *dvjū-lika* seem also to have been assimilated to *trjū-lika*, *keturiū-lika* and the rest (compounds with the nom. acc. pl. neuter as first member) by proportional analogy. See § 175 pp. 28 f.

loc. *vil̃kunse* appeared, which followed the acc. *vil̃kuns vil̃kuns-na*. (2) The confluence of *o-* and *u-*stems in acc. and gen. plural (acc. *dangūs* 'caela', -*us* = Goth. -*uns* etc.; gen. *dangū* for **dangū-ū* § 349) produced the re-formates *dangūs-nā* and *dangūsē*. (3) An intrusive *n* appeared in the acc. of pronominal *ā*-stems with Lith.-Lett. -*ās* (-*ōs*) = Idg. -*ās* (§ 327): O.Lith. and dial. *pirmans-es* (Mod.High Lith. -*ds-es*) 'has primas'.

The loc. pl. Lith. -*yse* Lett. -*is* at once suggests the conjecture that in Lith.-Lett. not only *-*ōns* (*o*-stems), but *-*ins* (*i*-stems), and it may be also *-*uns* (*u*-stems) lengthened the vowel. No direct evidence for prehistoric *-*ins* *-*ūns* is forthcoming.

§ 327. 2. *ā*-stems. Pr. Idg. **ek̃uās* (cp. § 325. 3 p. 225). Skr. *āśvās*, Avest. *haēnā*. Lat. *equās*, but compare (2) below. O.Ir. *tuatha*, *mna* 'mulieres', but cp. (2) below. Goth. *gibōs*, O.H.G. Alemann. *kebo*, A.S. *ziefā*, O.Icel. *gjafar*. Lith. *rankās*, *rankos-nā* 'into the hands', Lett. *rūkas*, cp. (1) below.

1. As to Vedic -*āsas* beside -*ās* (*arāṇgamāsas* from *arāṇgamā-* 'expectant, offering oneself'), see § 315 p. 215.

O.H.G. *geba* -*a* and *sippe sipped sippiā* -*a* are to be explained in the same way as the same forms when used for the nom., see § 315 p. 215. Compare *gutinne-inna* -*a* § 328.

Lith. *rankās* never contained a nasal, which is proved by the use of this form in those modern dialects which show -*uns* as the *o*-stem ending.¹⁾ -*ans-es* occurs only in pronouns; it is a re-formation, see (2) below, and § 326 Rem. p. 227.

2. In the following branches, Idg. -*ās* was driven out by some form with -*ns*, through assimilation to the other classes of stems. It is doubtful whether this first took the shape of *-*āns*, and the *ā* was then shortened according to I §§ 611 ff., or whether the ending became *-*āns* at once.

Greek. Argive and Cretan -*āns*, as Arg. Ἀλεξανδρείανς Cret. προειπυτάνς (Att. προεβευτάνς), Dor. Boeot. Ion. Att. -*ās*, Lesb. -*aig*. A variant dating from proethnic Greek was -*ās* for -*āns*, as -*os* for -*ons* (§ 326 p. 226). See I § 204 p. 171, § 205 p. 172.

1) Moreover, if *-*ans* were the parent ending, the Lettic form must have been **rūkus*.

Italic. Umbr. *vitlaf* 'vitulas', Osc. *viass* 'vias' (I § 209 p. 177). Since there is no question that these forms come from **-ans*, the equation Lat. *equās* = Skr. *āśvās* (see preceding page) is at least doubtful (see I § 208 p. 175).

Old Irish. *tuatha*, *mnā* may be derived from either **-ās* or **-ans* (I § 212 pp. 178 f., § 657.6 and 10, pp. 509 f.). Gall. *artvass* 'gravestones' (see Stokes, Bezz. Beitr. XI 115) would be decisive in favour of **-ans*, if ☒, the last symbol in the word, is really to be read as *ss*.

Balto-Slavonic. Pruss. *gennans* 'mulieres' like masc. *deiwan*s; the similarity here caused the formation of nom. pl. *gennai* after the analogy of the masc. *-ai* (unless indeed the masc. ending *-ai* instead of *-ās* is simply due to carelessness on the part of the translator; see Brückner, Archiv für slav. Phil., IV 28). O.Lith. and dial. *pirmans-es*, see above. O.C.Sl. *raky zmiĵe* (*zmiĵa* 'snake') for pr. Slav. **-ōns* (I § 219 pp. 185 f., § 615 p. 465); if the re-formation is later than the confluence of Idg. *a* and *o*, the endings *-y -ĵe* were always like those of the masc. *vlŭky* and *kraĵe*.

§ 328. 3. *i- iĵ-*stems (cp. p. 68, footnote). The original ending is not clear.

Skr. *bṛhatīś* Avest. *barentīś*, with rare variants *-īyas -yās*) and Avest. *-yō*, as with the *i- iĵ-*class (§ 329).

O.H.G. *gutinne*, later *-ā -a*, and Lith. *žemės-nà* ('into the countries') *žemės* certainly have original *-iĵs*, like the nom. pl. *gutinne* and *žemės* (§ 316 p. 216). In Lat. *faciēs* is the same ending, unless it be *-ns* like Umbr. *iovie(f)* 'iuniores', which seems to have developed out of an old abstract noun (as Lat. *prō-geñē-s*, II § 111 p. 339): a different explanation may be found in Bechtel's paper, Bezz. Beitr. VII 4 ff.

Gr. *πεποισας*, Goth. *frijōndjōs*, Lith. *vėžancziās*, and perhaps O.C.Sl. *zemlĵe* following the *iā*-class.

O.Ir. *insi* is ambiguous.

Remark. If we were right in assuming **-(i)īns* as a proethnic variant of **-im* in the acc. sing. (§ 216 p. 93), there may have been Idg. **-(i)īns* in the plural. From this might be derived Lat. *faciēs*, Umbr.

iovie(f), O.C.Sl. *zemlŷe*, Ved. *-iyas* Avest. *-yo*. Then the question would arise — have not Gr. *-ἱᾶς* *-ἱᾶς* suffered some analogical change following the *ἱᾶ*-stems, their previous form having been *-ἱᾶς* *-ἱᾶς* = Idg. **-iḡs* **-iḡs*? Then the older *-(i)ḡs* may be still represented by the pr. Gr. variant of *-(i)ḡs* used before consonants (cp. *-ᾶς* beside *-ᾶς*, § 327).

§ 329. 4. *i-* *iḡ-* and *ū-* *uḡ-* stems and stems in *-ī* *-ī* *-ū*.

Pr. Idg. **-iḡs* **-uḡs*, e. g. **bhrū-s* (nom. sing. **bhrū-s* 'eyebrow'). Skr. *dhīy-as* Ved. *nadīy-as*, *bhrūv-as* Ved. *śvaśrūv-as*. Gr. *κίας πόλιας* (from *πόλις*), *ὀφρύας ἰχθύας νέκρας* (from *νέκυς*); Herod. *πόλις* from *πόλις* following the *i*-class (§ 330), Hom. Herod. Att. *ὀφρῦς* Hom. *νέκυς* following the *u*-class (§ 331). Lat. *su-ēs*; *vīs* (beside *vīrēs*) like nom. pl. *vīs* (§ 323 p. 223). Lith. *žuv-ls* = *ἰχθύας*.

O.Icel. *sgr* is the nom. form (§ 323 p. 223). O.C.Sl. *kr ūv-i spekrŭv-i* follow the *i*-class (§ 330).

Skr. *gīr-as* 'hymns' = **gīr-s*, *pūr-as* 'strongholds' = **pūr-s*, *gō-śān-as* pl. 'gaining cattle' = **gōn-s*. Compare II § 160. 4 pp. 485 f.

§ 330. 5. *i*-stems. Pr. Idg. **oḡi-n-s*, **tri-n-s* 'tres' (**oḡi-n-s* **tri-n-s*? see § 325 p. 225). Skr. masc. *āvīr āvīn*, *āvī nt s-* like *vīkāt s-* § 326 p. 226; Avest. masc. *ašš*¹⁾, see below. Armen. *sirts*; and *eris*, which retains the *i* (I § 202 p. 169). Gr. Hom. *ὄις* Ion. *πρόσις* Dor. Boeot. *τοῖς*. Lat. *turrīs ovīs trīs*, also written *turreis* etc.; Umbr. avif *aveif* 'aves' tri f *treif* 'tres'. O.Ir. *fāithi*, *trī*. Goth. *gastins anstins þrins*, O.Icel. *geste*. Lith. *naktis trīs* perhaps representing a re-formation in **-īns*, see § 326 Rem. p. 227; O.C.Sl. *pāti nošti tri* (I § 219. 4 p. 187).

Aryan. In Sanskrit, answering to *-īn* and *-ān*, the endings of masc. *i*- and *u*-stems, feminines have *-īḡ* (*āvīḡ*) and *-ūḡ* (*dhēnūḡ*), which are re-formations following *āśvas* (§ 327) and *bṛhatīḡ* (§ 328); but in Avestic both genders

1) There seems to have been no Avestic variant in *-i*, as there was no variant *-u* beside *-ūḡ* in *u*-stems. See Bartholomae, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXIX 488 f.

show the endings *-īś* and *-ūś* (fem. *īśīś* 'riches', *bar^eśnūś* 'heights').

Remark. Skr. *-īr*, *-ūr*, *-ṛr* from *i-*, *u-*, and *r-*stems, for earlier **-īnś*, **-ūnś*, **-ṛnś*. In vol. I of this work, § 647. 7. p. 494, it was conjectured that *-ś* was due to the influence of the *i-* *u-* and *r-*sounds, in spite of the preceding nasal; we assumed that a nasal, coming before *-s* when it did not stand at the end of a clause, and following a long sonant, was reduced to a mere nasalising of the sonant earlier than when it followed a short sonant, namely in proethnic Aryan (cp. I § 199 Rem. 1 p. 167). Now *-ś* in Avest. *nerqś* cannot be separated from the ending of Skr. *ṛṛ*; so the Avestic form must be derived from **nṛnś*, and not **nṛnś*. On the same reasoning Avest. *ažiś* and *bāzūś*, if they have or ever had a nasal sound in the last syllable, come from **-īnś* and **-ūnś*, not **-inś* **-unś*. This would prove that these various classes had a long vowel in the acc. plural in pr. Aryan.

But Avest. *-īś* and *-ūś* in fem. *i-* and *u-*stems may be phonetically identified with Skr. *-īś* and *-ūś* in the same stems, and it is possible to assume that *-ś* first belonged to these endings *-īś* and *-ūś*, whence in pr. Aryan it spread to the masculine forms (ending with *-ns*); cp. Bartholomae, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 483 ff., and Stud. zur idg. Spr., I 37 ff. In that case we should have no proof that the Skr. *-īr* *-ūr* *-ṛr* had a long sonant as early as the proethnic Aryan period. But considering that Skr. fem. *mātṛīś* has in Avestic the nasalised *māterqś* answering to it¹), it becomes more probable that the Avestic fem. endings *-īś* *-ūś* also contained a nasal, and that the Skr. fem. *-īś* *-ūś* *-ṛś* are Sanskrit re-formations. But if these endings *-īś* *-ūś* are not so old as pr. Aryan, pr. Ar. *-nś* could not have obtained its *ś* by analogy; and then our supposition that *ś* is phonetic and nothing more gains in probability.

If then we are to postulate for proethnic Aryan **-īnś* **-ūnś*, or, to write the sounds more exactly, **-ī^{ns}* **-ū^{ns}*, the *o-*stems too most certainly had a long vowel at this period, and their ending was **-ā^{ns}*.

Skr. *aryās* like nom. *aryás*, see § 317 p. 217. Avest. *garayō* 'hills' is clearly nom., like the acc. *gātav-ō* § 331 (compare further Th. Baunack, Stud. auf dem Gebiet des Gr. etc., I 456 footnote 1).

Greek. Hom. *νόσας* Lesb. *κῆσιας* following the *ī-* *ī-* class (§ 329). Att. *ρεῖς ὄφεις βάσις* are nom. So too the

1) R.-V. X 352 *mātṛīn* does not come into consideration in this place, because it is joined with *masculine* substantives in apposition, something like an adjective: *mātṛīn sūdhūn pārvatān* 'motherly streams and hills' The form has often suggested wrong inferences.

Latin forms in *-ēs*, as *turrēs*, and those of West Germanic like O.H.G. *gesti ensti drī*. See § 317 pp. 216 f.

§ 331. 6. *u*-stems. Pr. Idg. **sūnu-n̥s* (**sūnūns*? see § 325 p. 225). Skr. masc. *sūnūr sūnūn*, *sūnūnt s-* like *vfkānt s-* § 326 p. 226; Avest. masc. *bāzūš*. Armen. *zard-s*. Gr. Cret. *νῖνς* 'filios', Hom. *κλειτῦς γένῃς*. Lat. *manūs*. O.Ir. *bithu*. Goth. *sununs*, O.Icel. *sunu suno*. Lith. *sūnus*, *dangūs* 'caela', perhaps containing a re-formation **-āns*, see § 326 Rem. p. 227; O.C.Sl. *syny* (I § 219. 4 p. 187).

Aryan. Fem. Skr. *-ūš*, *dhēnūš*, like fem. *āvīš*, similarly Avest. *-ūš*, *baršnūš* 'heights', like fem. *tštīš*, see § 330 with the Remark.

Vedic also shows *-v-as* (m. and f.), as *paśv-ās* 'pecora', and in Avestic there is *-v-ō* to correspond, e. g. *pasv-ō*, as in the nom. plural, see § 318 p. 218. Avest. *gātav-ō* 'places, seats, thrones' is a clear nom., like *garay-ō* just above (§ 330); and so also Avest. *dañhāv-ō* = O.Pers. *dahyāv-a*, see § 318 p. 218.

Greek. Hom. *γλυκείας* Herod. *πήχας*, a re-formation following the nom. in *-εας*. Att. *ῥδεῖς πήχεις* are nom. (§ 318 p. 218) like *ῥφεις* (§ 330).

Umbr. *kastruvuf castruo* 'fundos' from *kastru-* (cp. Osc. *castrovs*, § 232 p. 121) following *o*-stems, perhaps because of the nom. acc. pl. neut. in *-uva -uo* and the gen. pl. in **-uom*.

Germanic. Goth. *mans* O.H.G. *man* 'men', the nom. form (§ 318 p. 218).

§ 332. 7. *n*-stems. Pr. Idg. **kūn-ns* or **k(u)non-ns* 'dogs'. Skr. *śūn-as*, in Veda *ukṣṇ-ās* with a variant formation *ukṣān-as* and the like; Avest. *xšafn-ō* 'nights', *urun-ō* and *urvan-ō* 'souls', *spān-ō* (also *-a* instead of *-ō*, see § 314 p. 213). Armen. *akan-s* *akun-s*. Gr. *κύν-ας ἄρν-ας*, *τέκτον-ας ποιμέν-ας*, *ἀγῶν-ας πνεθῆν-ας*. Lat. *carn-ēs*, *homin-ēs*, *edōn-ēs*; Umbr. *man-f* 'manus' beside Lat. *man-ceps* (see Duvau, Mém. de la Soc. de ling., VI 226). O.Ir. *con-a*

arn-a, see § 325 p. 224. O.Icel. *qrn-u* 'eagles' *bjqrn-u* 'bears' (owing to this form and to the dat. instr. pl., § 384, these nouns came to be declined as *u*-stems) beside nom. sing. O.H.G. *aro bero* (O.Icel. *Are* O.Swed. *Bjari* survive as proper names); with these we should probably compare Goth. *auhsnuns*, since the form *auhsunns*, recorded in 1st Cor. 9. 9, seems to need emendation, see I p. 203, footnote.¹⁾ Lith. *szun-īs ākmen-īs*.

Greek. Cret. *-avς* as well as *-ας*, e. g. *καρτόν-avς* (Att. *καρτίτρον-ας*), a re-formation caused by the existence of doublets *-avς* and *-ας* in *a*-stems (§ 327 p. 228).

Germanic. Goth. *gumans* O.H.G. *gomon -un* are nom. forms (§ 319 p. 219).

O.C.Slav. *kamen-i* following the *i*-class (§ 330 p. 230).

§ 333. 8. *r*-stems. Pr.Idg. **mātr-ys* **dōtr-ys* or **māter-ys* *dōtor-ys*. Skr. *usr-ās* from *uśār-* 'dawn', *catūr-as* m. *cātasr-as* f. 'four'; Avest. *mātar-ō* *datār-ō* Gāth. *fādr-ō* 'patres' (also *-a* instead of *-ō*, § 314 p. 213). Armen. *mar-s* *dster-s*. Gr. *μητέρ-ας*, Hom. *θύγατρο-ας* and *θυγατίρ-ας*, Hom. Att. *ἄνδρας* beside Hom. *ἀνέρ-ας*; *δωτορ-ας*, *δοτήρ-ας*. Lat. *mātr-ēs*, *datōr-ēs*; Umbr. *ner-f* 'ἄνδρας, proceres' (cp. *man-f* § 332). O.Ir. *aithr^a*, § 325 p. 224. Goth. *brōþr-uns* 'fratres', *vintr-uns* 'winters' (declined as a *u*-stem), and perhaps A.S. *brōðr-u* *wintr-u* (beside *brōðor* *winter*); cp. nom. Norse Run. *dohtr-ix* § 320 p. 220. Lith. *mōter-īs* (dial.), *kētūr-īs* 'four' (cp. Skr. *catūr-as* Gr. Aeol. *πίουρ-ας*), *dūr-īs* 'door' (cp. gen. *dūr-ū* § 351, anp Skr. acc. *dūr-as* *dūr-ās*).

Aryan. In pr. Aryan the analogy of stems in *-o-*, *-i-*, and *-u-* caused the ending **-fnš* to be used with *r*-stems, Skr. *-fr* *-fn* and Avest. *-erqš* (monosyllabic), whose pro-

1) If we read *auhsuns* (cp. Bernhardt Vulfila p. LVII, Braune Got. Gr.³ § 80 Anm. 1, § 108 Anm. 1), this must be regarded as a re-formate following a form **uhsun* = *uksun-mi* (see § 384). But even though this instrumental formation must once have existed, it can hardly have lasted out the pr. Germ. period, but it will doubtless have given way to a new one with *-n-* inserted; see *loc. cit.*

nunciation cannot be exactly defined (cp. Bartholomae, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 483): Skr. *pitṛn*, *nṛ̥n*, Avest. *māteraqš nerqš* (cp. Jackson, Amer. Journ. of Phil., X 346 f.). Skr. has *-ṛṣ* for the fem., *mātṛṣ*, like *-iṣ -ūṣ*. See § 330 Rem. p. 231.

pitaras, found in the Mahā-Bhārata (12924) is a re-formate due to the likeness of nom. and acc. pl. in other stems.

Greek. Cret. *θυγατέρ-ας* like *κατόν-ας*, § 332 p. 233.

West-Germanic. O.H.G. *muoter faterā -a* and the like, O.Sax. *wintar* A.S. *winter* etc., are nom., see § 320 pp. 220 f.

Balto-Slavonic. High Lith. *móteres* following *i- iē-* stems; and so too we have in the dialects nom. pl. *móter-ės* (beside *móter-s*), instr. sing. *móter-e* (beside *moter-imì*), and the like. O.C.Sl. *materi* follows *i-* stems, § 330 p. 230.

§ 334. 9. Stems ending in an Explosive.

Pr. Idg. **bhṛghṇt-ys* or **bhṛghont-ys*. Skr. *bṛhat-ás*, Avest. *ber'zat-ō ber'zant-ō*. Gr. *φέροντ-ας* (Cret. *βαλλόντ-ας* like *κατόν-ας*, § 332 p. 233). Lat. *ferent-ēs*. O.Ir. *cairt'a*, see § 325. Goth. *tunþ-uns* 'dentes' (declined as a *u*-stem), Lith. *dant-is* (cp. gen. *dant-ū*). — Lith. *vėžanczius* O.C.Sl. *vezqštę* following the *io*-declension (§ 326).

Skr. *śarād-as* 'autumns'. Gr. *φνγάδ-ας*. Lat. *lapid-ēs*, Umbr. *capif kapi* 'capides' for **capid-f*, like *man-f* (§ 332 p. 232). Mid.Ir. *druide* (*-e* = *-a*), see § 325 p. 224. Skr. *pad-ás* Avest. *pad-ō* Gr. *πόδ-ας* Lat. *ped-ēs* Goth. *fōt-uns* 'feet' (II § 160 p. 480).

Skr. *uśtj-as* pl. of 'desirous'. Gr. *μειρακ-ας ὄρνυ-ας*. Lat. *bibac-ēs frūg-ēs*, Umbr. *frif fri* 'fruges, frumenta' for **frīg-f* (*i* = *ū*, see I § 57 p. 46), unless we follow Pauli in connecting it with Lat. *frit* and deriving it from **frit-f* (cp. II § 161 p. 488). O.Ir. *nathrach-a*, see § 325 p. 224. Skr. *vāc-as* Avest. *vac-ō vāc-ō*, Gr. **ὥν-ας*, Lat. *vōc-ēs* (II § 160 p. 480). Skr. *rāj-as* Lat. *rēg-ēs*, O.Ir. *rīg-a* (§ 325 p. 224).

Skr. *ap-ás*, Ved. also *áp-as*, Avest. *ap-ō ap-ō* 'waters'. Gr. *κλῶπ-ας*. Lat. *dap-ēs*.

Avestic has also *-a* instead of *-ō*, as *vāc-a* 'voces', see § 314 p. 213.

Germanic. Goth. *frijōnd-s* O.H.G. *friunt*, Goth. *mēnōþ-s* 'months' *reik-s* 'rulers', *baúrg-s* O.H.G. *burg* A.S. *byrz* are nom., see § 321 p. 222.

§ 335. 10. *s*-stems.

Pr. Idg. **dus-menes-ys*: Skr. *durmanas-as*, Avest. *duš-manarəh-ō*; Gr. Ion. *δυσμενέας* (Att. *δυσμενεῖς* is nom. in form, § 322 p. 222); Lat. *dēgener-ēs*. — Skr. *uśás-as*. Lat. *honōr-ēs*. — Gr. *μῆν-ας* Lesb. *μῆνν-ας*, Lat. *mēns-ēs*, O.Ir. *mīs-a* (see § 325 p. 224), cp. II § 132 p. 415; Skr. *mās-ás* Avest. *māraḥ-ō* 'menses', cp. II § 134 p. 425.

Pr. Idg. compar. **ōk(i)s-ys* or **ōk(i)ios-ys*. Skr. *āstiyas-as*. Gr. Hom. *πλέας* (Cret. *πλίανς* like *καρτόν-ανς* § 332 p. 233) for **πλημσ-ας* (II § 135 pp. 429 and 432); Att. *ήδιονς* is nom. (§ 322 p. 222). Lat. *ociōr-ēs*. O.C.Sl. *slaždīšę*, as if from a *io*-stem (§ 326).

Pr. Idg. part. perf. act. **ueḡdus-ys* or **ueḡdmos-ys*: Skr. *vidúṣ-as* Avest. *vīdūš-ō*. Lith. *mirus-ius* O.C.Sl. *mīrūšę* following the *io*-class (§ 326). As to Gr. *ειδότης* see II § 136 p. 440.

Pr. Idg. **mūs-ys* 'mures': Skr. *māṣ-as*, inferred from nom. *māṣ-as*, Lat. *mār-ēs*. Gr. *μῦας μῦς*, a re-formate following *ὀφρῦας ὀφρῦς* (§ 329 p. 230). A.S. *mȳs* O.C.Sl. *mȳs-s* are nom. (§ 322 p. 223).

§ 336. 11. Certain Root Nouns.

Pr. Idg. **nāu-ys* 'naves': Skr. *nāv-as*, Gr. Hom. *νηας* Herod. *νείας* (Att. *ναῦς* a re-formate like *ναῦν*, § 221 p. 98), Lat. *nāv-ēs*.

Gr. Hom. *βό-ας*, Lat. *bov-ēs*; in Skr., the regular form is *gās*, beside which occur *gāvas* in the Rig-Veda (the text has *gās*, which will not scan), and *gāv-as* in the Tāittirīya Brāhmana. I hold it probable that Skr. *gās* Avest. *gā* and

Gr. $\beta\omega\varsigma$ (Theocr.) do not represent an Idg. $*g\tilde{o}s$, but are reformatives in these languages following the acc. sing. (Skr. $g\tilde{d}m$ etc., § 221 p. 98), like Att. $\beta\omega\varsigma$ following $\beta\omega\tilde{\nu}$: and this in spite of W. Schulze, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 429, and Meringer, Zeitschr. für öst. Gymn., 1889, p. 1019; compare the footnote on page 428 of volume II. On Mid.Ir. $b\bar{u}$ Thurneysen says: "If the nom. bai comes from $*boi$, which would stand for $*boy-es$ " — see § 324 p. 223 — " $b\bar{u} = *b\bar{u}s$ may have been formed on the analogy of $*mogoyes$: $mog\bar{u}s$ (mog^i : $mogu$)".

Skr. $r\bar{a}y-as$ and $r\bar{a}y-as$ 'goods, treasures', Avest. $r\bar{a}y-\delta$; also Skr. $r\bar{a}s$ following $r\bar{d}m$; Lat. $r\bar{e}s$ for $*r\bar{e}(\tilde{i})-\bar{e}s$ $-ens$?

Nominative and Accusative Plural Neuter.¹⁾

§ 337. The ending as shown in consonant stems is $-a =$ Skr. $-i$ Gr. $-a$ (I § 110 p. 105, Morph. Unt. V 52 ff.) The Idg. endings $-\bar{i}$ and $-\bar{u}$ (i - and u -stems) might also be analysed into $-i+\bar{a}$ and $-u+\bar{a}$.

The o -stem ending $-\bar{a}$ is identified, rightly in all probability, with $-a$ in the nom. sing. fem.²⁾; then such a word as $*jug\bar{a}$ (= Lat. $juga$) would originally mean, if we may coin a word, 'yokedom' or something of the sort. Compare II § 158 pp. 473 ff. In favour of this view much evidence may be adduced; for example, the use of the singular of the predicative verb with a nom. pl. neuter as subject, an idiom which is as old as the parent language: e. g. R.-V. I 162 8

1) L. Havet, La désinence des pluriels neutres, Mém. de la Soc. de lingu. IV 275 f. V. Henry, Le nominatif-accusatif pluriel neutre dans les langues indo-europ., Le Muséon VI 558 ff. J. Schmidt, Die Pluralbildungen der idg. Neutra, 1889. The Author, Zur Bildung des nom. acc. plur. neutr., Morphol. Unters. V 52 ff. Bartholomae, Zur Bildung des nom.-acc. plur. der as -Stämme, Ar. Forsch. II 105 ff. W. Meyer, Die Schicksale des lat. Neutrums im Roman., 1883.

2) In addition to J. Schmidt, Pluralb. p. 10 footnote 1, see Windisch, Curtius' Stud. II 265; de Saussure, Mém. sur le syst. prim., p. 92; Johansson, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXX 400; und Hansen, Commentationes in honorem Guilelmi Studemund, 1889 pp. 116 f.

sárva tá . . . astu 'omnia haec sunt', Hom. ι 438 *ἑξέσσοντο ἄρσενα μῆλα*. If the *o*-class got its neuter plural thus from stems in *-ā-*, it would be possible that the *i*-class got its neuter plural with the ending *-ī* from the nominative singular of *i-* *īē*-stems (II § 109 p. 332).

Before the use of this form as a plural case, which was soon followed by a re-formation of the gen. into **jugōm* 'iugorum', and the loc. into **jugois(u)* 'jugis', and so forth, there must have been a real neuter plural having *-ə* in the nominative and accusative.

In consonant stems, along with the forms in *-ə*, there is used the bare stem, with a formative suffix of the 3rd. or 4th. strong grade as its case-sign, e. g. **dhēmōn* = Avest. *dāman* from the stem **dhēmen-*. This **dhēmōn* in formation resembles a nom.-acc. neuter singular of which we have an example in Goth. *namō* 'nomen' for **-mōn* (§ 223 p. 100), and the nom. sing. masc. fem. Gr. *τέμνων* Goth. *tuggō* and the like (§ 192 p. 70). Hence J. Schmidt assumes that this neuter plural series, like the last, was once a series of feminine collective nouns.

It is a fair conjecture that *-ə* at first belonged to some one group of consonant stems, and that it afterwards spread to others. Between Avest. *dāman* and Skr. *dhāman-i* Avest. *ašaon-i* there was, we may suppose, much the same relation as between certain variant forms of the locative singular, Skr. *mardhān* and *mārdhān-i mūrdhn-i* (§ 256 pp. 156 ff.); and in the parent language there will have been not only *-ōn* (*-ēn*) and *-ōn-ə* (*-ēn-ə*) but also forms with a weak grade of stem.

§ 338. 1. *o*-stems. Pr.Idg. **juga* 'iuga', cp. § 337. Skr. Ved. *yugā*; Avest. *xšaṇra* O.Pers. *hamaranā* 'battles'. Lat. *juga*; Umbr. *veskla vesklu* 'vascula' supa *sopo* 'supina' Osc. *teremenniú* 'termina' *comono* 'comitia' (I § 105 pp. 98 f.). O.Ir. *trí chét* '300' = Ved. *trí śatā*, *trāth* 'hours' *nert* 'powers' and the like, cp. next page; Gall. perhaps *xavterra*. Goth. *juka*, *pō* 'the, those' (I § 659.1 p. 512, § 660.2 p. 515);

O.H.G. *wort* 'verba', whence *joh* instead of **johhu* (-u retained in *cunniu cunnu* 'families', especially in East Frankish, beside *cunni*), O.Sax. A.S. *fatu* 'casks' (I § 661 p. 518). Lith. *keturió-lika* '14' *penkió-lika* '15' (§ 175 p. 28), Pruss. *slayo* 'sleighs' from sing. *slaya-n* 'sleigh, sledge' *warto* 'door' (-o = -a as in the nom. sing. fem. e. g. *mergo* = Lith. *mergà* 'girl'); O.C.Sl. *iga*.

Aryan. A Sanskrit variant ending is *-āni*, *yugāni*, found in Vedic, and exclusively used in the post-Vedic language. It is a re-formation following *nāmān-i* 'nomina'. So too Avest. Gāth. *vīspēnag* (*vīspa-* 'all') *yān yām* (*ya-*, pronoun) have for their model *-*ān*, the *n*-stem ending, as *haxmēnag nāmān -qm* (§ 340); the same re-formation is said to be found in Vedic Sanskrit, e. g. *tápūṣi patanagān* 'winged flames' R. V. IV 4 2 (Ludwig, Rig-Veda IV 313; Bartholomae, Ar. Forsch. II 157, Stud. zur idg. Spr. I 73). The point of contact which was the beginning of these changes is the similar ending of the plural, Skr. Ved. *nāma* Avest. *nāma* (§ 340) and Skr. Ved. *yugā* Avest. *xšāpra*.

Another termination found in Avestic is *-ā*, the ending of *es*-stems (§ 342), as *vispā*. There are also forms in *-āiš*, as *vīspāiš*, which like *nāmēnīš* (§ 340) seem to be really instrumental (§§ 379, 380), although it has not yet been made clear how they came to be used for the nominative (cp. Bartholomae, Stud. I 75).

Greek. *-ā*, ζυγά, follows consonantal stems. It is very unsafe to say that *-a* has been kept in adverbs like *κρυφαί* Dor. *κρυφα*; see § 274 Rem. p. 174. But I conjecture that we have a real instance of *-a* in *ἐνι-τηδε-ς* 'just for this, on purpose' (Buttmann compared the word with *ἐνι τάδε*, Lexil. I 46). Another piece of evidence for the old ending *-a* is found in phrases like *ἀδύνατά ἐστι* 'it is impossible'; see J. Schmidt, Pluralb. 32 ff., and § 158 of the vol. II of the present work, pp. 473 ff.

In Old Irish the usual ending is *-a*, as *dligeda*, which is explained very reasonably by Windisch (Paul-Braune's Beitr.

IV 214 f. and 231) as a re-formation following the nom. and acc. plural of *a*-stems (§ 315 p. 215, § 327 p. 229); we must follow Thurneysen in looking for the point of contact in the article, where *inna* represents both **sen-dās* and **sen-dā* (§ 428).

Lithuanian. Besides the forms already given, *piktà* in *taĩ piktà* 'haec mala (sunt)' and the like may belong to this place. The plural form must necessarily have run into one with the singular (Idg. **-o-d*).

§ 339. 2. *i*- and *u*-stems. Pr. Idg. **trī* 'tria', **medhū* 'sweetnesses, sweet things', cp. § 337. Skr. Ved. *trī*, *śúcī* 'splendida, pura', *mādhū*, *purū* 'multa'; Avest. *hu-baođi* 'bene olentia', *cī* 'quae' in *cī-ca*, *pouru* 'multa', Gāth. *vohū* 'bona'. Lat. *trī(-gintā)*. O.Ir. *trī tri*; and perhaps *mind* 'insignia', *rind* 'constellations', see below. Lith. *trý-lika* '13' (cp. *keturió-lika* § 338); O.C.Sl. *tri*, and doubtless *si* 'haec' from nom. sing. masc. *ŝi*.

Aryan. A Sanskrit variant is *-īni -ūni*, *trīni śúcīni*, *mādhūni purūni*, found in Vedic and exclusively used in later Sanskrit; compare *-āni* § 338. In the Avesta we might expect to find forms in **-īn *-ūn*, **-ī *-ū*, parallel to *vispənag* (§ 338); and since the Avestic language had no means of writing nasalised *i*- and *u*-vowels, it is quite possible that such forms are really there, though disguised by being written with *-ī* and *-ū* (Bartholomae, Stud. I 73 f.).

In Greek there are re-formations with the suffix *-ā*: *τοία*, *ἰδία*; Hom. *γοῖνα* Lesb. *γόννα* for **γοῖν-α* Hom. Att. *ἡδέα*, Att. *ἄσση ἡμίση* (for the contraction see Wackernagel, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXV 272).

Italic. Re-formations with the *o*-stem ending; Lat. *tria maria*, *genua cornua*; Umbr. *triia* 'tria' *triiu-per trio-per* 'ter', *berva* 'verua' *vatuva vatuvu vatuo* (meaning unknown).

In Old Irish **-iā -e* (cp. the Italic) was perhaps the regular ending of substantives, *mure* 'maria'.

Remark. "Three formations are found. (1) Without any termination, *mind rind* (the latter was perhaps originally a neuter *u*-stem, to judge from *rendaib*). (2) With *-e*: *mure*. (3) With *-a* (esp. in Mid.Ir.): *mora, renno*. It is unfortunate that all three agree with some plural form of the two chief neuter classes, the *o*- and *s*-stems. The ending *-a* is certainly due to the analogy of the *o*-class, and *mora* is a direct imitation of *dligeda*. *mind* may represent an old form with *-ī*, like *tri*; but it may equally well be an ad-formate of *o*-stems, cp. *dliged* beside the later *dligeda*. *-e* may be either **-ia* or **-iā*, and also a re-formation following the *s*-class (§ 343). I should prefer to regard *-e* as the genuine ending of neuter *i*-stems". Thurneysen.

Adjectives have dropped the neuter form altogether; for the nom. acc. the masc.-fem. form is used, e. g. *mathi* (*maith* 'good').

Germanic. Goth. *þrija* O.H.G. *driu* follows the *o*-class (§ 338). Of the same kind is perhaps Goth. *kniv-a* O.H.G. *kneo* 'knees' (J. Schmidt, Plur. 49). O.H.G. *fihū* 'pecora', if there was such a word (see Braune, Ahd. Gr. p. 171), admits of different explanations.

§ 340. 3. *n*-stems, cp. § 337.

a. *-ōn* (*-ēn*): Avest. *dāman nāman*, *haxmērag* (*haxman*- 'friendship'). In Sanskrit, such a form as *patanṛgān* would be indirect evidence for pr. Ar. *-ān*; see § 338 p. 238.

Ved. *dhāma nāma*, Avest. *dāma* show a pr. Ar. *-mā*, whether from Idg. **-mō* (**-mē*) or Idg. **-m̥* (cp. **quetuṣ-* 'four' in § 341) is a doubtful matter; if from Idg. **-mō* (**-mē*), then pr. Ar. **dhāmā* : **dhāman* as Lat. *termō* : Gr. *τέρμων*. See § 223 pp. 101 f.

Remark 1. O.H.G. *herza* and *auga* (§ 223 p. 100) are used now and then for the plural. The plural use of these words is certainly not old, but, as in the case of *fcho*, arose because singular and plural had run into one in the *o*-class, e. g. *wort*.

b. *-n-ə* *-ōn-ə* (*-ēn-ə*) remain only in Sanskrit and Germanic: Skr. *dhāman-i āhān-i*, Goth. *hairtōn-a* O.H.G. Upper-G. *herzon* 'hearts' (O.H.G. Frank. *herzun*, cp. Streitberg, Paul-Braune's Beitr. XIV 218 ff.) with the *o*-stem ending taken in place of *ā* = Idg. *-ə*. Weaker forms of

stem are seen in Avest. *nāmēn-i* (*ē* = Ar. *a*, see I § 94 Rem. p. 89, and Bartholomae Stud. zur idg. Spr. I 76 f.) *ašaon-i* 'sacra, pia', Gr. *πίον-α ἄρρον-α*, and with the *-a* of *o*-stems Avest. *daṣman-a* 'eyes' (like *mananah-a* § 343), Lat. *nōmin-a*, Goth. *namn-a* O.H.G. Upper-Gt. *herzon* O.C.Sl. *imen-a*.

O.Ir. *anmann* 'nomina' may have lost *-ā* = Idg. *-a*, or *-a*, the *o*-stem ending; but its double *n*, which recalls that of *goba* 'father' gen. *gobann* (Gall. *Gobannitio*, Old British place-name *Gobannium*), has not yet been explained.

Remark 2. Thurneysen throws out the question whether *gobann* was not originally **gobamn-* and the nom. *goba* modelled upon it; and whether *anmann-* may not be a transformation of **anann-* = **anamn-*, *n* having been restored to it. Compare Skr. *bhūmnā* instead of *bhūndā*, Gr. *ἀννάσι* instead of **ἀννσι* and the like (II § 117 Rem. 1 p. 366, III § 361, Streitberg, Paul-Braune's Beitr. XIV 205 f.).

Avest. *nāmēnš* is the instr. form, like *vīspāiš* (§ 338), see § 379.

§ 341. 4. *r*-stems. **getyōr-a* 'τέτραρα' may be the form from which come Skr. *catvār-i* Lat. *quattuor* Goth. *fidvōr*, but the last two may come from **getyōr*, cp. § 168 pp. 10 and 11; perhaps we should add to this list Osc. *petora* (quantity of *o* unknown). Weaker forms of the stem are seen in Gr. Dor. *τέρορ-α* Ion. *τέσσιρ-α* Att. *τέτραρ-α* Boeot. *πέτ-ραρ-α* Lesb. *πίονρ-α*, Osc. *petiro-pert* (*petiru-pert*); this Osc. word has the *o*-stem ending. O.Ir. *cethir* is doubtless the masc. form; the word which follows suffers "aspiration" (*cethir chēt* '400') after the fashion of real neuter forms, as *tri chēt* etc. (compare the feminine gender marked by "aspiration" after the nom. sing. of fem. *i*-stems, e. g. *sūil chairech* 'oculus ovis', following the rule of *a*-stems). It is also conceivable that the neuter *tri* caused **getrī* to be coined, and that from this comes *cethir*.

Idg. **getyǵ-* is represented in Gr. Dor. *τετρω-κοντα* 'forty' etc., see § 176 p. 29 and § 178 pp. 35 ff.

A Sanskrit re-formation, following *-āni -īni -ūni*, is *-ṇi*,

e. g. *bhartṛ̥ṇi* from *bhartár-* 'upholder, upholding'. Compare § 224 a pp. 102 f.

§ 342. 5. Stems ending in an Explosive.

a. *nt*-stems.

(α) *-nt*: Avest. *mīždavaṇ* pl. 'possessed of reward' *afsmāniva* pl. 'containing verses', *-aṇ -a* = pr. Ar. **-ān(t)*. Perhaps another example is Lith. *vežā*, which is used for the nom. pl. masc., see § 321 p. 221; it should be remembered that, according to I § 615 p. 465, Idg. **-ōnt* and **-ōnt* would necessarily run into one if the practice of shortening vowels is older than the loss of the *-t*.

(β) *-nt-ə*. Skr. R.-V. *ghṛtāvānt-i* ('fatty') *sānti* ('being'), in later portions of the Vedas and in the post-Vedic language *ghṛtāvānt-i sānt-i* *bṛhānt-i*, post-Vedic *dādant-i* beside *dādat-i* ('giving'). Gr. *χαλκίον-α* *φιλόπον-α*. Lat. *silent-a* with the ending of *o*-stems, *ferent-ia* following the *i*-class, like *ferentium* § 352. O.C.Sl. *vezqšta* as though from a *io*-stem.

The Aryan endings *-ānt -ānt-i* may have lengthened the vowel on the analogy of *-ān -ān-i* and *-ās -ās-i*. We may provisionally regard this lengthening as derived from the parent language, and in that case *sānti* may be regarded as = **sṇti*. Compare **getuṣ-* **peraqē-* following **tri* 'tria', § 176 p. 29.

Avest. *savanhaitiš* ('useful') *sarascantīš* ('trickling') like *nāmēnīš* § 340 p. 241, § 379.

b. Skr. *praty-ānc-i* 'retroversa'. Avest. *ast-i* 'ossa'. From the time of the Brāhmanas we meet with Sanskrit forms with a nasal in the penult, where there should have strictly been none, as *tri-vṇti* from *tri-vṇt-* 'threefold', *-hūnti* from *-hut-* 'offering', *-bhāñji* from *-bhāñj-* 'sharing, having a share', *hṛndi* from *hṛd-* 'heart'. The same thing is seen in *s*-stems, and here even the Rig-Veda has it: *mānāsi* *havīṣi* *dyāuṣi* (§ 343). The nasal first appeared in *nt*-stems, which had the ending *-nti*, and in *dśtyāsi* and *vidvāsi*, although even here it was not earlier than the proethnic period of Sanskrit (II § 135

p. 430, § 136 p. 441). From these it spread by analogy (perhaps even in *dādanti* the *n* is due to a similar cause), and produced a feeling that there was some natural connexion between *-i* and a preceding nasal. Last of all, it came about that no *-i* was to be found at all without a nasal (compare *-āni -īni -ūni -ṛṇi*), with the single exception of *catvāri*. In considering the intrusion of a nasal into **manāsi* it must be remembered that this alone of all cases of the word had its suffix in the form *-ās*.

Remark. A new explanation of the nasal in *mánāsi* is given by J. Schmidt, *Pluralb.* 155 ff., 236. It is very far-fetched indeed, and is anything but convincing.

Gr. *πένητ-α, πυγάδ-α, ἄρπαγ-α*.

Lat. *capit-a cord-a* with the *-a* (= **-ā*) of *o*-stems, adjectives *teret-ia discord-ia audāc-ia victric-ia* following the *i*-class.

§ 343. 6. *s*-stems.

a. **-ōs* (**-ēs*): Avest. *mand* from *manah-* 'thought, mind'. Perhaps A.S. *lombor -ur* 'lambs' *calfur* 'calves', see J. Schmidt *Plur.* 149 ff.

b. **-ōs-ə*, quite regularly changed in a unique Gāthic form, Y. 32. 14, *var'cāhē(-cā)* (cp. Skr. *vārcāsi*), according to Bartholomae's happy conjecture (*Ar. Forsch.* II 105 ff.). There is a nasal due to analogy in Skr. *mánāsi*; and the nasal is also analogical in the comparative *dāsyāsi* and participle *vidvāsi*, although here it is not restricted to the neuter plural (see § 342). Gr. *ῥδ-λω* for **-ιω(σ)-α*, notwithstanding *ῥδ-ίους* = **-ιο(σ)-ες*? And is there a genuine proethnic *-iōs-* in Lat. *ōciōr-a* (*-a* from the *o*-stems)? Weaker stems are seen in Gr. Ion. *μείνε-α* Att. *μείνη* and (with the *-ā* of *o*-stems) Avest. *-anēh-a* (i. e. **-as-ā*), as *mananēh-a* (like *daēman-a* § 340 p. 241), Lat. *gener-a*, Goth. *agis-a* 'φόβοι' O.H.G. *kelbir* (A.S. *cealfu*) 'calves'¹⁾ (these Germanic words likewise form the rest of their cases after the *o*-type, cp. Lat. *holerōrum* from *holer-a*, and the like),

1) O.H.G. *kelbir* for **kálbīru*, A.S. *cealfu* for **kálbora*.

O.C.Sl. *sloves-a*. Whether O.Ir. *tige* comes from **(s)teges-a* or **(s)teges-ā* cannot be made out.

Skr. *haviṣi* from *haviṣ-* 'libation', *āyūṣi* from *āyūṣ-* 'life-power'. Gr. Hom. *τέρα-α* Att. *τέρα*.

*Genitive Plural.*¹⁾

§ 344. The suffix of this case was probably **-ōm*. To this view, which I share with Osthoff and others, I shall adhere until some tenable hypothesis has been found on which *-ū* in O.C.Sl. *mater-ū sloves-ū* etc. may be regarded as naturally representing Idg. **-ōm*. The question of the origin of this assumed **-ōm* may be left alone (see Leskien, *Ber. der sächs. Ges. der Wiss.*, 1884, p. 104).

-ōm was contracted with the stem-final of the *o*-class into *-ōm* or *-ēm* according as that was *-o-* or *-e-* (cp. § 240 p. 133). These two forms are kept distinct in Germanic;²⁾ elsewhere *-ōm* has become the only ending. In Aryan, Greek, Italic, Germanic, and Baltic the *o*-stem ending spreads to consonant stems and to those in *-ī-* *-ij-*, *-ū-* *-uy-*, *-i-*, and *-u-*; conversely, in Slavonic, **-ōm* = *-ū* spreads to stems in *-o-*, in *-ā-*, and in *-ī-* *-ijē-*. With the adoption of *-ū* as the regular ending in Slavonic compare the universal use in Greek of *-ᾱ* in the nom. acc. pl. neuter (§§ 337 ff.). The spread of *-ōm* (*-ēm*) may have begun in the parent language; and varieties

1) Schleicher, *-s-ām-s*, Suffix des gen. plur. in der idg. Ursprache, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XI 319 f. Osthoff, Die Bildung des gen. plur. im Idg., Morph. Unters. I 207 ff. Bezzenberger, Die Genitivendung *-nām*, in his Beitr. II 130 ff. Osthoff, Über den gen. plur. der *ā*-Declin., Morph. Unters. II 111 ff. Bartholomae, Zu den ai. gen. plur. auf *-ān*, *-īn*, *-ūn*, *-ṛn*, Stud. z. idg. Sprachg. I 117 ff. Bréal, Le génitif pluriel en latin, Mélanges Renier, 1887, p. 234. Förstemann, Zur Gesch. altd deutscher Declination: der gen. plur., Kuhn's Zeitschr. XV 161 ff. (with additional matter by Petters, *ibid.* XVI 385 ff.). Osthoff, Der gen. plur. im German., Morph. Unters. I 232 ff. Möhl, Histoire du gén. plur. en serbe, Mém. de la Soc. de lingu. VI 187 ff.

2) Deecke (Bezz. Boitr. XII 340) says that Lyc. *-he* answers to Goth. *-zē* in *i-zē*.

of dialect during the same period may have had something to do with the fact that *-ōm* held its ground so firmly in Balto-Slavonic that afterwards, when Slavonic had begun its independent course, it is found without a rival.

Italic and Keltic have little importance in this controversy. Pr. Lat. *-ōm* pr. Ir. **-ōn* may quite well have come from either Idg. **-ōm* or Idg. **-ōm*; for both languages shortened a long vowel before *-m* in prehistoric times. Again, in Umbro-Samnitic and Gallic *-om* the quantity of *o* is unknown. It is possible, then, that Slavonic *-ŭ* = Idg. **-ōm* does not stand alone.

The proethnic ending of *a-* and *i-* *je*-stems cannot be made out with any certainty. Osthoff (Morph. Unt. II 126) conjectures *-ām* in both classes. In any case, both will have had *-m* as the final sound, as all other stems had.

Now as regards the distribution of *-ōm* and *-ēm* in Germanic, it appears that in proethnic Germanic only *o*-stems showed both endings, while all other stems had *-ōm* alone. In North and West Germanic *-ēm* gave way, only a few traces being left of it (see § 345); while in Gothic *-ēm* became the regular ending for *o*-stems, and furthermore found its way into other stems as well, e. g. *gastē* m. *anstē* f. (*i*-stems), *reik-ē* m. *baúrg-ē* f., *suniv-ē* m., *guman-ē* m. etc.; *-ō* = **-ōm* in Gothic was retained only for certain feminine classes, e. g. *gibō sibjō frijōndjō tuggōn-ō*.

The Armenian ending *-ç* (gen., loc., dat., and abl.) has not been properly explained: examples are *gailoç*, *srtiç*, *zarduç*, *akanç*, *març*, *asterç* and *dsteraç*. Bugge (Beitr. zur etym. Erl. der armen. Spr., 47 f.) conjectures that *-ç* represents the Idg. locative ending *-si* with the postposition *en*, — thus *srtiç* = *-i-si + en*. But if that were so the nasal of *-en* must have been kept; so it is preferable to compare Lith. *-e* (as *rañkoj-e* *rañkos-e*, § 264 pp. 167 f.) or Ar. *-ā* (Avest. loc. pl. in *-hv-ā*, § 356).

Consonant stems that admitted of gradation, as **pater* 'pater', had their weak form in this case from the parent language onwards.

§ 345. 1. *o*-stems. Pr. Idg. **ulqōm* 'luporum', **jugēm* 'iugorum', cp. § 240 pp. 133 f. In Aryan comparatively few instances remain (cp. Hanusz, Sitzungsab. der Wiener Ak. 1885 pp. 7 f.; Bartholomae, Stud. zur idg. Spr. I 47 f., 97, 117 ff.): Skr. Ved. *vfām*, *dēvām* 'deorum'; Avest. *vehrkām*. Gr. *λύκων*; on Dor. *φιλῶν* (Att. *φίλων*) see the Author, Gr. Gr.² p. 126. In Latin, *-om -um*, but comparatively rare: *deum*, *fabrum*, *modium*, inscr. *Romanom*; Umbr. *pihaklu* 'piaculorum' *proseseto* 'prosectorum', Osc. *Núvlanúm* 'Nolanorum', Volsc. *Velestrom* 'Veliternorum'; it is not certain that the ending *-om* in the Italic languages was Idg. **-ōm*, see § 344. O.Ir. *fer n-*, *cēle n-* 'sociorum' for **-iōm* (cp. I § 139 pp. 124 f.), Ogam inscr. *maqa* (before *Mailagni*) 'filiorum'; it is not certain that the Keltic ending **-om* is Idg. **-ōm*, see § 344. Goth. *vulfē*, *hairdjē* 'of herdsmen' with **-ēm*, O.H.G. *wolfo hirteo*, also O.Sax. *-o* A.S. *-a* O.Icel. *-a* for **-ōm*; **-ēm* is still seen in West-Germ. in O.Sax. *kinda*, *Hrodbertinga* and the like (Kögel, Paul-Braune's Beitr., XIV 114) and in O.Sax. *ūsa* O.Fris. *ūse* 'of us', and also according to Kögel, *loc. cit.*, in place-names which end with *-inga* etc., where it was no longer regarded as a genitive. Lith. *vilkū* (I § 92 p. 86).

Aryan. Usually *-ānām*: Skr. *vfkānām* *dēvānām*, the sole ending in post-Vedic language; Avest. *vehrkanqm* (a shortening of *-ā* in the penult is indicated by the dissyllabic form *γ'nanqm* i. e. *γ'nānqm* 'of murderers')¹⁾, O.Pers. *bagānām* 'deorum'. The same ending, borrowed from *n*-stems, is shown by those in *-ā* (§ 346), and it seems that these are the stems which first used the formation in Aryan, perhaps to distinguish the gen. plural from the acc. singular. The forms **ātma-bhiś* **ātma-bhīas* **ātma-su* made it natural to analyse **ātmanām* into **ātma-nām*; on which type were moulded such genitives as **saīnā-nām* (Skr. *sēnānām*) instead of **saīnām* in connexion with **saīnā-bhiś* etc. This view (cp. Hanusz as cited, p. 11)

1) This shortening may be compared with that in *ānhanqm* acc. sing. fem. from *ānhāna-*, *dātarem-ca* beside *dātārem*, and the like.

is supported by the following genitives which belong to the special Sanskrit period: *bhrū-ndm* beside *bhrū-bhīś*, *gō-nām* beside *gō-bhīś*, *ṛṇ-nām catasṛ-ndm* beside *ṛṇ-bhīś catasṛ-bhīś*, *catur-ndm* beside *catur-bhīś*, *ṣaṇḍm* = **ṣaḍ-ndm* beside *ṣaḍbhīś*; and it is also supported by the similar re-formation in West-Germanic: (O.H.G.) *gebō-no* (Goth. *gibō*) beside *gibō-m* following *zungōn-o* beside *zungōm* (§ 346). Compare further § 229 Rem. 1 p. 115.

Italic. In Latin the common form from the earliest times has been *-ōrum*, as *lupōrum*, *istōrum*, *C. I. L.* no. 32 *duonoro* = *bonōrum*, a re-formation following *-ārum* (§ 346). Osc. *Safinim* 'Safinorum, Samnitium' *Aisernim* 'Aeserniorum' (but *Kluvatium* 'Cluatiorem'), a re-formation following the nom. and acc. sing. with *ī*, see II § 63 p. 122, III § 194 p. 74, § 212 p. 90, and Streitberg in Paul-Br. Beitr. XIV 189, 198; cp. below, O.C.Sl. *krajī*.

Balto-Slavonic. O.C.Sl. *vlūkū* follows the analogy of consonant stems, see § 344. Instead of *krajī* we should have expected **kraje*, to represent Idg. **-iōm* (cp. § 227 pp. 110 f.). Either *-ū* was borrowed from *vlūkū*, and then **krajū* became *krajī*, or else perhaps the ending was **-im*, a re-formation following the nom. acc. sing. *krajī* with original **-is* **-im* (§ 194 pp. 74 f., § 212 p. 90), cp. Osc. *Safinim* above. If the second alternative is true, *paṭījī* must have borrowed its *-ī* from *krajī*, in order to distinguish the genitive from the nom. *paṭīje*. — For the sake of clearness *-ovū*, the *u*-stem ending (§ 349), was adopted in most of the Slavonic languages in place of the *-ū* in *o*-stems; and *-ovū* afterwards spread over most other stems, to all of them in Lower Sorbian.

Remark. Lett. *tō* 'rāv' (*ō* = *ā* with the *gedehnt* or drawled accent) makes it necessary to ask whether the law laid down in I § 92 p. 86, stating that **-ōm* became **-ūm*, held good only for words of more than one syllable. It is also possible to assume that *ō* (*ā*) was borrowed from the accusative (*tōs*) and the locative (*tūs*), precisely as the analogy of *schī-s* and the like gave rise to a form *schim* beside *scham* 'huic' (Lith. *sziam*). The latter supposition has more in its favour.

§ 346. 2. *ā*-stems. The proethnic ending is uncertain; see § 344 p. 245.

Pr. Aryan *-ām* is perhaps preserved in a few Avestic genitives, as *vanam* 'of trees' (and compare the pronoun *kam*). *-ānām* was in existence in proethnic Aryan: Skr. *áśvānām*; Avest. *haēnanam* (for **-ānām*), O.Pers. *parāvzanānām* ('populous', gen. pl.). As regards the origin of this ending, see § 345, page 246.

Gr. **-ā(σ)ων*, following the pronominal declension (Hom. *τάων* = Skr. *tāsām* § 429). Hom. *Θεάων*, Boeot. *δραγμαάων*, Thess. *-άων* and *-ᾶν*, Dor. Lesb. *-ᾶν*, Ion. *-έων* Att. *-ῶν*. Att. adj. *φίλων* instead of *φιλῶν* (Ion. *φιλέων* Dor. *φιλᾶν*) by analogy of the masc. *φίλων*, cp. fem. *τούτων* in contrast with Dor. Lesb. *ταντᾶν*.

Italic has the same re-formation: Lat. *equārum*; Umbr. hapinaru (meaning uncertain) *pracatarum* 'munitarum', Osc. *egmazum* 'rerum'. Lat. masculines like *agricolū omnigenū* in the poets perhaps have not really the ending which gave place to *-arum*, but are re-formates, suggested by *Gangaridū Aeneadū* and so forth.

O.Ir. *tuath n-*, *ban n-*, *soillse n-*, cp. *fer n- cēle n-* (§ 345).

Goth. *gibō*, A.S. *ziefā*; in O.H.G. we only find in Otfrid a few instances of *-o*, as *āleibo* 'of remnants'. West-Germanic shows a re-formation on the lines of *n*-stems, O.H.G. *gebōno* O.Sax. *gebōno* A.S. *ziefena*, caused by the likeness of the dat. *gebōm* O.Sax. *gebōn* A.S. *ziefum* to *zungōm tungon tunzum* (nom. pl. *zungūn* and so forth). So also A.S. *cū-na* 'of cows' beside *cū-a* (dat. *cū-m*), like Skr *gō-nām* (instr. *gō-bhiḥ*). Compare § 345 pp. 246 f.

Lith. *rañkū ēdžia* (nom. pl. *ėdžios* 'rack'), O.C.Sl. *račkū zmiĵi* (*zmiĵa* 'snake'), cp. *vilčkū, vlūkū krajĵi* § 345 p. 247.

§ 347. 3. *i- iē*-stems (cp. p. 68 footnote 1). The proethnic ending is uncertain, most likely *-(i)ǵm*, compare Irish, Germanic, Balto-Slavonic.

Skr. Ved. *bṛhatnām*, *-īnām*, Avest. *barentinam* (the

quantity of the Avest. *i* and *u* is uncertain), an Aryan re-formation which must be connected with the parallels (Skr.) *bṛhatī* : *āśvā*, *bṛhatī-šu* : *āśvāsu* etc., cp. §§ 345, 346. Gr. *περονσῶν* Hom. *μυνσῶν* following the *iā*-class (§ 346). Lat. *faciērum*, like *-ōrum* (§ 345), is due to the analogy of *-arum*. O.Ir. *inse n-* (cp. *soillse n-* § 346). Goth. *frijōndjō*, O.H.G. *gutinnōno* (*kuninginno* is isolated), cp. the *iā*-stems, Goth. *sibjō* O.H.G. *sippeōno*, § 346; perhaps we may add O.H.G. *digīno* 'of prayers' (cp. dat. instr. pl. *digī-m* § 382). Lith. *žėmiū vešancziū*, O.C.Sl. *zemljī vezaštī*, cp. *ėdžiū zmijī* § 346.

§ 348. 4. *i*-stems. Pr. Idg. *-(i)ǵōm*, **ouǵōm* 'ovium' **triǵōm* 'trium', see § 344. Avest. *kaoyam* for **kayǵām* (I § 160 p. 144) from *kavi-*, the name of a demon. Gr. *τοιῶν*, *οἶων*, see below. Lat. *ovium turrium trium*; Umbr. *peracrio* (meaning uncertain), Osc. *Tiatiūm* 'Teatium, Teatinorum' *a]ittīūm* 'portionum' (gen. sing. *aeteis*). O.Ir. *fāthe n-* for **-iōm*, Ogam inscr. *tria* (before *maqa*) 'trium'; Gall. *Brivatiom* ('pontilium' Stokes, Bezz. Beitr. XI 129). Goth. *ƿrij-ē* (instead of *-ō*, § 344) O.H.G. *drīo* (*ī* following *drī*), O.H.G. *gesteo -io m.*, *enstee -io f.*, O.Icel. *elgja* (*elgr* 'elk'). Lith. *nakcziū*; O.C.Sl. *pařijī nošřijī -ijī* (see § 345, page 247), but compare what is said below.

Aryan. Avest. *vay-am ƿray-am* (Ved. *vīndm trīndm*) with strong stem like gen. sing. *vay-ō*, see § 231 p. 120, and compare *nar-am* = Ved. *nar-ām* § 351. Considering that Avest. *vayanam* is a transformation of *vayam* on the analogy of *o*-stems, we may infer from Skr. *trayānām* an older **tray-ām¹*, and the same form is indirect evidence for **kavyām* = Avest. *kaoyam*, and the like.

Skr. *āvīnām* Ved. *trīndm* Avest. *ažīnam*, like *-anām*, see § 345 p. 246. The first formed in pr. Aryan was perhaps

1) Similarly the Lith. gen. *trijū*, because of its agreement with the *-ū* of *o*-stems (as *keturiū*), called forth the dialectic loc. *trijūsė* instead of *tri-sė*.

*-i-nām beside *-i-bhiś and similar cases; and *i* was lengthened partly through the influence of -ānām, but partly, no doubt, through that of the nom. acc. pl. neuter (§ 339 p. 239); in considering Avest. *ažinām*, as with *bāzunām* (§ 349), it must be remembered that the quantity of the Avest. *i* and *u* is uncertain. In Vedic arose the further ending -īm, analogous to -ām, as *sūrīm* from *sūrti*-ś 'shining', and in a similar way -ūm and -ṛm beside -ūnām and -ṛnām (§§ 349, 351), see Bartholomae in Bezz. Beitr. XV 208, and his Stud. zur idg. Spr. I 47 f., 97 ff.

Greek has -ων in substantives in all dialects but Attic, as *βασίων* (*πολίων* may come from *πόλις*-, see § 354); *τριών* is Attic too. Att. *βάσεων ὄψεων* with *ε* from the strong stem, and with the accent of *βάσεος βάσεως*, see § 231 p. 120; compare *βάσεσι* instead of *βάσισι* (§ 360).

In Latin, -ium has spread widely amongst consonant stems, particularly *nt*-participles (see below). The resulting pairs of forms, and an uncertainty as to certain other stems, reaching back to the pre-Italic period, by which we have (say) *civitat-um* along with *civitat-ium* (II § 102 p. 310), combined to produce a few instances of -um in original *i*-stems, which ought to have -ium; e. g. *apum vatum* beside *api-um vati-um*. -iōrum, instead of -ium, in neuter genitives like *vectigaliōrum anciliōrum* was called forth by -ia in the nom. acc.

O.Ir. *fáthe n-*, as far as its form goes, might be derived from *-e(ǵ)-dm without difficulty: but I see no sufficient ground for doing it. *trī n-* 'trium' has not been developed by sound-change merely; it has been assimilated to the nom. acc. *trī* (cp. above, O.H.G. *drīo*, and § 345 p. 247 on Osc. *Safinim*).

Goth. masc. *gastē* 'of guests' follows *vulfē* (cp. *gastis gasta : vulfis vulfa*); the fem. *anstē* is doubtless chiefly due to *baúrg-ē* (O.H.G. *burg-o*) beside *baúrgi-m* (O.H.G. *burgi-n*) and the like (cp. Lat. *apum* instead of *api-um*, Lith. *krūtū* instead of *krūčiū*). The fem., as *náiteinō* (nom. sing. *náitein-s* 'reviling, blasphemy'), follows *managein-ō* (nom. sing. *managei* 'crowd'), which caused the coining of nom. pl. *náiteinōs* on the analogy

of *gibōs*; once we meet with a dat. pl. *-ōm*, *unkaúreinōm* 'in all unburdensomeness' (dat. pl.), a mistranslation of ἐν παντί ἀβαροῇ (ὑμῖν ἐμαυτὸν ἐτήρησα), II Cor. 11. 9, on the analogy of *gibōm*.

As to Lith. *krūtū* from *krūtī-s* and the like, see § 402. O.C.Sl. *pařijĭ* may be derived from either **-ij-om* or **-ej-om* (cp. p. 247), compare *pařije* § 317 p. 217 and *synov-ŭ* § 349.

§ 349. 5. *u*-stems. Pr. Idg. *-(u)uđm*, **sān(u)uđm* 'filiorum', see § 344. Avest. *yāpwa-am* from *yātu-* 'magician', and the like. Gr. Hom. γούρων δούρων for **γouF-ων* **doqF-ων*. Lat. *manuum* (also contracted, *passūm currūm* etc.), more likely from **(u)u-đm* than from **-eu-đm* (through the intermediate stage **-ou-đm*). Goth. *mannē* (instead of *-ō*, § 344) O.H.G. O.Sax. *manno* = **manu-đm*. Lith. *sū-nū* for **sūnyū* like *szū* for **szuū* (I § 184 p. 160).

Aryan. Skr. *sūnūndm*, Avest. *bāzunam*, O.Pers. *parūvnam* 'multorum' (cp. Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. XIII 70) *dahyunām* 'regionum', to be explained like *-īnam* (§ 348). The Vedas have also *-ām*, *dasyām* from *dāsyu-š* 'unbeliever', like *-īm*; see § 348.

Greek. ἡδέων and πήξεων (accented to match πήξεως), with strong stem, following ἡδέες etc., cp. Att. βάσεων § 348.

Old Irish. *bíthe n-*, a re-formation following *i*-stems. It is not allowable to derive the ending from **-eu-đm* (as Windisch does, Paul-Braune's Beitr. IV 250), since *-eu-* would have become *-ou-* (I § 66 p. 56).

Germanic. Goth. *suniv-ē* following *sunjus* (**suniu-iz*). Similarly perhaps O.H.G. *sileo*, *cuniu* 'of the knees' for **-eu-đ(n)*, and on account of the likeness to *gesteo* we have the nom. acc. *siti* and dat. *siti-m* following the *i*-flexion.

O.C.Sl. *synov-ŭ*, following nom. *synov-e*.

§ 350. 6. *n*-stems. Pr. Idg. **kun-đm* 'canum', see § 344. Skr. *śūn-am ukṣṇ-ām āśman-am*; Avest. *sūn-am aśaon-am* (*aśavan-* 'holy, pious') *taoxman-am* (*taoxman-* 'kinship'). Gr. κυν-ων ἀρν-ων, τεκτόν-ων ποιμέν-ων, ἀγών-ων πειθήν-ων. Lat. *homin-um juven-um*, inscr. *poumilion-om*.

O.Ir. *con n-*, *aran n-*. Goth. *aúhsn-ē* A.S. *oxn-a* O.Icel. *yxn-a* *oxn-a* 'of oxen', Goth. *abn-ē* 'of men', *guman-ē* *hairtan-ē* 'of hearts' (*-ē* instead of *-ō*, § 344), *tuggōn-ō* 'of tongues' *managein-ō* 'of crowds'; O.H.G. *gomōn-o* *herzōn-o* with the stem transformed on the analogy of *zungōn-o*, cp. *gomōm* *herzōm* (§ 384). Lith. dial. *szun-ū*, *akmen-ū*; O.C.Sl. *ďin-ū* 'of days' (II § 114 p. 356), *kamen-ū*, *zemljan-ū* 'of countrymen' (II § 115 p. 362).

Latin. Rarely *-ium*, following *i*-stems; as *carn-ium*.

Balto-Slavonic. Lith. *akmen-ū* was the starting point for other formations of the type of *o*-stems, *akmen-aĩ* etc. (the Author, Lit. Volksl. und Märch., 301). High Lith. has only *szun-iū* *akmen-iū*, following *i*-stems. So also O.C.Sl. *ďin-ījĩ* *-ijĩ*, beside *ďin-ū*.

§ 351. 7. *r*-stems. Pr. Idg. **mātr-ōm* 'matrum' **dōtr-ōm* 'datorum', see § 344. Skr. Ved. *svāsr-ām* (unique), often *nar-ām* = Avest. *nar-qm* like gen. sing. *nār-as* (§ 235 p. 126), cp. Avest. *vay-qm* § 348 p. 249. Avest. *māpr-qm* *dāpr-qm*, *str-qm* and *stār-qm* from *star-* 'star', *tišr-qm* f. 'trium'. Gr. Hom. *πατρ-ων* *θυγατρ-ων* Att. *ἀνδρ-ων*, and by re-formation Att. *πατέρ-ων* *μητέρ-ων* (like *ἡδέ-ων* and the like); *δωτόρ-ων*, *δοτήρ-ων*. Lat. *mātr-um*, *datōr-um*; Umbr. *fratrum* *fratrom* 'fratrum'. Osc. *fratrúm* 'fratrum' *nerum* 'principum, nobilium'. O.Ir. *māthar n-* *brāthar n-* for **-tr-ōm* or **-ter-ōm*. Goth. *brōþr-ē* (instead of *-ō*, § 344), O.H.G. *muoter-o*. Lith. dial. *moter-ū*, O.C.Sl. *mater-ū*, *datel-ū* 'datorum' (II § 122 p. 389).

**getyer-* 'four' doubtless had gen. pl. **getur-ōm*: cp. Skr. *catur-ñdm* instead of **catur-ām* (§ 345 p. 247), Gr. Lesb. *πεσύρ-ων*, O.Icel. *fjugurra* with pronominal ending (cp. § 168 p. 11); O.C.Sl. *četyr-ū* (*y = ū*).

Skr. *dur-ām* (*d-* instead of *dh-*, see I § 480 p. 354) O.H.G. *dur-o* O.Icel. *dur-a* Lith. *dūr-ū* (and *dūr-iū*, Schleicher Lit. Gr. 188) 'of doors'.

Aryan. Special Skr. re-formations are *mātṛñdm*, *dātṛñdm* *daiṣṇdm*, more rarely with *-ṇdm*; *nṛñdm* *nṣṇdm* 'ἀνδρῶν'; *catasṛñdm* *catasṇdm* f. *caturñdm* m. 'τετραρῶν' see § 345

p. 247. In Veda we also find *n̄m*, like *-īm*, see § 348 p. 250. Avest. *tišranqm* instead of *tišraqm* (which is also used), like *vayanqm*, § 348 p. 249.

Old Irish, in addition to the old formation, has *-thre n-*, *brathre n-*, *bráithre n-*, a re-formation following the *i*-declension, cp. *bráithrib* like *faithib* § 385. The fem. *teor-a n-* ('three') *cetheor-a n-* ('four') follows *inna n-* (§ 429); see Windisch in Paul-Br. Beitr. IV 224.

Balto-Slavonic. High Lith. *moter-iū* following the *i*-declension, so also O.C.Sl. *dūšter-ījī*, isolated in O.C.Sl.

§ 352. 8. Stems ending in an Explosive.

Pr. Idg. **bhṛgh̥t-ōm* (see § 344). Skr. *bṛhat-ām*, Avest. *ber^hzat-ām* *ber^hzant-ām*. Gr. *γερόντων*. Lat. *ferent-um* *prae-sent-um* *sonant-um*, also *ferent-ium* etc. (Bücheler-Windekilde, Grundr. 83) like nom. acc. pl. neut. *ferent-ia* (§ 342 p. 242). O.Ir. *carat n-*. Goth. *frijōnd-ē* (instead of *-ō*, see § 344), O.H.G. *friunt-o*. With a *io*-suffix, Lith. *vežancziū* O.C.Sl. *vezašī*. Skr. *dat-ām*, Gr. *ὀδόντων*, Lat. *dent-um* (more commonly *dent-ium*), A.S. *tōð-a* O.Icel. *tann-a*, Lith. *dant-ū* 'dentium'. — Skr. *daśāt-ām* Lith. *deszimt-ū* O.C.Sl. *deset-ū* 'decadum'. — Osc. *liímítú[m]* 'limitum'. O.C.Sl. *telet-ū* 'of calves' (cp. § 244 pp. 142 f.).

Skr. *śarād-ām* 'of autumns'. Gr. *γυγῶντων*. Lat. *lapid-um*. O.Ir. *druad n-* 'druidum'. Goth. *taihunt-ē* (instead of *-ō*, § 344) in *taihuntē-hund* '100', O.H.G. *zehanzo* '100' = Gr. *δεκάδων*, see § 179 p. 43; in Norse, too, there may once have been a word **tehunta-hund*.¹⁾ Skr. *pad-ām*, Gr. *ποδῶν*, Lat. *ped-um*, O.H.G. *fuaz-o* O.Icel. *foot-a* 'pedum'.

1) This would explain the unexpected *a*-vowel in Norse Run. *pri-taunta* and O.Icel. *þrettän þrettände* etc. The form **tehunta-hund* may have been wrongly analysed into **tehun-tahund*; indeed, the analogical form *taihuntahund* shows that *taihuntēhund* was misunderstood in Gothio. This mistake once made, its *a* might pass over to the numbers 13 and so forth, taking the place of their *e*; even as happened when *o* spread from *-xovta* in Greek, § 176 Rem. 2 p. 31. In this case Noreen (Arkiv für nord. filol. III 26, Paul's Grundr. I 508) would be

Skr. *uštj-ām* ('desirous'). Gr. *μειράκων, ὀρνύκων ὀρνύγ-ων*. Lat. *meretrīc-um*, and with *-ium* *meretrīc-ium felīc-ium*

right in assuming **-tāhund* = Goth. *-tēhund* for Norse, but wrong in assuming an old ablaut *e : ē* in the first syllable of **dēkyn*.

After the discussion of the Numerals in this volume (pp. 1–52) was finished, appeared J. Schmidt's work *Die Urheimath der Indogermanen und das europ. Zahlssystem* (Berlin 1890). In this work he discusses Goth. *taihuntēhund* O.H.G. *zehanzo* and all connected with them on wholly different principles. He analyses *taihun-tēhund*, and explains the West-Germanic expressions by a supposed Goth. **hund taihuntēv* 'tenfold hundred', which he believes to have been levelled with *taihun-tēhund* in different directions. I cannot here thrash out this interesting question; but I would say that in my opinion the view suggested above (pp. 40 ff.) well bears comparison with Schmidt's. Schmidt (p. 39) sees three main difficulties in it. (1) That the second part of O.Sax. *ant-sibunta* cannot be gen. pl., or it must have ended in *-o*. — This statement is disproved by the genitives *friunda kinda* etc. (§ 345 p. 246). (2) That O.H.G. *zehanzo* Goth. *taihuntē-* do not answer to Skr. *daśāt-ām* Gr. *δεκάδ-ων*. — This statement could only be justified were it proved that the interchange of tenuis and media in the parent language never took place at all, or that the argument could not be used here. To this change I drew attention in *Morph. Unt.* V 13; compare § 177 p. 34, above. It is well known, and attested by many examples at the present day. The assertion (p. 27 of Schmidt's work) that the inflexion of which *δεκά-* *-άδο;* instead of **-ατο;* is an example sprang from the analogy of *ἑλλά-* *-άδο;* and the like, is a mere assertion, nothing more. (3) That Skr. *śatām* etc., which I compare with *hund* in *taihuntē-hund*, never means 'δεκά', the abstract of 'ten', in any language. — This is very natural, since my assumption is that *taihuntē-hund* 'δεκάδων δεκά' is the very phrase which has been abbreviated into Skr. *śatā-m* etc. 'a group of ten (tens)' etc. Nor is Schmidt the right person to lay stress on a 'difficulty' which is inseparable from his own explanation; he assumes a form *tēhunda-* = **dēkyn-*, of which not a trace can be found in any other Indo-Germanic language; Vriddhi in derivatives is not Germanic, although it is Aryan. Which is the simpler of the two explanations? One supposes an immediate connexion between Goth. *taihuntē-hund* O.Sax. *ant-sibunta* O.H.G. *zehanzo*, each of them containing a genitive of the same kind as Goth. *frijōndē* O.Sax. *friunda* O.H.G. *friunto*; the other — Schmidt's — treats the Gothic and West Germanic expressions as quite different in principle, and has to regard the ending of O.Sax. *ant-sibunta* as distinct from that of O.H.G. *zehanzo*. No one can hesitate to allow that the first is simpler; which of them is correct, or whether another be correct and these both wrong, may be left for decision by further investigation of those who know the facts.

etc. O.Ir. *nathrach* *n-* 'of water-snakes'. Skr. *vāc-ām* Avest. *vac-am*, Gr. **ōn-ōn*, Lat. *vōc-um*. Skr. *-rāj-ām*, Lat. *rēg-um*, O.Ir. *rīg n-*, Goth. *reik-ē* (instead of *-ō*). O.Ir. *breg n-* 'of mountains', Goth. *baург-ē* (instead of *-ō*) O.H.G. *burg-o* 'of strongholds, of towns' (Avest. *ber'zaṃ* not found).

Skr. *ap-ām* Avest. *ap-am* 'aquarum'. Gr. *κλωπ-ων*. Lat. *dap-um*, *prīncip-um* (also *-ium*).

§ 353. 9. Stems in *-s*.

Pr. Idg. **menes-ōm* (§ 344) from **menos* *n.* 'mind'. Skr. *mānas-ām* *durmanas-ām*, Avest. *manarəh-aṃ* *dušmanarəh-aṃ*. Gr. Ion. *μενέων* *δυσμενέων* Att. *-ων*. Lat. *gener-um*. O.Ir. *tige n-*. O.H.G. *kelbir-o*. Lith. *debes-ū* (beside *debes-iū*) from *debes-i-s* 'cloud'; O.C.Sl. *sloves-ŭ*. — **mēns-ōm* 'of months' (see II § 132 p. 415): Gr. *μην-ων*, Lat. *mēns-um* (and *-ium*), O.Ir. *mīs n-*. With *s* in the suffix doubtless A.S. *gōs-a* O.Icel. *gās-a* Lith. dial. *žqs-ū* Gr. *χην-ων* 'anserum', cp. II § 160 p. 485.

Skr. *uśās-ām*, Lat. *honōr-um* (II § 133 p. 423).

Pr. Idg. comparative **ōkis-ōm* 'ociorum' (cp. II § 135 p. 429). Skr. *āśtyas-ām* Avest. *asyarəh-aṃ*, Lat. *ōciōr-um*. With *-io-* O.C.Sl. *slazdiši*. With *-ien-* instead of *-ies-*, Gr. *ήδ-ιόν-ων*.

Pr. Idg. part. perf. act. **ueḡdus-ōm*. Skr. *vidúṣ-ām* Avest. *vīdūš-aṃ*. With *-io-* Lith. *mīrus-iū* O.C.Sl. *mīrūši*. With *-yet-* instead of *-yes-*, Gr. *ειδότη-ων*.

**mās-ōm* 'of mice': Skr. *mūṣ-ām* (nom. pl. *māṣ-as* is found), Gr. *μῶν* instead of **μῶν* (§ 160 p. 485), Lat. *mūr-um* (and *-ium*), O.H.G. *mās-o* O.Icel. *mūs-a*.

§ 354. 10. *i-* *ix-* and *ū-* *uy-* stems, and stems ending in *-f*, *-f*, *-ḡ*.

Pr. Idg. **ix-ōm*, **uy-ōm* (§ 344), e. g. **bhrux-ōm* (nom. sing. **bhrū-s* 'brow'). Skr. *dhiy-ām* *bhruv-ām*, also *dhīndām* *bhrūndām*, and only *nadīndām* *śvaśrūndām* (§ 345 pp. 246 f.). Gr. *κ-ων*, *ύ-ων* *όφρυ-ων*, *πολύ-ων* from *πόλις*, *νέκυ-ων* from *νέκυς*. Lat. *su-um* (and *-ium*), *socru-um* O.Icel. *sū-a* 'suum' (cp. § 233

p. 123). Lith. dial. *žuv-ū* 'of fishes' = Gr. *ἰχθύων* (cp. *žuv-ī* § 217 p. 94, *žuv-is* § 329 p. 230); O.C.Sl. *svēkrūv-ū*, also *krūv-ījī*.

Skr. *gir-ām pur-ām gō-ṣaṇ-ām* like gen. sing. *gir-ās* etc., § 233 p. 123.

§ 355. 11. Certain Root Nouns. **nāu-ōm* 'navium' (§ 344): Skr. *nāv-ām*, Gr. *ναῶν νηῶν νεῶν* (I § 611 p. 462). — Skr. *gāv-ām*, also *gō-nām* (§ 345 p. 247), Gr. *βοῶν*, Lat. *bov-om boum* Umbr. *buo*, Mid.Ir. *bō n-* for **bo(y)-ōn* (once *bao* in O.Ir., but perhaps by a mistake in writing), O.Icel. *kū-a* O.H.G. *kuo*, cp. II § 160 p. 482. — Skr. *rāy-ām* Avest. *ray-am*, Lat. *rērum* like *faciērum* § 347 p. 249.

Locative Plural.¹⁾

§ 356. 1. The Suffix of the Locative Plural. An Idg. ending *-su* is indicated for this case by Aryan and Balto-Slavonic, Skr. *-su* Avest. *-hu*, O.Lith. *-su* O.C.Sl. *-chŭ*. As regards Gr. *μεταξύ*, which is generally adduced as an argument for the same ending, see the Remark on the next page. That Gr. *-α* is also original is probable on account of the Avest. loc. pl. *haf-ši* and *tanu-ši* (Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. XIII 84 f.); and compare Bugge's explanation of Armen. *-ç* as being for **-si* (above, page 245). It is also very probable that *-s* was used as well as *-su* and *si*. If so, these two will be extensions of *-s*, the proper case-suffix, by

1) Osthoff, Die Bildung des loc. plur. im Idg. und Verwandtes, Morph. Unt. II 1 ff. Gerland, Über den dat. plur. des Altgriechischen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. IX 36 ff. Warncke, De dativo pluralis Graeco, Lips. 1880. Ceci, Il Dativo Plur. greco, Scritti glottologici I (1882) pp. 7 ff. Week, Der altgriech. Dativ Plur., Philologus XLIII 32 ff. *Τσερέπης, Ἡ δοτικὴ πληθ. τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης, Μελετήματα Ἰνδικὰ καὶ γλωσσολογικά*, Athen 1888 pp. 25 ff. Aufrecht, Der dat. plur. auf *-σαι*, Kuhn's Zeitschr. I 117 f. J. Stschasliwzjew, Über den griech. Dat. Plur. Journ. d. kais. russ. Min. f. Volksaufklärung 1885, 3, pp. 417—458 ff. (only known to me through Ziemer's Jahresbericht über Sprachwissenschaft, Berl. 1889, p. 150). Kūgel, Althochdeutsche Locative, Zeitschr. f. deutsche Altert. XXVIII (1884) 110 ff.

accretion of adverbial particles: *-u*, perhaps meaning 'there', may have been the same as the *-u* of Skr. *múh-u* and similar words (see § 256 Rem. p. 158) and that of Gr. *οὔ(τος)* and the like (see § 415); *-i* perhaps meant 'here', and may have been the same as *-i* in the loc. sing. (§ 256 p. 157) and in the Lat. nom. sing. *go-i quī* (§ 414). See Thurneysen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 177.

-s has been kept unextended in the following instances. (1) Lat. *dēvās Corniscās*, C.I.L. I no. 814, and with *ō* instead of *oi* Lat. Sabell. *-ōs* (§§ 357, 358).¹⁾ (2) Gr. *ἵπποις*, which also represents the Idg. instr. pl. in *-ōis* (§ 380); the effect of *ἵπποις* on the one hand and *φύλακ-σι* etc. on the other was to prevent the loss of *-σ-* in *ἵπποισι*, *βάσισι*, *φρασί φρεσί* etc., or perhaps we may say to restore it; *-σ-* should have dropped according to I § 564 p. 420; similarly in later times Att. *δύτορσι*, which should properly have become **δύτορρι*, was kept safe by *φύλαξι* etc. (§ 362). It is not so certain that Lat. *oloes lupīs* Osc. *Núvianúis*, beside Lat. Sabell. loc. *-ōs*, represent Idg. loc. *-ois* as well as instr. *-ōis*. (3) *-s* is represented in Baltic, and not *-s-u* alone; it is true, this cannot be supported by such forms as Lith. *rañko-s szirdỹ-s* Lett. *rūkā-s si'rdī-s*, as if these had always ended with *-s*, but it may be considered fairly proved by O.Lith. *-se -sa* beside *-su*. It would be as wrong to suppose that *rañkose* is *rañkosu* transformed on the analogy of *rañkoje*, loc. sing., as to suppose that **φύλακ-σν* became *φύλαξι* on the analogy of the loc. sing.

1) Schmidt (Pluralb. 50) assumes that Lat. *dēvās* represents **-āsu*; this is opposed by the fact that *-ōs* is found in Sabellian. I cannot allow even after the attempt of V. Henry (Mém., VI 377) that a loss of *-u* has been proved either for prehistoric Latin or for proethnic Italic. Schmidt regards as two other plural locatives *ēminus* and *comminus* (from *manu-*). But how this is to be reconciled with the meaning I cannot see. We must surely derive these from adjective stems *ē-minu-* *com-minu-* or *-min-σ-* (from *-man-*, the shorter form of *manu-*). Cp. *ad-versus*. Can it be that they were originally acc. sing. neuter, **ē-minu* **ad-versu*, afterwards extended by *-s* like Gr. *εὐθύ-*; *μεσογ-γύ-*; *ηγ-γύ-*? Compare further Bréal-Bailly, Dict. étym. lat.², s. v. *cominus*.

Brugmann, Elements. III.

φύλακι; the real explanation is that an original **rankās* (cp. *dēvās*), like original **rankāi*, had the particle *-e* attached (see § 264 pp. 167 f.); in the actually found forms *rañkos rūkās* *-e* has been lost again, just as **-āi-e* was shortened, producing *rañkoj* (*rañko*) *rūkā*. O.Lith. *-sa* (as *namūsā* 'at home'), if its *-a* be not merely a mistake for *-e* in the spelling, has been transformed from *-se* in connexion with the forms ending with *-sna* (*namūs-nā* 'homewards', acc. pl. with the postposition *-na*); conversely, *-sne* follows *-se*.

Remark. A further piece of evidence in support of *-s* may perhaps be found in the forms Skr. Ved. *mānasu* (beside *mānas-su*) Avest. *manahu* from Ar. *manas-* n., and the like (§ 364). *-s-*, and not *-ss-*, in these forms is shewn to be Idg. by Skr. *āsi* Avest. *ahi* = Gr. *si* for **i(o)*, 'thou art' from \sqrt{es} . See Hübschmann, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 329; Bartholomae, Stud. zur idg. Spr., I 20 ff., 55 f., 67 f. The thinning of *ss* to *s* was doubtless proethnic when final, but not otherwise (all languages have *-s* for Idg. **-ss*, even Skr., as *a-ghas* 2nd sing. pret. 'thou atest' = **a-ghas + s*, see Bartholomae, *op. cit.* 21 f.); and the origin of **menesu* **menesi* was that *u* and *i* were affixed to **menes* = *menes-s*; similarly **esi* 'thou art' = **es* (for *es-s*) + *i*. Of the examples by which Bartholomae seeks to prove a change of Idg. *-ss-* to *-s-*, apparently the only ones which are correct are such as allow of an explanation like this. If the view here suggested is right, such forms as Gr. *ἔσσα* Lat. *gessi* need not be due to re-formation. Skr. *mānas-su* Gr. *μίνεσ-αι* *ἰσ-αι* have been formed on the analogy of stems which ended in some other consonant than *s*; and there is nothing to prevent our believing them to be proethnic themselves.

But it is most unsafe to try to support the assumption of the loc. pl. *-s* by reference to Gr. *ἀγκά*; beside *ἀγκών*; see J. Schmidt, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXV 39, and the Author, Morph. Unt. III 69. The same may be said of adverbs in *-s*, as Gr. *πύξ μάψ ἀπαξ* Lat. *mox vix* O.Ir. *mō mo-* *mos-* 'mox' (for **moks*) Skr. *hurūk hīruk* (*-k* for **-kš*), notwithstanding Skr. *makṣū* Gr. *μεταξύ*. The *-s* of these adverbs seems more likely to be the same as that of *ἄν ἀμφί*; Lat. *cis* Avest. *us* (*ud + s*) O.Pers. *abiš* etc., which we are hardly justified in regarding as a plural locative suffix. *makṣ-ū* *μεταξ-ύ* moreover prove nothing, because the particle *u* attaches itself to other forms besides plural locatives. Nor can any stress be laid on Boeot. *τύ; γορεύ;* (= *τοί; γορεύαι*), Collitz Gr. Dialektinschr. no. 391.5; probably we should read with Fick *γορεύ;* = *γορεύ-αι*.

How *-s-* *s-u* and *-s-i* were distributed in the parent language (for we can hardly suppose that every word formed

three distinct locatives, all of which were used together) can no longer be made out. The general preference for *-su* and *-si* rather than *-s* is explained by the fact that these *s*-forms often were exactly the same as the nominative singular.

In Iranian the postposition *a* (or its unaccented by-form *a*, see § 246 p. 145) attached itself to locative plurals in *-su*: in Old Persian there is no other ending but *-uv-a* *-šuv-a*, while Avestic has *-hv-ā* *-sv-ā* along with *-hā* *-šā*. Compare Skr. Ved. *nadīṣv ā* 'in the streams' *mārtvyēṣv ā* 'among mortals' and the like; also pr. Ar. **ašyāi-a* 'in equa' § 264 p. 167.

In Armenian we find *-ç*, as in the gen., dat., and abl.; Bugge sees Idg. **-si* in *-ç*, see § 344 p. 245.

Greek. *-σιν* beside *-σι* like *-ων* beside *-οι*. Compare § 186 p. 62, § 281 pp. 186 f., and the Author, Gr. Gr.² § 64 Anm. 3 p. 80.

In Keltic and Germanic the locative plural had fallen out of living use before the date of the earliest remains of those languages. Whether it survives in adverbs, still remains to be discovered (on O.Ir. *mō* 'mox' see the Remark above). As regards alleged locatives like O.H.G. *Ōtingas* see § 357.

2. The Form of the Stem. This was weak, from the proethnic period onwards, in consonant stems which had gradation.

In Aryan, the loc. pl. and cases with a *bh*-suffix (Skr. *-bhyas*, *-bhiṣ*, *-bhyām*) often show the form of the nominative singular instead of the stem. The occurrence of such groups of words as (Skr.) *dhāma* : *dhāma-su* *-bhyas* etc., *āśvā* : *āśvā-su* *-bhyas* etc., *bṛhatī* : *bṛhatī-ṣu* *-bhyas* etc. suggested some necessary connexion between the form of what are called the "Middle Cases" with that of the nominative singular; hence Skr. *mānaḥ-su* *mānō-bhyas* *-bhiṣ* *-bhyām* following *mānaḥ* *mānō* instead of *mānassu* (*mānasu*) **manad-bhyas* etc., *havīḥ-ṣu* *havīr-bhyas* following *havīḥ* *havīr* instead of *havīṣṣu* **havīḍbhyas*, Avest. *ravō-hu* instead of *ravahu* following *ravō*, O.Pers. *rauca-biṣ* from *rauca*, Avest. *ber'zaḥ-byō* instead of *ber'zadbyō* following *ber'zaḥ* (§§ 303 f. pp. 203 f., §§ 364, 367,

375, 376, 386, and 387). Compare Osthoff, *Morph. Unt.* II 3 f.; Wackernagel, *Das Dehnungsgesetz der gr. Comp.*, 7 f.; Bartholomae, *Kuhn's Zeitschr.* XXIX 581 f.

In Balto-Slavonic, the loc. plural along with the other middle cases was attracted into the *i*-declension, as Lith. *akmen-ysè*, earlier **-i-se*, O.C.Sl. *kamen-ĩ-chũ*, like *akmen-ĩ-ms kamen-ĩ-mũ*, *akmen-i-mĩs kamen-ĩ-mi*, sing. *akmen-i-mĩ kamen-ĩ-mĩ*, dual *akmen-ĩ-m -i-mĩ kamen-ĩ-ma*. See § 402. But we still find O.Slav. *poljachũ* (O.Czech *Polás*) *poljamũ poljami* from *poljan-* (see I § 585. 3 p. 440, II § 115 p. 362, III §§ 361, 367, 404), with which we should perhaps compare Lith. dial. *žmoymis* (*oy* = *ũ*) from nom. sing. *žmũ* (Fortunatov, *Bezz. Beitr.* III 72).

§ 357. 1. *o*-stems. Pr. Idg. **u̯goĩ-s -su -si* 'in lupis'; the stem-final *-oĩ-* is borrowed from the pronoun (§ 430). Skr. *vykē-ṣu*; Avest. *vehrkaē-šu -šv-a*, O.Pers. *madaišuv-ā* 'in Medis'. Armen. *gailoç*, if *-ç* is Idg. **-si* (§ 344 p. 245); if so, *-o-* has displaced **-oĩ-* on the analogy of *gailo-vē*. Gr. *λύκοι-ς -οι*; *-οι* in Attic gave way gradually before *-ς* from 450 B. c. onwards. O.C.Sl. *vlŭcěchũ* (I § 462 p. 338).

Italic. It is a question whether Lat. *lupis* O.Lat. *oloes* 'illis', Umbr. *veskles vesclir* 'vasculis' *alfer* 'albis' Osc. *Núvlanúís* 'Nolanis' *nesimois* 'proximis', and so forth, represent the Idg. locative and instrumental, or instrumental only; see § 356 p. 257. On the analogy of *-ās* (*a*-stems) was coined a loc. pl. series in *-ōs*, instead of *-oīs*, which seems to be as early as the proethnic stage of Italic (cp. Lat. *-ōrum* following *-arum* § 345 p. 247, and Lith. *-āsu* Lett. *-ūs* following *-ōsu -ās*, see below): O.Lat. (Dvenos inscription) *deivōs* 'deis',¹⁾ Marruc. *aisos* Mars. *esos* 'deis'.

1) It should be mentioned that the latest discussion of the Dvenos inscription, by R. S. Conway (*Am. Journ. Phil.* X 452, 458), explains *deivos* as nom. pl. (cp. Umbr.-Samn. *-ōs*). — Written after the above had been printed.

Remark. It is doubtful whether we are to agree with Kögel in regarding as locative plural the West Germanic place-names in *-as*, as O.H.G. *Ötingas* (assumed to = **Audingá-su* 'among the sons of *Öto*'). See Kögel, Zeitschr. für d. Alt. XXVIII 110 ff., Paul-Braune's Beitr. XIV 115 ff. Henning (Deutsche Lit.-Zeit. 1888 p. 16) and Behaghel (Paul's Grundr. I 609) regard *-as* as the Latin accusative ending (*ad Ötingas*). If Kögel is right, the *-a-* of *-as* is far more likely to be an analogical transformation of Idg. *-oi-*, as we have just assumed the *-o-* of Armen. *gailoç* to be, than the pr. Idg. ending of noun-stems for this case, which must then be assumed to have been exchanged for the *-oi-* of pronouns in Aryan etc., but at no earlier period: observe O.C.Sl. *těchū* Lith. *tūšė: vūcėchū vilkūšė* in contrast with dat. *tēmū tėms: rliūkomū vilkams*. Compare further Kluge, Paul's Grundr. I 387.

Baltic. Lith. *vilkūsu -sė (-sa) -ūs* Lett. *vilūkūs* on the analogy of the **-a-su -se* of *a*-stems, like Lat. *deirōs* following *dēvās* (see above). Lith. dial. *vilkunse* following the acc. pl. *vilkuns-na*. See § 326 Rem. pp. 227 f.

§ 358. 2. *a*-stems. Pr. Idg. **ekūa-s -su -si* 'in equabus'. Skr. *úśvā-su*; Avest. *haēnā-hu -hv-a*, O.Pers. *aniyaūv-a* 'in aliis' for **-a-hu-a* (I § 558 pp. 413 ff.). Gr. inscr. *δραχμῆσι ταμίᾱσι* etc., from about 420 B. C. only surviving petrified in adverbs, as *θύράσι Ἀθήνησι*. O.Lat. *dēvās*, see § 356 p. 257. Lith. *rañko-su -se -s* Lett. *rūkā-s*; O.C.Sl. *raķa-chū*.

Greek. Ion. Att. *ρύμφοισι* Att. Lesb. *ρύμφοισι* are re-formations on the lines of *-οισι*. To banish from the text of Homer and other authors all forms in *-ης*, which happens never to occur on inscriptions, and to replace them with others in *-αις* except only where *-ησ'* can be read, is a rather arbitrary fiat of modern critics. They may be explained as a transformation of **-ας -ης* by analogy; and perhaps *-ης* was still used in the age of Homer.

Latin. Besides *dēvās*, are we to cite *forās* 'outside, out of doors' (*forās* 'out, outwards' is acc.), and *alias alterās* (sc. *vicibus* or *occāsionibus*)?

§ 359. 3. *i*- *iē*-stems (cp. p. 68, footnote). Pr. Idg. probably **bhṛghyti-s -su -si*. Skr. *bṛhatī-ṣu* Avest. *barenti-ṣu -šv-a*. Lith. *žēmė-su -se* O.C.Sl. *zemlja-chū* with *-iē-* instead of *-i-*.

Gr. *φερονίσησι*, *-ησι -αиси* on the lines of *ia*-stems (cp. the footnote on page 68). So too Lith. *vežancziō-su -sè -ð-s* O.C.Sl. *vezqšta-chŭ*.

§ 360. 4. *i*- and *u*-stems.

Pr. Idg. **omī-s -su -sī*. Skr. *āvi-ṣu*. Uncertain: Armen. *srti-ç*; see § 344 p. 245. Gr. Ion. Att. etc. *τρι-οί*, Dor. *ῥφι-σι*. Lat. *tri-su -sè* 'in tribus', O.C.Sl. *nošŕi-chŭ*.

Pr. Idg. **sūnu-s -su -sī*. Skr. *sūnū-ṣu*, Avest. *bāzu-ṣu -šv-a*. Uncertain: Armen. *zarduc*; see § 344 p. 245. Gr. *γονεῦ-σι*, cp. below. O.C.Sl. *synŭ-chŭ* (not found, but this is a mere accident).

Greek. *ῥφι-σι* became *ῥφεισι* (Hom. Att. Arcad.) by association with *ῥφεις* (**ῥφε-ες*) *ῥφεων*. So **πηχυν-σι *ῥδου-σι* became *πήχε-σι ῥδέ-σι* by association with *πήχεες* etc. *-υ-σι* remained only in *γονεῦσι* for **-εχυν-σι* = Skr. *-ayn-ṣu*, see § 261 p. 162; but later on there were coined sporadically such forms as *τοκέσι* following *ῥδέσι*, like nom. pl. *τοκεῖς* instead of *τοκῆς*; following *ῥδεῖς*.

Hom. *ῥεσσι* (*ῥι-ς*) and *πελέκεσσι πολέσσι* (*πέλεκυν-ς πολύν-ς*) owe their *σσ* to the poetic use of doublets like *ῥπεσσι* and *ῥπεισι* side by side.

The *es*-stem ending *-εσσι -εσι* was adopted not only by all consonant stems and by *ῥ- iḡ-* and *ū- uḡ-*stems, but by stems in *-i-* and *-u-* in the Aeolic dialects (in Homeric too), in N. W. Greek, and in parts of the Doric area; e. g. Hom. *ὀί-εσσι οῖ-εσι* Lesb. *διαλυσιέ-εσσι* Hom. *ταχέ-εσσι*. But again, the *o*-stem ending *-αις -οισι* spread in like manner in N. W. Greek and in certain divisions of the Peloponnese; e. g. *τρι-οῖς -οῖσι πολέ-οις* (= *πόλεσι*); *τρι-οῖς* : *τρι-ῶν* = *καλοῖς* : *καλῶν*. Each of these new departures started from the consonant stems, and originated in a wish to have the same stem-ending for the locative plural as for the other cases: e. g. *φερόντ-εσσι -οις* instead of pr. Gr. (Cret.) *φέρουσι* (Ion. Att. *φέρουσι* Lesb. **φέρουσι* etc.), following *φέρουτ-ες* etc.

Lith. *naktŭ-su -sè -ỹ-s* Lett. *naktī-s* and Lith. *sūnū-su -sè -ũ-s*. **-i-su *-u-su* became **-ī-su *-ū-su* by association

with **-ā-su*, and **-ū-su* then became *-ū-su* by association with stems in *-o-*. See § 326 Rem. pp. 227 f.

§ 361. 5. *n*-stems. Pr. Idg. **k(u)ṃṣ-s -su -si*. Skr. *śvā-su āśma-su*, Avest. *dāmo-hu -hv-a* (*dāman-* 'creature') = Skr. *dhāma-su* (I § 94 p. 88). Uncertain: Armen. *akanç anjanç*, see § 344 p. 245. Gr. Cret. *πλά-σι* (Att. *πλέοσι*, nom. sing. *πλίων*, cp. § 364 Rem.), Attic and Pindaric *φρα-σί* (Att. usually has *φρε-σί*, nom. sing. *φρήν*), Att. etc. *ὀνόμα-σι* (nom. sing. *ὄνομα*) = Skr. *nāma-su* (II § 82 p. 250). Then Armen. *anjan-ç*: *anjin-ē* = Gr. *φρα-σί*: *φρέν-ες*. Old Czech *Polás*, elsewhere O.Slav. *poljachŭ* with *-ch-* on the analogy of the other stems, beside nom. pl. O.C.Sl. *poljan-e*, see § 356 p. 260.

Greek. *ἀρνάσι* instead of **ἀρα-σι* with *ν* from the other cases. *πλέο-σι φρε-σί ἄκμο-σι ποιμέ-σι ἀγῶ-σι* have taken *ο*, *ι*, or *ω* instead of *α* from the other cases, cp. *ὄφρ-σι ἡδέ-σι* § 360 p. 262. On the analogy of *φρε-σί*: *φρένες*, *ἄκμο-σι*: *ἄκμονες* was coined *κυσί* instead of **κνα-σι* (**πα-σι*) beside *κύνες*. With *-εσσι*: Hom. *ἡγεμόν-εσσι* *λιμέν-εσσι* *κύν-εσσι* Megar. *λαγόν-εσσι* etc. With *-οις*: N.-W. Gr. *μειόν-οις* *ἀγών-οις* El. *ἀγών-οις*, etc.; see § 360 p. 262.

Lith. *szun-y-su -sè* *akmen-y-su -sè* and O.C.Sl. *kamen-i-chŭ*, following the *i*-class: see § 356 p. 260.

§ 362. 6. *r*-stems. Pr. Idg. **matr-s *dōtr-s -su -si*. Skr. *mātr-ṣu dātṛ-ṣu*. Uncertain: Armen. *març*, and with strong stem *dsterç* (or *dsteraç*); see § 344 p. 245. Gr. *μητρά-σι*, *ἀνδρά-σι*, and with strong stem *δώτορ-σι* *δοτῆρ-σι*.

Greek. It is due to the force of association with connected forms that *δώτορσι* keeps *-ρσ-* in later Attic, instead of becoming *-ρρ-* (I § 563.3 p. 419). With *-εσσι*: Hom. Boeot. *ἄνδρ-εσσι* Hom. *θυγατέρ-εσσι*. With *-οις*: N.-W. Gr. *ἄνδρ-οις* and so forth, see § 356 p. 262.

Lith. *moter-y-su -sè* and O.C.Sl. *mater-i-chŭ* following the *i*-class; see § 356 p. 260.

§ 363. 7. Stems ending in an Explosive.

Pr. Idg. **bhṛghṣt-s -su -si*. Skr. *bhṛāt-su bhārat-su*, Avest. *berzasu* (I § 473.2 p. 349). Gr. Cret. *έλονσι βάλλονσι*

νικᾶσανσι Att. ἐλοῦσι βάλλουσι *νικήσασι*. The old ending *-ᾶσαι* = **-ατ-σι* **-ητ-σι* is still seen in Heracl. *πρᾶσσόντ-ασσι* ἔντ-ασσι, which took the place of **πρᾶσσᾶσαι* **ᾶσαι* (cp. Skr. *sat-su* = **s-ητ-su*), the stem of *πρᾶσσόντ-ες* ἔντ-ες etc. having been substituted for the proper stem in these latter forms; compare ἀρνάσαι instead of **ἀρα-σι*, § 361, last page. *νήφουσι* (Theogn.) from *νήφω* 'I am sober' instead of **νήφασι*, with *o* from *νήφοντ-ες* etc., compare *χαρί-εσι* following *χαρί-εντ-ες* (below). With *-εσαι*: Hom. ἀκονόντ-εσαι Lesb. φερόντ-εσαι Hom. N.W. Gr. πάντ-εσαι. With *-οις*: N.-W. Gr. ἀγγελλόντ-οις ὄντ-οις and the like, see § 360, last page. O.C.Sl. *telet-ŭchŭ* following the *i*-flexion, cp. § 244 pp. 142 f. — Lith. *vẽžancziũ-su -se* O.C.Sl. *vezqšti-chŭ*, as though a *ŷo*-stem.

Skr. *āpa-vat-su* (*āpa-vant-* 'watery'), Gr. *χαρί-εσι* instead of **-φατ-σι* (cp. *νήφουσι*, above); see II § 127 p. 404.

Avest. *nafsu* = pr. Ar. **napt-su* from Ar. *napāt-* *napt-* 'descendant'; see I § 471 p. 348.

d-stems. Skr. *śarāt-su* 'in autumns'. Gr. *φνγάσι* (*νιφάδ-εσαι -οις*). Skr. *pat-sú*, Gr. *ποσί* Hom. *ποσσί* (*πόδ-εσαι ποδ-οῖς*).

Skr. *uśtkṣu*, stem *uśtj-* 'desirous', Avest. *tuzašv-a*, stem *tuc-* 'covering, mat'. Gr. *μεῖραξι* ὄρνυξι (*σκυλάκ-εσαι πτερύγ-εσαι, φυλάκ-οις*).

Skr. *ap-sú* 'in waters'. Gr. *κλωπί* (*γέπ-εσαι*).

§ 364. 8. *s*-stems.

Pr. Idg. **menes -esu -esi, -es-su -es-si* from nom. acc. sing. **menos* 'mind', see § 356 Rem. p. 258. Skr. *mānas-su*, Ved. *mānasu* also, Avest. *manahu -hv-a*; on Skr. *mānah-su* see below. Gr. *μένεσι* Hom. *μένεσ-οι*. Lith. *debes-y-su -sè* O.C.Sl. *sloves-ŭchŭ*, see § 356 p. 260. — Gr. Cret. *μηνοί* Att. *μηνοί* instead of **μενσι* Att. **μεισι*, which it should have been, cp. nom. sing. *μείς* (I § 611 p. 462, II § 132 p. 415, III § 199 p. 81); so *-η-* came from the other cases; observe that Idg. **mēnsi* would have become Att. **μηνι*. Similarly Att. *χηνοί* instead of **χᾶσι* = **χᾶνσ-οι*. — Skr. *māsú*, later *mās-su*, from *mās* 'mensis', see II § 132 p. 415, § 134 p. 425.

Skr. *havīṣ-ṣu* (*havīh-ṣu*, see below) like *mánas-su*.
Gr. *δέπασσι* Hom. *δέπασσι*.

Comparative **dhīs -isu -isi*, *-is-su -is-si* 'in ocioribus'.
Skr. *āśīyas-su* (*āśīyah-su*, see below). O.C.Sl. *slazīši-chū* as though a *īo*-stem.

Remark. Gr. *ἡδίοι πλείοι* are not for *-*ios-si*, but have a *ien*-suffix, like Cret. *πλάσι* (§ 361 p. 263). The weak cases seem never to have had *-ios-* in Greek; see II § 135 Rem. p. 429. Hence we find no **ἡδιόσσι* like *ἔπεισσι*; and, although *πλεόν-εσσι μειόν-οις* do occur, we never see **πλεό-εσσι -οις* like *ἔπέ-εσσι -οις* and *δεπά-εσσι*.

Part. perf. act. **ueḡdus -usu -usi*, *-us-su -us-si*.
Everywhere we meet with re-formations. Skr. *vidvātsu* has *t* from *vidvād-bhyas* etc., where *-dbh-* comes regularly from *-*zbh-*, see II § 136 p. 441.¹⁾ Gr. *ιδόσι* doubtless belongs to a *uet*-stem, and so stands for *-*For-si* (II § 136 p. 440), cp. N.W.Gr. *γεγονότ-οις*. Lith. *mīrusiū-su -se* O.C.Sl. *mīrūši-chū*, as though a *īo*-stem.

Gr. *μῦσί* (preserved by Herodian, and in the *Batrachomyomachia* 260), with variant *μῦσί*, by re-formation; see II § 160 p. 485. O.C.Sl. *mysīchū* following the *i*-declension. Skr. *mūṣ-ṣu* not found.

Aryan. With nom. sing. form substituted for the stem: Skr. *mānah-su āśīyah-su havīh-ṣu*, Avest. *raoō-hu* from *raoah-* 'happiness, joy'. See § 356 p. 259.

Greek. *-εσσι*: Hom. *ἐπέ-εσσι ὁμηγερέ-εσσι* Lesb. *ἐτέ-εσσι*, Hom. *δεπά-εσσι*; *-οις*: N.-W. Gr. *ἐτέ-οις* Messen. *ἐνσεβέ-οις*, see § 360 p. 262. *-εσσι* was of course taken from forms like *ἔπεισσι*; and it was not until *-εσσι* had become naturalised in other consonant stems that such a word as *ἐπέ-εσσι* could be coined.

§ 365. 9. *i- iḡ-* and *ū- uḡ-* stems, stems in *-ī-*, *-ī̄-*, and *-ū̄-*.

Pr. Idg. *-ī-s -su -si*, *-ū-s -su -si*; e. g. **bhrū-s -su -si* from nom. **bhrū-s* 'brow'. Skr. *dhī-ṣu nadī-ṣu*, *bhrū-ṣu*

1) In writing this passage I was under the mistake of supposing that *-*vas-su* would regularly become *-vatsu*. Against this see Bartholomae, Stud. zur idg. Spr., I 9 ff.

śvaśrū-ṣu. Gr. *κί-σι πολλοί-σι* (from *πόλις*), *ὄφρον-σι ὕ-σι νέκυ-σι* (from *νέκυς*) with *ι ὕ* following *κί-ες* etc. It is possible that where we now read *νέκυσι γένυσσι πίτυσσι* forms ending in *-ῶσι* once stood in the text of Homer. *-εσσι*: Hom. *ὀύ-εσσι νεκύ-εσσι*, see § 360 p. 262. Lith. *žuv-y-su -sè* O.C.Sl. *krŭv-ŭ-chŭ* (not actually found) following the *i*-flexion; but *svekrŭv-a-chŭ* follows the *a*-flexion (cp. gen. pl. *svekrŭvŭ* : *račkŭ*).

Skr. *gīr-śū*, *pūr-śū*, *gō-śā-su* (the last not actually found) like nom. sing. *gīr* etc., see § 197 p. 76 above.

§ 366. 10. Pr. Idg. **nāu-s -su -si* 'in navibus': Skr. *nāu-śū* Gr. *ναυ-σί*; Homer uses the re-formate *νην-σί*, like *νηϋς*, following *νη-ός* etc. (I § 611 p. 462), but he also has the regular form in the compound *ναυσι-κλυτός*. Skr. *gō-ṣu*, Gr. *βου-σί*.

Hom. *νή-εσσι νέεσσι*, *βό-εσσι* Boeot. *βού-εσσι*, N.-W. Gr. *βοί-οις*; see § 360 p. 263.

Dative-Ablative Plural.¹⁾

§ 367. 1. The Suffix. Since both the Aryan forms in *-bhjas* and the Latin in *-bus* are used for dative and ablative alike, we must suppose that this twofold function is as old as the parent language. Then the use of the genitive plural with ablative sense in Greek and Balto-Slavonic is a later developement, due to the use of the singular genitive in *-es -os -s* with this sense, which was also proethnic. We need hardly find a difficulty in the initial of the dative plural suffix in Balto-Slavonic, which is *m-* and not *bh-* (Lith. *-mus* O.C.Sl. *-mŭ*). As the *bh-* suffix had both meanings, we may fairly infer the same of the *m-* suffix.

1) V. Henry, Essai de systématisation des désinences en **-bh-* dans la langue latine, Mém. de l. Soc. d. lingu. VI 102 ff. L. Havet, Datifs-ablatifs plur. en *-ibus* [en latin], *ibid.* III 412 ff. L. Duvau, Datif plur. de l'ombrien, *ibid.* VI 104. Förstemann Zur Geschichte altd deutscher Declination: Der dat. plur., Kuhn's Zeitschr. XVI 81 ff. Much, Germanische Dative aus der Römerzeit, Zeitschr. f. deutsch. Altert. XXXI 354 ff. J. Schmidt, Der altpreuss. dat. pl. auf *-mans*, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. IV 268 ff.

The endings which have to be compared in order to restore the Indo-Germanic suffix are the following: Skr. *-bhyas* (*-bhīyas* frequently in Vedic) Avest. *-byō* = pr. Ar. **-bhīas* (**-bhīyas*); Lat. *-bos -bus* Osc. *-fs -ss* Umbr. *-s* = pr. Ital. **-fos* **-bhos*; ¹⁾ Gall. *-bo*; ²⁾ O.Lith. *-mus*, modern *-ms*, Pruss. *-mans -mas*, O.C.Sl. *-mŭ*. On the variation between *-bh-* and *-m-* see § 274 pp. 175 f. We have no right to assume that the *i* which follows the initial of the suffix in Aryan has been dropped in the other languages, and to derive (say) Ital. **-fos* from **-fios*. Whence comes the *i* of *-bhyas*, or of *-bhya -bhyam -bhyām*, is an obscure point.

Gall. *-bo* is related to Lat. *-bo-s* as Skr. *-bhya* (*tī-bhya* 'tibi') to *-bhya-s*, and as instr. **-bhi* (sing. and pl. in Greek, elsewhere only sing., § 274 p. 175, § 281 pp. 186 f.) to Skr. *-bhi-ṣ*. This suggests the question whether the wide-spread Lith. *-m* found along with *-mus*, and Lett. *-m* (e. g. Lith. *rañko-m* Lett. *rākdā-m* beside Lith. *rañko-mus -ms*) does not represent a form **-mo* without *s*, like Gall. *-bo*.³⁾ This view seems to be supported by an instr. pl. *-mi* instead of *-mis*, found in the Godlewa district of Lithuanian and in Lettic folk-songs (e. g. Godl. *nakti-mi* = *nakti-mis*, Lett. *kājā-mi* = Lith. *kōjo-mis*); see § 379. Then again the *-m* of the Germ. "dative" plural has to be considered. It is conceivable that O.W.Germ. *-ms* and Norse *-mr* (§ 379) represent an instr. suffix **-mis*; only it must perhaps be granted that **-mz* sometimes came

1) It should be mentioned that the Umbr.-Osc. ending might without irregularity be derived from **-fis* = Skr. *-bhiṣ* (instr. pl.).

2) Only found in one inscription, which is wrongly denied to be Keltic by d'Arbois de Jubainville (Rev. Celt. XI 249). — We are not justified in seeing this Gall. *-bo* in O.Ir. *na-b*, as Windisch does (Paul-Braune's Beitr. IV 221). In this there has doubtless been merely loss of the palatal sound, first taking place before non-palatals, as *dinab gabalīb*. (Thurneysen.)

3) In *Lit. Volksl. und Märch.*, pp. 297 f., I explained *rañkom*, with Brückner, as the dual form used in the plural. This is unquestionably possible; compare the Russian instr. dual in *-ma* with plural meaning (Vetter, Zur Gesch. der nom. Decl. im Russ., 50 f.).

from a dative in **-mos*. But no one has proved the existence of any sound-law by which the *-m* of all Germanic dialects — even in O.Icel. we find e. g. *þri-m* beside *þri-mr* 'tribus', and others — could be derived from **-mz* (there is no manner of need to derive the Goth. 1st. pl. *batra-m* from **-mz*). I therefore conjecture that Germanic, like Baltic, inherited from the parent speech a plural **-mi* (cp. sing. O.H.G. *zi houbitun* A.S. *ðæ-m* § 282 p. 188), and perhaps **-mo* as well. It follows that the pluralising of *bh-* and *m-*suffixes by adding *-s* was not complete in the parent language.

Remark. It is perhaps allowable to analyse Pruss. *-mans* into **-mōm + s* (**-mom* beside **-mo* like Skr. *-bhyam : bhya*, Gr. *-ov : -oi*), notwithstanding *amsis* 'people' *gimsenin* 'birth', on the strength of *mensā menso* 'flesh, meat'. This word answers to Goth. *mimza-*, and there is no reason to suppose that it was a Slavonic loan-word (*męso*); doubtless in *mensā menso* *m* became *n* by dissimilation, and the same process might change **-mams* to *-mans*. **-mom* might be compared with O.C.Sl. *-mŭ*. But doubts are suggested by Lith. *-mus -ms*, which cannot be derived from **-mans* (on the acc. Lith. *dėvūs*: Pruss. *deiūans* see § 326 p. 227); and the question arises whether *-mas* in Prussian (e. g. *nou-mas* 'nobis') were not the older form. Pruss. *-mas* and Lith. *-mus* might be connected with original **-mōs*, and *-mans* may really be due to association with the acc. pl. in *-ans*. Lith. *-mus*, with O.C.Sl. *-mŭ*, may however be derived from Idg. **-mus*. Ergo, non liquet. Compare further Osthoff, *Morph. Unt.* II 31 f.; Leskien, *Ber. der sächs. Ges. der Wiss.*, 1884, pp. 101 f.

Armenian has *-ç*, as in the gen. and loc., see § 344 p. 245. In Greek the form ceased to be used at all; its dative meaning was expressed by the locative and instrumental, and its ablative meaning, as already stated, by the genitive. Old Irish dropped it in favour of the instrumental.

2. Form of the Stem. This was weak, right down from the proethnic period, in consonant stems which admitted of gradation, as **pater-* 'pater'.

Aryan often shews the nom. sing. form where the stem should be, as Skr. *mānō-bhyas* Avest. *manē-byō*. See on this point § 356 pp. 259 f.

In Latin and Oscan consonant stems show the *i*-stem ending, as Lat. *mātr-ibus* *ferent-ibus* like *ovi-bus* *tri-bus*,

Osc. *lig-is* 'legibus'. But Umbr. *-us* in *fratrus ašet-us* etc. seems to have been taken from *u*-stems (beru-*s* 'verubus').

As regards the stem in Germanic see § 379. 2.

In Balto-Slavonic the *i*-stem ending has become the regular one, as it did in the other *m*-cases and in the locative plural; e. g. Lith. *akmen-i-ms* O.C.Sl. *kamen-i-mū*. But we still find O.Slav. *poljamū* = **poljan+mū*, see § 356 p. 260.

§ 368. 1. *o*-stems. Pr. Idg. **u̯go-bh- (-m-)*. Skr. *vṛkē-bhyas* Avest. *vehrkaēibyō* with pr. Ar. *-ai-* instead of *-a-* following pronouns like *tē-bhyas taēibyō*. (Goth. *vulfa-m* O.H.G. *wolfum* beside *pái-m dē-m*, cp. § 367 p. 267 f. and § 380). Lith. *vilka-mus -á-ms* O.C.Sl. *vlūko-mū* beside *tē-ms tē-mū*.

Latin forms in *-ibus* from *o*-stems, as *amicibus suibus* (see Bücheler-Windekilde, Grundr. pp. 126 f.) are later re-formates instead of the forms in *-īs* (§ 380). But the pronouns *i-bus* 'eis' (cp. Skr. *ē-bhyás*), variant *i-bus* (*i*-stem like *quī-bus*), and *hī-bus* 'his', may be regarded as proethnic.

Remark. In O.C.Sl., *io*-stems show not only *-ie-mū* but *-imū*, as *zūlodějimū*, and similarly instr. sing. *zūlodějimi* dat. instr. dual *-jima*. We may regard *i* (after sonants *-ji-*) as the weak grade of the suffix *-jo-* (cp. O.H.G. *hirti-m* § 380), the *š* of *glagoljāšimū* as taken from the other cases, and occasional forms like *stražije* (nom. pl.) 'watchers' as later re-formates on the lines of the *i*-declension. Thus *-dějimū*: *-dějemū* Lith. *gaidžid-ms* (*gaidž-s* 'cock') = O.H.G. *hirtim*: Goth. *hairdjam*. This would make it easier to see why so many masc. neut. consonant stems became *jo*-stems in Balto-Slavonic; for example, part. gen. Lith. *vėžiančio* O.C.Sl. *vežašta* 'vehentis', O.C.Sl. *datelji* 'dator'. That is to say, if there was an *-i-* in the *m*-cases of *jo*-stems in pr. Balt.-Slav., their ending was the same as that of consonant stems, which already formed these cases after the model of stems in *-i-* (§ 402); it was easy enough, for example, to form cases from **vežont-jo-* when there was a form **vežont-i-m-*. Another point remains to be investigated. What was the cause of the very common transfer of *i*-stems to the *jo*-class in older Lithuanian (as *krý-ti-s* II § 100 p. 306): may not forms analogous to O.H.G. *hirtim* have helped the change, and not merely the similar ending of the nom. acc. singular?

§ 369. 2. *a*-stems. Pr. Idg. **ek̑a-bh- (-m-)*. Skr. *áśva-bhyas*, Avest. *haēnā-byō*. Lat. *equā-bus*; *-ā-bus* was more widely spread in the oldest Latin (e. g. *manibus dextrabus*),

but used later only to distinguish genders (as *filiis* and *filiabus*), and in the re-formates *duabus ambabus* (plural suffix instead of dual). Gall. *μῆτρῶσθ*, used attributively with *μῆτρῶσθ* 'matribus'. (Goth. *gihō-m* O.H.G. *gebō-m*, see § 367 pp. 267 f., § 381). Lith. *rañko-mus -ms*, O.C.Sl. *raċa-mŭ*.

§ 370. 3. *i-* *iē-* stems (cp. p. 68, footnote). Pr. Idg. **bhṛghṛti-bh-* (-*m*-). Skr. *bṛhatti-bhyas*, Avest. *barenti-byō*. (O.H.G. *digī-m* 'to prayers', see § 367 pp. 267 f. and § 382). With *-iē-* instead of *-i-*: Lat. *faciē-bus*, Umbr. *iovies* for **iē-fs* beside the acc. pl. *iovie(f)* § 328 p. 229. So also Lith. *žėmė-mus -ms*, O.C.Sl. *zemlja-mŭ*; but others have *iā-* flexion (cp. footnote on p. 68), Lith. *vėšanczio-ms*, O.C.Sl. *vezqšta-mŭ*.

§ 371. 4. *i-* stems. Pr. Idg. **oyi-bh-* (-*m*-). Skr. *āvi-bhyas*, Avest. *aēi-byō*. Lat. *tri-bus ovi-bus turri-bus*; Umbr. *tris* 'tribus' *avis* *aves* *aveis* 'avibus', Osc. *luisari-fs* (Bücheler, Rhein. Mus. XLIV 328), cp. *teremn-iss* 'terminibus' § 373; the vowel of the last syllable was long in Umbrian; would this be "compensatory lengthening", or the analogy of the accusative plural? (Goth. *ansti-m* O.H.G. *ensti-m*, see § 367 pp. 267 f., § 383). Lith. *nakti-mus -i-ms*, O.C.Sl. *nošti-mŭ*.

§ 372. 5. *u-* stems. Pr. Idg. **sūnu-bh-* (-*m*-). Skr. *sūnū-bhyas*, Avest. *bāzu-byō*. Lat. *manu-bus mani-bus lacu-bus laci-bus*, see I § 49 pp. 41 f. and Bücheler-Windekilde pp. 124 f.; Umbr. *beru-s* 'verubus'. (Goth. *sunu-m*, see § 367 pp. 267 f., § 383). Lith. *sūnu-mus -ū-ms*, O.C.Sl. *synomŭ* for **synū-mŭ*, which by some chance is never found, nor is **synū-mŭ* (§ 282 p. 189).

§ 373. 6. *n-* stems. Pr. Idg. **k(u)uṇ-bh-* (-*m*-), possibly assimilated **k(u)uṇ-bh-*, see I § 222 p. 190. Skr. *śvā-bhyas āśma-bhyas*, Avest. *dāma-byō* and *draomē-byō* (*draoman-* 'assault, onset') with *-ē-* from the *es-* stems (*manē-byō*, § 376) by reason of the identical loc. ending in the two classes (*dāmohu* = **dāmahu* like *manahu*, § 361 p. 263). Lat. *homin-i-bus* Osc. *teremn-i-ss* 'terminibus', but Umbr. *karn-u-s*

'carnibus', *homon-u-s* 'hominibus', see § 367, p. 268. Lith. *szun-i-mus akmen-i-mus -i-ms*, O.C.Sl. *kamen-ĩ-mũ* following *i*-flexion, but O.C.Sl. keeps *poljamũ* for **poljān-mũ* (I § 219 pp. 185 f.), see § 367 p. 269.

§ 374. 7. *r*-stems. Pr. Idg. **mātṛ-bh- *dōtṛ-bh-* (-*m*-). Skr. *mātṛ-bhyas dātṛ-bhyas*, Avest. *māter'-byō dāter'-byō*. Lat. *mātr-i-bus datōr-i-bus*, Umbr. *fratr-u-s fratr-u-s* 'fratribus' *ner-u-s* 'proceribus'. Gall. *mātre-bo* (ματρεβο) 'matribus'; it is not certain whether *-re-* = Idg. *-ṛ-* (*-re-* instead of O.Kelt. *-ri-* I § 298 p. 236, as in *vergo-bretu-s* beside O.Ir. *breth* f. 'sentence, judgement' = Idg. **bhṛ-tā*), or if the word once was **mātr-i-bo*, and has changed to *mātrebo* under the influence of *i*-stems; cp. O.Ir. instr. *māthraib* *māthrib* § 385. (Goth. *brōþru-m*, O.H.G. *muoterum*, see § 367 pp. 267 f., § 385). Lith. *moter-i-mus -i-ms* O.C.Sl. *mater-ĩ-mũ*, following the *i*-class.

§ 375. 8. Stems ending in an Explosive.

Pr. Idg. **bhṛghṛd-bh-* (-*ṛt-m*-), from the stem **bhṛghont-*. Skr. *bṛhád-bhyas*; Avest. *ber'zað-byō*, *ber'zanbyō* with substitution of the strong stem, and *ber'zapbyō* with the nom. acc. sing. in place of the stem (§ 356 p. 259). Lat. *ferent-i-bus*, Umbr. *ašet-u-s* 'agentibus', see § 367 p. 268. (Goth. *frijōnd-a-m tunþ-u-m* etc., see § 386.) Lith. *vėžantė-ms* (pronominal ending), O.C.Sl. *vezqšte-mũ* like a *jo*-stem; Lith. *dant-ĩ-ms* 'dentibus', O.C.Sl. *telet-ĩ-mũ* (see § 244 pp. 142 f.).

Skr. Ved. *nádbhyas* for **nabd-bhyas* from *nápāt-* *napt-* 'descendant', cp. Avest. loc. *nafsu* § 363 p. 264. (Goth. *tigum* 'decadibus' for pr. Germ. **tezun(d)-m-*, see § 386).

d-stems. Skr. *śarád-bhyas* 'to autumns'. Skr. *pad-bhyás* Avest. *pað'-byō*, Lat. *ped-i-bus* Umbr. *du-purs-u-s* 'bipedibus' (§ 367 p. 268). (Goth. *fōt-u-m*, § 386).

Skr. *vāg-bhyás* 'vocibus', Avest. *vāyē'-byō* from a base not found elsewhere, *vāc(a)h-*, or it may contain the nom. *vāxs* instead of the stem (§ 356 p. 259), Lat. *vōc-i-bus* following the *i*-declension. Skr. *viḍ-bhyás* Avest. *vīž-byō* pr. Ar. **viž-bhīas* from *viš-* *vīs-* 'clan, village community' (I § 404 p. 299), but contrariwise Skr. *dig-bhyás* (stem *diš-* 'direction') instead of

**didbhyas* follows *dikṣú* and *dík* (§ 356 p. 259). Lat. *leg-i-bus* (sc. *leg-i-s* 'legibus' following the *i*-class.

Skr. *adbhyás* Avest. *aiwyō* from the stem *ap-* 'water', see I § 328 p. 265.

§ 376. 9. *s*-stems. Pr. Idg. **menez-bh-* (*-es-m-*) from nom. sing. **menos*. Skr. *mánō-bhyas* instead of **manadbhyas* following *mánō*, similarly Avest. *manē-byō* instead of **manaz-byō* following Gāthic *manē*, see § 356 p. 259 and Bartholomae Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 572 f. and 582, Stud. zur idg. Spr. I 2 f. Lat. *gener-i-bus* follows the *i*-class. (O.H.G. *kelbir-um*, see § 387). Lith. *debes-i-ms* O.C.Sl. *sloves-ī-mŭ* following the *i*-class.

Skr. *suddbhyas* Avest. *huddābyō* (stem *su-ddās- hu-dāh-* 'giving richly'), instead of **sudādbh-* **hudāzb-*, following the nom. *sudd hudd* (§ 356 p. 259). But there are some regular forms, as Ved. *mādbhyás* (later *mābhyás*) from *mās* 'mensis', and *uṣādbhyas* (later *uṣōbhyas*) from *uṣás-* 'dawn'. Lat. *mēns-i-bus*, cp. O.Ir. *mīs-i-b* § 387.

Skr. *havīr-bhyas* instead of **havīḍbhyas* (cp. *viprūdbhyas* from *vipruṣ-* 'drop, crumb') following the nom. *havīr* 'libation'; but Avest. *snaiṇiž-byō* is regular (inferred from *snaiṇiž-byu* § 304 p. 204).

Comparative. Pr. Idg. **ōkiz-bh-* (*-is-m-*). Skr. *āśtyō-bhyas* like *mánō-bhyas*. Lat. *ōciōr-i-bus* like an *i*-stem. O.C.Sl. *slažďiše-mŭ* like a *io*-stem.

Part. perf. act. Pr. Idg. **uejduz-bh-* (*-us-m-*). Skr. *vidvād-bhyas* with the strong suffix *-vas-*, Avest. *vidūzbyō*. Lith. *mirusė-ms* (pronominal ending), O.C.Sl. *mŭrŭše-mŭ* like a *io*-stem.

Lat. *mŭr-i-bus* and O.C.Sl. *myšŭ-mŭ* declined in the *i*-class, pr. Idg. **mŭz-bh-* **mŭs-m-*.

§ 377. 10. *i-* *iḡ-* and *ū-* *uḡ-* stems, and stems in *-ī-*, *-ī̄-*, *-ū̄-*.

Pr. Idg. *-ī-bh-* *-ū-bh-*, *-ī-m-* *-ū-m-*. Skr. *dhī-bhyás nadī-bhyas*, *bhrū-bhyás śvaśrū-bhyas*. Lat. *sū-bus*, also *sŭ-bus*, doubtless because of *sŭ-is* etc. (cp. Gr. *σοί* § 365 pp. 265 f.),

and *su-i-bus*. (O.Icel. *sū-m*, see § 388.) Lith. *žuv-ī-ms* O.C.Sl. *krǫv-ī-mŭ* in the *i*-class, but *svekrŭva-mŭ* in the *a*-class (cp. *svekrŭva-chŭ* § 365 p. 266).

Skr. *gīr-bhyás*, *pūr-bhyás*, *gō-ṣā-bhyas* (the last not actually found) for **gṛ-bh-* etc., like nom. sing. *gīr* etc., see § 197 p. 76.

§ 378. 11. Skr. *nāu-bhyás*, Lat. *nāv-i-bus* in the *i*-class. Skr. *gō-bhyas*, Lat. *bā-bus* *bō-bus*. Skr. *rā-bhyás*, Lat. *rē-bus*.

Instrumental Plural.¹⁾

§ 379. 1. The Suffix. Stems in *-o-* had for their ending *-ōis*, which may perhaps be analysed *-o+ā^{is}* (I § 150 p. 136); on O.C.Sl. *-y* see § 380. The other classes show the following endings: Skr. *-bhiṣ* Avest. *-bīš* O.Pers. *-biš* = pr. Ar. **-bhiš*; Armen. *-bē* *-vē* (which Bugge conjectures to be **-bhis-ū*, as he supposes *-ē* in the nom. pl. to be **-(e)s-ū*, see § 313 p. 212); Gr. *-φι* *-φιν*; O.Ir. *-b* = pr. Kelt. **-bis* (*-i-* has left its mark in the palatal vowel of the preceding syllable, and *-s* in the usual absence of any spirant as the initial of the following word, see I § 576 p. 432, § 658.1 p. 510; Windisch, Paul-Braune's Beitr. IV 221); Germ. **-miz* (O.Icel. *-mr*, as *pri-mr* § 383, O.West-Germ. *Vatvī-ms* § 382) and **-mi*; Lith. *-mis* dial. *-mi*, O.C.Sl. *-mi*. Lith. dial. pl. *-mi* beside sing. *-m* (see the Author, Lit. Volksl. und Märch., p. 297) and Lett. *-mi* (§ 367 pp. 267 f.) point to **-mī*; similarly, Lett. *wtā-mis* 'here and there' from *wtā* 'place' (Bielenstein, Die lett. Spr., II 34) doubtless points to **-mīs*.²⁾ Consequently

1) Compare the footnotes on pp. 173, 256, and 266.

2) The area over which the Lith. pl. *-mi* extends has yet to be determined. It seems to be as early as Bretken, in the form *sunumi*, see Bezenberger Beitr. zur Gesch. der lit. Spr., 149. The ending cannot be the same as the sing. *-mi*, because the sing. suffix always appears as *-m* in Godlewa. It is not probable that *-mi* and the Lett. pl. *-mi* have lost *-s* through being used before spirants, and that the forms thus produced became the only ones. Lett. *-mi*, if Lettic alone be taken into account, might as a last resort be regarded as the singular form; compare *abdu rāku* 'with both hands', in Bielenstein II 23, also singular in form. But it may not be separated from the Lith. pl. *-mi*. Lastly, as to the

Lith. *-mis* will represent an older **-mīs*, and O.C.Sl. *-mi* an older **-mī* or **-mīs*. It follows that we may regard as proethnic **-bhi(s)* and **-mi(s)*, perhaps also the same forms with a long *-ī*, **-bhī(s)* **-mī(s)*. If *-mi* and *-mī* were both proethnic, the different quantity has been turned to account in Baltic, and possibly in Slavonic (that is, if *-mi* never had an *-s*) to distinguish singular and plural. On the whole question compare § 367 pp. 267 f.

The Avesta contains plural instrumentals in *-šs* from consonant stems, as *nāmēn-īš ašaon-īs savarəhat-īš* (*savarəhant* 'useful'), which, like the instr. in *-āiš* and sporadically those in *-bīš*, are used sometimes as nom. acc. neuter. No trustworthy evidence of these forms has been found in other languages; Bartholomae's comparison of Gr. *ἄνις ἄλις χυρίς* is very dubious; compare further Curtius Grundr.⁵ 650, and Strachan in Bezz. Beitr. XIV 176. So long as this is the case, and their extended use has not been explained, we must hesitate to regard them as being original instrumental forms, tempting though it may be to suppose that this *-šs* is related to the ending *-ōis* = *-o + a^{is}* as the abl. *-d* of Skr. *ma-d* to *-ōd* = *-o + a^d* (§ 240 pp. 133 f.). See Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. XV 16 f., Stud. zur idg. Spr., I 75 f. Perhaps Bartholomae's comparison of the instrumental sing. *nāmēn-ī* takes us a step further. For this suggests the obvious conjecture that *nāmēn-īš nāmēn-ī* (*ē* = Ar. *a*) are instead of **nāma-mīš *nāma-mī* (cp. Skr. *sanē-mi* § 282 pp. 187 f., and also O.Ir. *anmimm* § 281 p. 186); when the *m*-suffixes were in course of dying out, *m* might easily be replaced by *n* taken from the other cases, and then *nāmēnīš* might be regarded as containing a suffix *-īš*.

2. Form of the Stem. The remarks made in § 367. 2 (pp. 268 f. above) apply here.

quantity of *i* in Lett. *-mi -mis*, the Lith. pl. *-mi* = **-mī* and O.C.Sl. *-mi* support the view that the vowel was once long, and gives no countenance to a supposed exception to regular rule, whereby original short *i* should be kept in popular poetry against the recognised laws affecting final syllables.

In Old Irish the consonant-stem ending *-ib* was borrowed by some of the *i*-stems and some of those in *-o-* or *-ā-*. The forms were related to *mnaib* just as Lat. *homin-i-bus matr-i-bus* etc. to *equa-bus*.

Germanic. The suffix of consonant stems was **-mi(s)*, not **-m̃mi(s)* or **-ami(s)* as assumed by Kluge and others; which we are doubtless to infer from *tigum* for **tegun(d)-mi* = Skr. *daśād-bhiṣ* (§ 386).¹⁾ The *-um* of Goth. A.S. O.Sax. *fōt-um*, Goth. *mēnōp-um* etc. arose from A.S. *earnu-m* (§ 384), Goth. *brōþru-m* (§ 385), *sunu-m* (§ 383); and the spread of this *-um*, along with the *-a-m* of *o*-stems (Goth. *frijōnd-am reik-am*) and the *-i-m* of *i*-stems (Goth. *baúrg-im*) was due to the same desire after uniformity of stem which produced *φερόντ-εσσι -οις* to take the place of *φέροναι* (§ 360 p. 262). *-am* was naturally suggested by the analogy of the gen. pl.; e. g. *frijōndē : vulfē*.

§ 380. 1. *o*-stems. Pr. Idg. **u/qōiṣ*; the European languages have *-ois* for *-ōis* in accordance with I §§ 611 ff. Skr. *vṛkāiṣ*, Avest. *vehrkaīṣ*. Gr. *λύκοις*, also locative (§ 356 p. 257, § 357 p. 260). Lat. *lupis* O.Lat. *oloes* 'illis' (I § 81 p. 74), Umbr. *veskles vesclir* 'vasculis' *vereir* 'porta' *alfer* 'albis' (I § 81 p. 75), Osc. *Núvlanúis* 'Nolanis' *nesimois* 'proximis': cp. § 357 p. 260. Lith. *vilkaiṣ*.

1) The comparison of *tigum* with Skr. *daśād-bhiṣ*, which has lately found another champion in J. Schmidt (Urheimath der Indog., pp. 25 f.), is not to my mind convincing; for **dek̃m* was an adjective and not an abstract substantive. Schmidt cites a passage from a Lithuanian tale, in which he translates *įsz trijų devynių stukėliu* 'of three nines of pieces', and says the phrase illustrates the transition from the adj. 'ten' to the subst. 'ten'. This is not to be admitted, because the expression is something quite strange to Lithuanian; and the context, which refers to a superstitious belief, should first itself have been explained. Schmidt scores a point against us in remarking that no Germanic *t*-stem has lost this explosive in the dat.-instr. pl. as I assume. This is true enough: but neither is there any other form in *-um* from a nasal stem which Schmidt can place by the side of his *tigum* = *daśābhiṣ*. From this, then, no conclusion can be drawn which could be decisive for one or other of these two explanations. My view has the support of Kluge (Paul's Grundr., I 404).

Since *o*-stems had *-bhi* and *-mi* in the instr. singular (§§ 281, 282 pp. 186 ff.) it is not surprising that we find *bh-* and *m-* suffixes in the plural along with *-ōis*. Skr. Ved. *ṽfkē-bhiṣ*, Avest. *vehrkaē-ibīš* O.Pers. *martiyai-bīš* 'mortalibus'; cp. dat. *ṽfkē-bhyas vehrkaē-ibyō* § 368 p. 269, and instr. sing. Skr. *sanē-mi* § 282 pp. 187 f. Armen. *gailo-ṽk*, cp. sing. *gailo-v*. Gr. *παρ' αὐτό-φι* 'with them', cp. *ἀπὸ στρατό-φι* 'from the host of ships'. O.Ir. *ferib* for **yiro-bis*. Goth. *vulfa-m* O.H.G. *wolfum wolfom* O.Icel. *ulfum*, cp. O.H.G. *zi houbitun* § 282 p. 188. Is West-Germ. and Norse *-um* = Goth. *-a-m*, or is it an extended use of the *-um* discussed in § 379 p. 275? O.H.G. *-im*, as in *hirtim* beside *hirtum* (Goth. *hattrdjam*), appears to show *-i-*, the weak-grade form of the suffix *-jo-* (Streitberg, Paul-Br. Beitr. XIV 189), and the same view may be taken of *i* in O.Ir. *cēlib* (beside *cēle* 'comrade'), cp. O.C.Sl. dat. pl. *žulodějīmū* § 368 Rem. p. 269, and O.H.G. *digim* § 382.

An isolated form is seen in O.C.Sl. *vlūky, kraji* (*krajǐ* 'border') with *-jǐ* for **-jy* (I § 60 p. 47). The same ending occurs with consonant stems, but only in the neuter, as *imen-y* § 384; which suggests a conjecture that in *o*-stems also it was originally peculiar to the neuter. We are still in the dark as to the origin of this *-y*. So far as we can tell from the Slavonic sound-laws discovered thus far, it cannot be compared with the Idg. ending **-ōis*, notwithstanding W. Schulze's paper in Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 421, and the new discussion of Wiedemann, Das litau. Praet., p. 47. We may conjecture that **-ōis* would become first **-ōis* and then an *-ē* or *-i*.

Remark. I should like to throw out the question whether the adverbial ending *-y*, as in *maly* 'little', is the **-ū* of the acc. pl. of *u*-stems (§ 339 p. 239), so that *maly* originally meant 'paucā'. If such adverbs as this became equivalent in use to those in *-mi* (cp. Miklosich, IV 712), *-y* might come to be added to the instr. pl. It would then have crept into the regular case-system just as the adv. ending **-tos* did in Sanskrit and Armenian (§ 244 pp. 141 f.). If **-ōis* finally became **-ē* or **-i*, a desire to differentiate once again cases which had run together in form may have caused *-y* to become the regular ending.

§ 381. 2. *a*-stems. Pr. Idg. **ekua-bhī(s)* (-*mī(s)*). Skr. *áśva-bhiṣ*, Avest. *haēna-biš*. (Gr. *ἀγέλη-φι* and so forth only in the singular.) O.Ir. *mnāib tuath^aib*. Goth. *gibō-m*, O.H.G. *gebō-m*. Lith. *rañko-mis* dial. -*mi*, O.C.Sl. *raķa-mi*.

Gr. *χώρας*, Lat. *mēnsis* Umbr. *anzeriates aseriatē* 'observatis' Osc. *Diumpais* (nymphis) are re-formates on the model of -*ois*, the *o*-stem ending.

§ 382. 3. *i- iē*-stems (cp. footnote to page 68). Pr. Idg. **bhṛghṛtī-bhī(s)* (-*mī(s)*). Skr. *bṛhatī-bhiṣ*, Avest. *barenti-biš*. O.Ir. *insib*. O.West-Germ. inscr. *Vatvī-ms Afli-ms* beside the Latinised forms *Vatvia-bus Alfia-bus* in the period shortly after the commencement of our era (Much, *Zeitschr. für deutsch. Alt.* XXXI 354 ff.); perhaps examples may be found in some of the O.H.G. *i*-abstracts, such as *digī-m* 'to prayers', cp. the gen. pl. § 347 p. 249. With -*iē*-: Lith. *žēmē-mis* dial. -*mi*, O.C.Sl. *zemlja-mi*.

Gr. *γερονσας*, Goth. *frijōndjō-m* O.H.G. *kuninginnō-m*, Lith. *vežanczio-mis* -*mì* O.C.Sl. *vezqšta-mi* as if *a*-stems (cp. footnote on page 68).

§ 383. 4. *i*- and *u*-stems.

Pr. Idg. **oyi-bhī(s)* (-*mī(s)*). Skr. *ávi-bhiṣ*. Armen. *srti-vk̄*. O.Ir. *fáithi-b tri-b*. Goth. *ansti-m* O.H.G. *ensti-m*; O.Icel. *pri-mr* ('three') — the Runic *gestumæ* ('guests') follows the *o*-class, cp. Noreen in Paul's *Grundr.* I 493, Burg, *Die ält. nord. Runeninschr.*, 77. Lith. *nakti-mis* dial. -*mì*, O.C.Sl. *nošči-mi*.

Pr. Idg. **sūnu-bhī(s)* (-*mī(s)*). Skr. *sūnú-bhiṣ*, Avest. *hazu-biš*. Armen. *zardu-k̄* for **uv-k̄*. Goth. *sunu-m*, O.H.G. *sitim* as though an *i*-stem. Lith. *sūnu-mis* dial. -*mì*, O.C.Sl. *synū-mi*. How to regard O.Ir. *beth^aib* is uncertain.

Remark. In Irish we are struck with the almost universal 'breaking' or 'infection' of the vowel of the stem, as *fedaib mogaib*; since **vidu-bis* would have become *fīduib fīdib* or something of that kind. Breaking has been caused either by the influence of *o*-stems or by a coincidence of *u* and *a* in unaccented syllables.

§ 384. 5. *n*-stems. Pr. Idg. **k(u)uṇ-bhī(s)* or **k(u)uṇ-bhī(s)* I § 222 p. 190 (-*mī(s)*). Skr. *śvā-bhiṣ áśma-bhiṣ*.

Avest. *dāma-biš*, *dāmē-biš* like *draomē-byō* § 373 p. 270. Armen. *akam-bē*. Gr. *κοτυληδον-ό-φι* instead of **κοτυληδο-φι* **κοτυληδα-φι* like *μειόν-οις* instead of *μείο-σι* **μεια-σι* (§ 361 p. 263). O.Ir. *con^a-ib*, *fiadn^a-ib* (*fiadu* 'witness'), *toimten^a-ib*, see § 379 p. 275. A.S. *oxnum* O.Icel. *yxnum* ('oxen') A.S. *earnnum* O.Icel. *qrnum* ('eagles') O.Icel. *bjqrnum* ('bears'): here *-n-* was borrowed from the gen. pl. and acc. pl., but **-um* came from *-m-m-* (earlier *-p-m-*), cp. § 332 p. 233; thus the principle is the same as gave rise to Gr. *ἀρνάσι*, earlier **ἀρα-σι* (§ 361 p. 263). This shews that there once was in Germanic an instr. in **-umi* from a nom. in **-an-iz*, like Armen. *akam-bē anjam-bē* from *akun-ē anjin-ē*, Gr. *φρα-οί* from *φρέν-εσ* and so forth. Lith. *szun-i-mis akmen-i-mis* dial. *-mī*, O.C.Sl. *kamen-ī-mi* as though an *i*-stem, O.Slav. *polja-mi* like *polja-mū* § 373 p. 271; O.C.Sl. neut. *imen-y* like *igy* § 380 p. 276.

Germanic. Goth. *gumam* = **guman-mi*, like *tuggōm manageim* O.H.G. *zungōm menigīm* for **-ōn-mi* **-in-mi*; O.H.G. *gomōn* a re-formate like *gomōno* § 350 p. 252. The old ending is seen varied in another way in Goth. *auhsnam* ('oxen') *abnam* ('men'), neut. *vatnam* (nom. acc. *vatna*), cp. gen. *auhsnē: vulfē*; similarly *frijōndam* because of *frijōndē*, see § 379 p. 275.

§ 385. 6. *r*-stems. Pr. Idg. **māṛ-ḡbhī(s)* **dōṭṛ-ḡbhī(s)* (*-mī(s)*). Skr. *māṛ-ḡbhīṣ dāṭṛ-ḡbhīṣ*, Avest. *māter^a-biš dāter^a-biš* (inferred from the dat. plural). Armen. *mar-bē dster-bē*. O.Ir. *māthr^a-ib māithrib* is just as ambiguous as Gall. *ματρεβο*, see § 374 p. 271. Goth. *brōþru-m*, O.H.G. *muoterum*. Lith. *moter-i-mis -mī*, O.C.Sl. *mater-ī-mi* following the *i*-class.

§ 386. 7. Stems ending in an Explosive. Pr. Idg. **bhṛḡghyd-ḡhī(s)* (*-pṭ-mī(s)*). Skr. *bṛhád-bhīṣ*; Avest. *ber^azād-biš*, with strong stem *ber^azanbiš*, and with the nom. acc. sing. neut. form in place of the stem *ber^azāp-biš* (§ 356 pp. 259 f.). O.Ir. *cairti-b*, see § 379 p. 275. Goth. *frijōnd-am* O.H.G. *friunt-um*, Goth. *tunþ-um* A.S. *tōð-um* O.Icel. *tōnn-um* (cp. Skr. *dad-bhīṣ*, Lith. *dant-i-mis -i-mī*), see § 379 p. 275.

Lith. *vežancziaš* O.C.Sl. *vežašti* as through *jo*-stems; O.C.Sl. *teleť-y* (*tele* n. 'calf', see § 244 pp. 142 f.) like *igy* § 380 p. 276.

Avest. *azd'-bīš* from *ast-* n. 'bone'. Goth. *tigum* 'decadibus' for **tegun(d)-mi* like Skr. *daśād-bhiṣ*, Idg. **dekṃd-bh-* **dekṃt-m-*, cp. § 379 p. 275.

d-stems. Skr. *śarād-bhiṣ*. O.Ir. *druidi-b*, see § 379 p. 275. Skr. *pad-bhiṣ*,¹⁾ Avest. Gāthie *pad'-bīš*, Goth. O.Sax. *fōt-um* O.H.G. *fuaz-um* (§ 379 p. 275).

Skr. *vāg-bhiṣ* from *vāc-* 'vox'. As to Skr. *vidbhīṣ* *-rādbhiṣ* and *digbhiṣ*, see § 375 p. 271. Avest. *maz-bīš* (*maz-* 'great') instead of **maš-bīš* following the dat. sing. *maz-ōi* etc. Beside Avest. *viš-byō* Skr. *vid-bhiṣ* we find O.Pers. *viṣibiṣ* (as we should read, not *viṣaibiṣ*), but we know too little of the language to pronounce upon it. Goth. *reikam*, but *baúrg-im*, see § 379 p. 275.

Skr. *adbhiṣ* from *ap-* 'water' like *adbhyás* § 375 p. 272.

§ 387. 8. *s*-stems. Pr. Idg. **menez-bhī(s)* (*-es-mī(s)*). Skr. *mānō-bhiṣ*, Avest. *manē-bīš* (= Pāli *manē(b)hi*? *vid.* Bloomfield, Am. Journ. Phil. III 36), see § 376 p. 272; similarly O.Pers. *rauca-bīš* following the nom. acc. *rauca* 'day' (Avest. *raocō*). Gr. *ὄρεσφι*. O.Ir. *tigib* perhaps for **teges-o-bis*, as in the dual, see § 304 p. 204. Goth. *agis-am* O.H.G. *kelbir-um*, cp. § 343 p. 243; does O.H.G. *sigim* stand for **sezes-mi*? compare § 226 p. 108. Lith. *debes-i-mis* dial. *-mi* after the *i*-flexion, O.C.Sl. *sloves-y* like *igy* § 380 p. 276.

Skr. *sudd-bhiṣ* Avest. *hudd-bīš*, Skr. *mād-bhiṣ* *mā-bhiṣ* *uśād-bhiṣ* *uśō-bhiṣ* like the answering dative forms, § 376 p. 272. O.Ir. *mīs'-ib* for **mīs-o-bis* (§ 379 p. 275), cp. Lat. dat. *mēns-i-bus*.

Skr. *haviṣ-bhiṣ* Avest. *snaiṣīš-bīš*, comparative Skr. *dṣtyō-bhiṣ*, participle Skr. *vidodād-bhiṣ* Avest. *viḍuž-bīš*, like the dative forms § 376 p. 272. O.C.Sl. *slaždīši*, Lith. *mirusiais* O.C.Sl. *mīrūši* as though *jo*-stems.

1) There never was a form *paḍbhiṣ* from *pad-*, see Bartholomae, Beaz. Beitr. XV 3 ff.

A.S. O.Icel. *mūs-um* O.C.Sl. *mysi-mi* from **mūs-* 'mouse', see § 376 p. 272, § 379 p. 275.

§ 388. 9. *i-* *i-* and *ā-* *u-* stems, stems in *-ī*, *-ī*, *-ī*.

Skr. *dhi-bhiṣ nadī-bhiṣ bhrū-bhiṣ śvaśrū-bhiṣ*. (Gr. sing. *ī-φι*.) O.Icel. *sū-m* ('sows'). Lith. *šuv-i-mis* dial. *-mī*, O.C.Sl. *krīv-ī-mi* after the system of *i*-stems, but *svēkrīv-a-mi* like a stem in *-ā* (cp. *svēkrīv-a-chū* § 365 p. 266). Compare § 377 pp. 272 f.

Skr. *gīr-bhiṣ, pūr-bhiṣ, gō-śā-bhiṣ* (the last not found), for **gīr-bh-* etc., like the nom. sing. *gīr* etc., see § 197 p. 74.

§ 389. 10. Skr. *nāu-bhiṣ*, Gr. *ναῦ-φι*. Skr. *gō-bhiṣ* Avest. *gao-biš*; Mid.Ir. *buaiḃ* doubtless not for **bō-bis*, but originally a dissyllable *bu-aib* for **bo-aib* (Thurneysen); O.Icel. *kū-m* A.S. *cū-m* O.Low-Frankish *cuon*. Skr. *rā-bhiṣ*. Compare § 378 p. 273.

The Influence of Analogy as seen in the Transformation of whole Case-Systems in the separate languages (Metaplastic series).

§ 390. In the foregoing paragraphs (§§ 190 to 389) the history of each single case has been traced through the separate languages of our group; and in so doing we have often come across cases, or even whole systems of cases, which have been affected by metaplasms. But it was impossible to present a sufficiently wide survey of such forms when they were not *single* cases, but *groups*; and a large number of them have not been mentioned at all. Our next task then is to collect and supplement these examples. Still, we must give up the idea of giving a complete list; mention will be made only of what is remarkable or characteristic.

Remark 1. A more exhaustive study would show, particularly if it dealt with later or quite modern periods,¹⁾ how often similar

1) Compare, for example, Torp, *die Flexion des Pali*, Christiania 1881; Vetter, *Zur Gesch. der nomin. Decl. im Russ.*, Lpz. 1883; Baudouin

causes have produced exactly the same effects in different languages for example, the disuse of the consonant flexion and the adoption of vowel flexion instead. It is true always, as it is true here, that where we can trace certain principles acting in later periods, we may use these as our guides in dealing with prehistoric times.

Remark 2. The mutations of form which we are now to discuss arose chiefly from proportional analogy; that is, the likeness of two forms of a form-system caused others, hitherto unlike, to be assimilated to each other. To suppose (as certain scholars do) that all arose in this way, and could arise in no other, is wrong: one out of many proofs that this is a mistake is Ar. *napāt-* 'descendant', which takes the flexion of kinship names such as *bhrātar-* 'brother', e. g. Skr. *nāptṛ-bhyas* beside *nā(b)d-bhyas*, Avest. *naptār-em* beside *napāt-em*; the two case-groups had had no point of contact before this assimilation took place. Compare the general remarks on the principles involved, by the Author, Liter. Centralbl. 1880 p. 944; Paul, Principien² 95; Wackernagel, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXV 289 f.; Wheeler, Analogy (Ithaca, N. Y. 1887) pp. 9 ff.; Bartholomae, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 524 ff.; Michels, Zum Wechsel des Nominalgeschlechts, I (1889) pp. 10 f.; Bojunga, Die Entwicklung der nhd. Substantivflexion, pp. 1 ff.

Lastly, we shall give a few systems of declension for which no certain connexion has been proved with any Indo-Germanic case-system.

§ 391. I. In proethnic Aryan sprang up a new type of inflexion, in which weak and strong cases of *ien*-stems, with the suffix *-in-*, were united into one case-group with cases from *i*-stems, the latter dropping those of their weak cases which had a formative suffix beginning in a consonant, and the nom. acc. sing. neuter. The model for these groups was found in such as *vārtman-ē*: *vārtma-bhyas vārtma*. Non-neuter stems then evolved a nom. sing. in *-ī* on the model of *áśmā*. Compare Skr. *arcīn-* 'shining, beaming': *arcī arcī arcīn-am arcīn-ē arcī-bhyas*, Avest. *kainīn-* 'girl': *kaini kainin-em kainīn-ō kaini-byō*, O.Pers. *vīpīn-* 'belonging to a clan, native': *vīpī-bīš*; the nom. acc. sing. neut. in *-ī* is not actually found in Iranian. In Sanskrit, nom. acc. pl. neut. *arcīni*, following *vārtmāni*, was added to the list. The pr. Ar. nom. sing. in *-īā -īā* is

de Courtenay, Einige Fälle der Wirkung der Analogie in der poln. Decl., Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. VI 19 ff.; K. Bojunga, Die Entwicklung der nhd. Substantivflexion, Lpz. 1890.

perhaps preserved in Skr. *kanyā* (*kaniya*) Avest. *kainē* (-ē = -*ya*) 'girl, maiden', which kept its *a*-flexion because it was feminine (cp. below, Skr. *yōṣā* and the like). Compare II § 115 pp. 357 ff.; Streitberg, Paul-Braune's Beitr. XIV 210 ff.; Zubaty, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXXI 51 f.

In the same period began the transfer of consonant stems to the *o*-class, caused by both having the same ending in the acc. sing. (-*am*), gen. pl. (-*ām*), and possibly the instr. sing. and the nom. acc. dual (-*ā* and -*āu* -*ā* § 280 p. 184, § 289 p. 196); this went still further in Avestic. Examples: Skr. *pād-a-s* *pādas* Avest. *pādaē-ibya* beside the acc. *pād-am* *pād-em* 'pedem', Skr. Ved. *pūṣān-a-s* beside acc. *pūṣān-am* (the name of a god), *dānt-a-s* beside acc. *dānt-am* 'tooth', *āśnaiṣ* beside instr. sing. *āśn-ā*, stem *āśan-* 'stone', Avest. *ataraiš* beside acc. *atar-em* 'fire'. More examples from the Avesta are given by Bartholomae, Ar. Forsch. I 94 f., and in his Handbuch, pp. 100 f. In India, this process made great strides in the popular dialects, and had a great deal to do with the loss of consonant declensions in this group; see Lassen, Inst. Ling. Pracr., pp. 314 ff.; E. Kuhn, Beitr. zur Pali Gr., pp. 67 ff.

Again, in Aryan were formed from **uśas* = Skr. *uśás* 'dawn' (*s*-stem) the acc. sing. **uśām* = Skr. *uśām* Avest. *uśqm* and acc. pl. **uśas* = Skr. *uśás* Avest. *uśā*, on the analogy of stems with *a* in the root (cp. e. g. Skr. -*sthā-s* 'standing': -*sthā-m* -*sthās*). Similarly, we find Skr. *jardm* *jardyaī* from *jardas-* 'age', and others. Compare further Skr. acc. *yōṣām* dual *yōṣē* from nom. *yōṣā* 'maiden', which is an *n*-stem (pl. *yōṣān-as*), following the stem *āśvā-*; O.Pers. *taumā* 'family' beside Avest. *taoxman-*, and the like, II § 114 Rem. 1 p. 348, § 117 Rem. 2 p. 369; but conversely the Avest. nom. sing. *šōiṣra-pā* 'guardian of the land' (pr. Ar. -*pās* and -*pā*, I § 556.3 p. 411), because it had the same ending as the nom. sing. of *n*-stems, was the origin of the nom. pl. -*pān-ō*.

Similarly, *vant*-stems changed into *van*-stems (e. g. Skr. *fk-vant-* and *fk-van-* 'singing' Avest. *ama-vant-* and *ama-van-* 'powerful' (see Bartholomae Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 540 f.)

because the pr. Ar. nominative ending **-vās* had a variant **-vā*, a sentence-doublet. See § 198 pp. 78 f. Again, we have Ved. *vidván-as* from nom. sing. *vidvāṣ vidvān* 'knowing' because of a prehistoric **vidvā*, a sentence doublet of **vidvās* (§ 193 p. 73), and others of the same sort.

The pr. Ar. ending **-uś* in the nom. sing. (§ 193 p. 73) drew some cases of the perf. part. act. over to the *u*-flexion; e. g. Skr. *pēri-m* from *pēriś* 'pressing through' *jigyū-bhiṣ* from *jigyūś* 'victorious', Avest. *jagaurū-m* from *jagaurūś* 'watchful'.

The Aryan *napāt-* 'descendant' became gradually more and more completely assimilated in flexion to other names of kindred, such as *bhrātar-* 'brother', see § 390 Rem. 2; with this change compare Skr. gen. sing. *pātyur* 'of a husband' (*pāti-*) *jānyur* 'of a wife' (*jāni-*), following *bhrātur mātūr* etc.

§ 392. In Sanskrit, *i-* *iṣ*-stems, *ū-* *uṣ*-stems, and feminine *i-* and *u-*stems followed the track of *i-* *iṣ*-stems in some of their cases. Sing. gen. *dhiyāṣ nadiyāṣ bhruyāṣ śvaśruyāṣ*, dat. *dhiyāi* etc., loc. *dhiyām* etc.; and *avyāṣ avyāi avyām*, *dhēnvāṣ dhēnvāi dhēnvām*. See §§ 231—233, 249—250, 255, 266—268. The cause of these re-formations was that the instr. sing. had the same formation in these classes, as *dhiyāṣ avyāṣ* like *dēviyāṣ bṛhatyāṣ* (nom. *dēvī bṛhatī*). Compare further the acc. pl. *āvīṣ dhēnūṣ* like *bṛhatīṣ* (§§ 330—331) and the gen. pl. *dhīnām bhrūnām nadīnām śvaśrūnām* like *bṛhatīnām* (§ 354). Thus, by proportional analogy, fem. *i-* and *u-*stems kept in these cases a sign of their gender.

Remark. I give only the *i-* *iṣ*-stems as the model for this formation because I do not consider it has been proved that the pre-Aryan period possessed *ū-* *uṣ*-stems made on the same lines. A different account is given by J. Schmidt, *Pluralb.* 54 ff.

§ 393. A large number of Sanskrit *i-*, *u-*, and *r-*stems inserted between stem and inflexion an *-n-*, which came from Indo-Germanic *n*-stems. The *n*-stems had brought about in proethnic Indo-Germanic a transformation of the gen. pl. of *a-*, *o-*, and *i-* *iṣ*-stems and of the nom. acc. pl. neuter of *o*-stems, which then spread to the *i-*, *u-*, and *r-*stems:

pr. Ar. *-ānām* and *-īnām* (*iē*-stems), then *-īnām* (*i*-stems), *-ānām*, Skr. *-ñām* (§§ 345—349, 351); Skr. *-āni* *-īni* *-ūni* *-ṛni*, Avest. *-əog* (§§ 338—339, 341). Then again, Sanskrit *i*- and *u*-stems along with their instr. sing. in *-yā* and *-vā* adopted another in *-inā* and *-unā*, herein following the type of forms from *iēn*- and *uen*-stems, as the masc. neut. *arcin-a* neut. *dyun-a*. This was all the more natural because from an early period there had been some few pairs of stems, parallel and having the same meaning, one in *-i*- or *-u*- and one in *-iēn*- or *-uen*-; e. g. *dyu*- and *dyun*- (**āivan*-). There was a reason why the *n*-ending should gradually take the place of *-yā* *-vā* in the masculine and neuter instrumental (the change is not complete in Vedic, where there is variation still; see §§ 278—279 pp. 181 ff.). The reason was that *-yā* and *-vā*, viewed in connexion with forms like *āvyās* *-yāi* *-yam* *dēnvds* *-vāi* *-vdm*, was taken to belong to the feminine (cp. § 392); and *-inā* *-unā* were welcome as distinguishing the masculine and neuter from them. The *-n*- spread still further in the cases of the neuter, and here it included *r*-stems, as sing. gen. abl. *śucin-as* *cāruṇ-as* *dhātṛṇ-as*, dat. *śucin-ē* etc., loc. *śucin-i* etc., dual nom. acc. *śucin-ī* etc., gen. loc. *śucin-ōṣ* etc.; this formation is the regular one for *i*- and *u*-stems in classical Sanskrit. The reason for this mutation of form is to be found in the nom. acc. singular and plural: on noticing the parallelism of *śuci* *cāru* (*dhātṛ*) *śucini* *cārūni* (*dhātṛṇi*) and (e. g.) *arci* *arcīni*, *vārtma* *vārtmāni*, what more natural than to supplement instr. neut. *śucina* *cāruṇa* (*dhātṛṇa*) by the other cases enumerated, on the analogy of *arcin-as* *vārtman-as* etc.? Thus in this instance the *n*-flexion becomes a sign of the neuter. Compare J. Hanusz, *Über das allmälige Umsichgreifen der n-Deklination im Altindischen*, Vienna 1885.

§ 394. II. Armenian. A characteristic of this language is the disappearance of the special neuter case-forms and of the feminine declensions (such as *nn*, gen. *nnu-y*, 'daughter-

in-law' beside Skr. *snuṣṭ*). How these losses came about is not clear; and no less obscure are many heteroclite forms, and mutations of stem running through whole case-systems: e. g. (1) heteroclites: nom. *ῥοκρ* 'little' gen. *ῥοκῦ* pl. nom. *ῥοκύν-ῥ*; (2) Stems changed: *amis* 'month' *hur* 'fire' are declined in the *o*-class, contrast Gr. *μην(ν)-* and *πῦρ*.

§ 395. III. Greek. (1) In *ī- iē-*stems, *-iā-* takes the place of *-iē-* (cp. the footnote on p. 68), as gen. *δίᾱς* Ion. *δίης* (nom. *δίᾱ*), *μιᾱς* (nom. *μιᾶ*) in contrast with Lith. *dėvės*; this change in later times went further, and caused the nom. acc. sing. to be assimilated to *iā-*stems, *ἑταίρᾱ* instead of **ἑταίρα* etc. (II § 109 p. 333, III § 191 p. 69). (2) We see new paradigms like *ὄνομα ὀνόματος* etc., *ἦπαρ ἥπατος* etc. (II § 82 p. 250, § 144 p. 350, § 116 pp. 364 f., § 117 p. 370, III § 244 p. 142); and a wider application of the *τ-* and of the *δ-* and *θ-* flexion, the history of which is not yet fully cleared up, e. g. *τέρας* beside *τίρας* *τεράων*, *γέλωτ-* beside *γέλως* *γελάσ-σαι* (II § 134 p. 425) following *ἀγνώς -ῶτ-ος*, *ἰδριδ-* beside *ἰδρι-ς* *ἰδρι-ν*, *ἔριδ-* beside *ἔρι-ς* *ἔρι-ν*, *ῥρνιθ-* beside *ῥρνιθ-ς*. (3) In the comparative, *iēn-*cases find favour at the expense of those with *-iēs-*, as *ἡδιών* (II § 135 pp. 429 f.). (4) *ues-* and *uet-*cases are combined to make up the system of the perfect participle active (II § 136 pp. 439 f.; 443 f.). (5) In *iēn-*stems, the weak form *-iν-* becomes the only one, as *δελφίν-*, and there are new singular nominatives in *-ις* and *-ιν* (II § 115 p. 359). (6) The declension *λείων -οντος* instead of **λέονος*, following *φέριων -οντος* and the rest (II § 114 p. 350; compare III § 198 p. 78). (7) Cases from masc. *es-*stems are made like *a-*stem cases, and *vice versa*, — due to the nom. sing. (*-ēs* : *-ās*): as Att. *Σουκράτην -κράτου* (*Σω-κρατης-*), Lesb. *Ἐρμο-γίνης -η -ῆ -ην -ε* (*Ἐρμο-γενεσ-*), like *Ῥορέστᾱς* etc.; and for the opposite process Att. *Στρεψιάδους* *Στρεψιάδες* (*Στρεψιάδᾱ-*), Ion. *δεσπότεα* (*δεσποτᾱ-*) (see § 209 p. 88, § 220 p. 97, § 229 pp. 115 f., § 237 pp. 128 f.); and the Lesb. Boeot. Dor. feminines in *-ῶ* *-ῷ* (*Λᾱτώ*) take the inflexion *-ω -ως -ῶ -ων* under the influence of the same

a-flexion (-*ā* -*ās* -*ā* -*āv*). (8) μέγας and μέγαν beside the neut. μέγα (whether this be from **megh* or **megh₂*), following ἡδύ-ς ἡδύ-ν : ἡδύ, ἰδρύ-ς ἰδρύ-ν : ἰδρύ.

The class of feminines in -*ώ* -*ῳ* mentioned just above show very many varieties of flexion (voc. Ἀηροῖ, acc. Cret. Ἀετῶν Ion. Ἀηροῦν Att. Ἀητώ). They are regarded by some as being originally *ōi*-stems. Hitherto nothing has been found outside the Greek language with which they may be connected. Compare Danielsson, Om de grekiska substantiverna med nominativändelsen -*ώ*, Upsala univ. årsskrift 1883; J. Schmidt, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 374 ff.

§ 396. IV. Italic.¹⁾ A characteristic of this branch is the mixing and confusion of consonantal with *i*-stems. This was caused by ancient doublet stems, as *noct-* *nocti-* *civitat-* *civitati-* (II § 102 pp. 308 ff.). Beginning in proethnic Italic, this confusion went on in Latin for centuries after the Christian era. Examples: *i*-stem forms are abl. sing. Lat. *air-īd bov-īd praesent-ī* Umbr. *peṛ-i pers-i* 'pede' Osc. *praesent-id* 'praesente', dat. abl. pl. Lat. *ferent-ibus* Osc. *lig-is* 'legibus', Lat. nom. *ferent-ēs ferent-ia* gen. *ferent-ium*, nom. *carn-i-s* beside *caro*, *juven-i-s*, loc. Osc. *Diúv-ei* (cp. § 249 p. 151), gen. Osc. *maatr-eis* Umbr. *matr-er* 'matris'; while from consonant stems we have Lat. acc. *ovem* gen. *ovīs* abl. *ovē* beside nom. *ovi-s*, gen. *opum vātum* beside *api-um vāti-um*. See II § 93 p. 281, and III §§ 211 ff. under the separate cases. In Latin, abl. -*ī* gen. -*ium* nom. acc. -*ia* were most favoured by adjectives, but even in adjectives there was a good deal of irregularity. A clear resumé of the most important facts is given in the Latin Grammar of Schweizer-Sidler and Surber, I² pp. 105 ff.

§ 397. Lat. *vetus* (acc. *veter-em*), an attribute of masc. and fem. substantives, was originally a neuter substantive (II § 132 p. 417). A new explanation is given by Thurneysen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXX 485 f., but to my mind not convincing. Compare *Venus* (*Venerem*) f., originally neuter, 'charm of love'.

1) Ásbóth, Die Umwandlung der Themen im Lat., Göttingen, 1875.

There are a number of metaplastic forms which follow the *es*-stems; e. g. *su-er-is su-er-e* beside *su-em*, *bov-er-um* beside *bov-em*, *lapid-er-um nuc-er-um* and others, recalling *āns-er-* and the spread of *-es-* in Germanic (II § 132 pp. 419 ff.).

Remark 1. Perhaps the following is the explanation of *āns-er-*. There may have been in pr. Lat. both **hans-* and **hanes-* used together (cp. II § 132 pp. 412 f., § 160 p. 485), and the acc. *(h)anser-em* may have been made through the influence of (say) a gen. **(h)ans-is* and an acc. **(h)aner-em*. *-er-* may easily have spread to other words before the declension of *āns-er* was fixed as we have it.

The endings *-ōrum* and *-ūrum* may have helped to make *-er-* a favourite suffix in the gen. plural, as it was (*boverum* etc.).

The plurals *spēr-ēs vīr-ēs* (perhaps pre-Italic *s*-stems; see II § 134 p. 424; Kretschmer, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 170; J. Schmidt, Pluralb. 385) were coined for the sing. *spēr-s vī-s*, because the plural nominatives which belonged to these, *spēs vīs*, need not be plural, as far as form went, and so often failed to convey a clear meaning (cp. Osthoff, M. U. IV 238 f.). The heteroclit flexion was supported by *flōs flōr-ēs* (stem *flōs-*), and other like forms.

jecur, jecinor-is instead of **jecin-is*, *iter, itiner-is* instead of **itin-is*. Compare II § 114 pp. 346 f., and p. 352.

No sufficiently clear explanation has yet been found of the origin of *sēdes -is, pūbēs -is* (*es*-stem in the nom. sing.), as contrasted with *Cerēs -er-is, pūbēs -er-is*.

Remark 2. The accusatives *plēbem famem*, ad-formates of *aciem*, should be noted; see § 220 p. 97. Further, if the Vedic genitives *uśās āhas* have really lost a gen. suffix *-s* (see § 237 Rem. p. 123), the question must needs be asked — is the *-is* of gen. *pūbis* for **-es-s*? Lastly, it must be remembered that the word *sēdes* apparently contaminates two stems, *sēdes-* and *sēdi-* (the Author, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIV 44, J. Schmidt, Plur. 146). Compare also Thurneysen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXX 489; he opposes, and rightly, Schmidt's hypothesis that *-ibus* comes from **-ez-bhos*, but he can hardly be right in his own conjecture that in proethnic Indo-Germanic *es*-stems had an acc. in *-ēm* which had grown up in the same way as **d(i)ēm* grew out of **d(i)ēu+m* (see § 221 p. 98).

By degrees the whole *u*-declension was absorbed into the *o*-declension: see § 232 p. 123.

§ 398. V. In Irish, *bh*-cases from consonant stems followed the analogy of the vowel inflexion in prehistoric times, much as happened in Italic (§ 367 pp. 268 f., § 396 p. 286). Compare § 302 p. 203, § 379. 2 pp. 274 f. The original type is still preserved only in the instr. sing. *anmimm*, in which it is indeed not certain whether the ending be **-mṃ-bhi* or **-mṃ-mi* (§ 281 p. 186). It is also uncertain how we are to regard Gall. dat. pl. *μάρτε-βο* (§ 374 p. 271).

Adjectival and substantival *i*-stems became separated, in as much as the gen. sing. of the adjectives took the form of *o*-stems; e. g. masc. neut. *maith* 'boni' fem. *maithe* 'bonae', following *mairb mairbe* from *marb* 'dead'. Adjectival *u*-stems had a tendency to pass into the *i*-declension; their plural was declined in this fashion throughout, and the change was doubtless completed even in Old Irish. Just how it came about has yet to be investigated.

We saw that the "dative" *cathir* beside *cathraig* was doubtless due to the analogy of *athir* (§ 262 p. 164); but these guttural stems in their turn influenced the names of kindred, so that we find e. g. pl. *uasal-athraig* 'high fathers, patriarchs' instead of *-athir*.

§ 399. VI. In the pre-dialect period of Germanic, a new type of declension arose by the levelling of *ien*-stems down to the weak form *-in-*; e. g. Goth. *gamáinī* O.H.G. *gimeinī* 'community' (cp. Lat. *communiō*). The nom. sing. pr. Germ. **-in* follows the model of **tungōn*. Compare II § 115 pp. 361 f.; Streitberg, Paul-Braune's Beitr. XIV 221 ff. This *ien*-class perhaps absorbed old *īz*-stems in West Germanic, by reason of their having some endings in common, e. g. the dat. *digī-m* gen. *digīno* (see § 347 p. 249, § 382 p. 277) as compared with *gimeinīm gimeinīno*.

In the same period the *ī-* *īz*-stems had not only cases with *-ī-* (Goth. nom. sing. *-i* etc.), but doubtless cases with *-īz* also. Gothic dropped these entirely, replacing them by forms with *-iā-*, as *mavi* 'girl' *māujōs* etc. like Gr. *ἡδεῖα*

ἡδεῖας etc. (cp. footnote on p. 68). On the other hand, the *īē*-cases were sometimes kept in West Germanic; e. g. O.H.G. sing. acc. gen. *kuninginne -a* pl. nom. acc. *-ā*, and it is only here that the old dat. instr. pl. in *-ī-m* seems to survive. Compare the fluctuation between *-īē-* and *-īā-* in Latin, as *intemperīēs -iem -iē*, but gen. dat. sing. *-iae*, pl. *-iae -iarum* etc.

Root Nouns ending in a consonant, and nouns of more than one syllable ending in an explosive, have in all dialects their old consonantal flexion intermixed with *o-*, *u-*, or *i-*cases; as Goth. *frijōnd-a-m* beside nom. pl. *frijōnd-s* 'friends', A.S. O.Sax. *fōt-u-m* O.H.G. *fuaz-u-m* (and O.Sax. *fuot-i-n* O.H.G. *fuaz-i-m*) beside nom. pl. A.S. *fēt* O.H.G. *foaz* 'feet', Goth. *baúrg-i-m* beside nom. pl. *baúrg-s* 'fortresses, cities'. Sometimes words of this kind will be absorbed entirely into some vowel declension, as Goth. *fōt-u-s*, whose inflexion in the historic period cannot be in any way distinguished from that of *sunu-s*. A great many facts bearing on this point are collected by Kahle, *Zur Entwicklung der consonantischen Declination*, Berlin 1887. The point of contact with the *o*-class was the gen. pl., as Goth. *frijōnd-ē* O.H.G. *friunt-o*, and perhaps the acc. sing. (see § 219 pp. 96 f.), and in West Germanic the gen. sing. in *-es* as well; contact with the *u*-class took place in the acc. sing. and pl. in *-u(n) -uns*, as Goth. *fōt-u fōt-uns*. But the origin of *i*-cases which dated from the oldest period is doubtless to be sought in the fact that certain nouns had always shown double forms of the formative suffix, *-ti-* and *-t-* (perhaps Goth. *baúrgi-* is also an original variant of *baúrg-*, cp. Gall. *brigi-* in *Brigiani* etc.); besides which, in later times different cases had come to possess the same ending as *i*-stems had for those cases; then came in O.H.G. the transfer of *u*-stems to the *i*-class, which did not except even those *u*-cases which were themselves due to analogy. The earliest change — as early as proethnic Germanic — was the transfer of nom. sing. and dat. instr. pl. of consonant stem into the vowel class, which was caused by a desire to restore the agreement of the stem with the other cases after it had become disguised by phonetic

change; compare, for example, Goth. *frijōnd-s* instead of **frijōns*, *reik-s* instead of **reihs*, *tunþ-un* instead of **tum* for **tun(d)-mi* **tumm(i)* (cp. *tigum* 'decadibus' for **tegun(d)-mi*, § 379 p. 275). The pr. Germ. re-formation of the instr. pl. in *-um(i)* on the analogy of *-un* (acc. sing.) and *-uns* (acc. pl.) was natural enough because *r*-stems had both *-ru-m(i)* (= *-r-mi*) and *-r-uns* in their case-sytem. The systems of cases which were produced on the lines here indicated, which had consonant-cases and vowel-cases intermixed, sometimes reacted upon systems consisting wholly of vowel-cases and caused consonant-cases to appear amongst them: Goth. gen. pl. *anstē* (stem *ansti-*) following *baúrg-ē naht-ē*, O.H.G. gen. dat. sing. *anst* (beside *ensti*) following *naht*; more of the same kind may be found in Anglo-Saxon, as *gāt* 'goat' etc. Compare Lith. gen. pl. *krūt-ū* beside *krūtī-s* and the like, § 402.

Far fewer metaplastic cases are to be found in polysyllabic *n*- and *r*-stems; examples are Goth. *aúhsn-a-m* following *aúhsn-ē*: *vulfē vulfa-m* (cp. Lith. dial. *akmenám akmenai* following *akmen-ū* § 350 p. 252), *brōþrjus* following *brōþru-m*: *sunu-m sunjus*.

The nom. sing. Goth. *mēna* O.H.G. *māno* and O.H.G. *nefo*, which came from forms ending in **-ōt* (§ 198 p. 79) drew all the other cases into the *n*-class. The same kind of thing may be seen in Pali; see E. Kuhn, Beitr. zur Pali-Gr. 69, Torp. Die Flexion des Pali p. 25: for example, the nom. sing. *maru* = Skr. *marút* brought all the cases of this stem into the *u*-class (nom. pl. *marū*).

§ 400. Adjectives combine forms from *i*- and *io*-stems. Hence the inflexion of Goth. masc. fem. *hráins* neut. *hráin*, masc. gen. *hráinis* acc. *hráinjana* dat. *hráinjamma* etc. The nom. sing. fem. neuter and gen. sing. masculine are distinct *i*-forms, and *hráinjana* and the rest distinct *io*-forms. The amalgamation of these two stems was due to the fact that in the nom. (acc.) sing. masc. *io*-stems like *un-nutja* 'useless' had the weak form of the suffix, and the ending **-i-s* (**-i-m*

in the acc.) coincided with that of *i*-stems. In West Germanic the *jo*-declension absorbs the other.

Side by side with the proethnic Germanic system of adj. *i*-stems developed the adj. *u*-stems, as Goth. *kaúru-s* = Skr. *gurú-ṣ*. In the feminine, **kury-jo- *kurjo-* became Goth. *kaúrjo-* (II § 110 pp. 334 f.), and a masc.-neut. **kurja-* = Goth. *kaúrja-* was formed as part of the same system (cp. *bērusjōs* II § 110 p. 338). Following the masc. nom. *hráins* acc. *hráinjana* and neut. *hráin* we have the group *kaúrus kaúrjana kaúru*, and as *hráins* could be used for the feminine, *kaúrus* now came to be used in the same way instead of **kaúrvi*, unless indeed this use is proethnic (cp. II § 110 pp. 334 f.). These stems too are declined in West-Germanic according to the *jo*-class.

§ 401. Another characteristic system of West Germanic is that exemplified by O.H.G. *kalb kalbes* pl. *kalbir*, A.S. *cealf cealfes* pl. *cealfru* (cp. Russ. *čudo* pl. *čudesá* § 404). See II § 132 pp. 420 f.

On certain metaplastic processes connected with change of gender, consult V. Michels, *Zum Wechsel des Nominalgeschlechts im Deutschen*, I, Strassb. 1889.

§ 402. VII. Balto-Slavonic. Here too it is remarkable how the consonant declension has been absorbed into the vocalic. Even in the earliest records of the language this change may be seen already far advanced. Russian, for example, has been for centuries without a single case of the old consonant declension, with the exception of the *s*-stem nom. acc. in *-o*, and the *n*-stem nom. acc. in *-ja* (O.C.Sl. *-ę*). And certain Lithuanian dialects in their present state have scarcely any consonantal forms left.

With a few scattered exceptions, the loc. pl., and the cases with *m*-suffixes, from consonant stems, were inflected as *i*-stems in proethnic Balto-Slavonic: e. g. Lith. *akmen-y-sė* (earlier **-i-se*) O.C.Sl. *kamen-ŷ-chŷ*, *akmen-i-mi kamen-ŷ-mŷ*, *-i-m -i-mŷ -i-ma*, *-i-ms -i-mŷ*, *-i-mis -i-mi*. Here, as in so many other re-formations (cp. for example § 360 p. 262), something is

certainly due to the desire to keep the stem final distinct, and the change of consonant stems to *i*-stems was suggested by the occurrence of certain words which had had consonant stems and *i*-stems as variants from an early period, such as Lith. *deszimt*-O.C.Sl. *desęt*- beside *deszimti*-*desęti*- 'decas', Lith. *nakt*- (gen. pl. O.Lith. and in the modern dialect of Godlewa *nakt-ū*) beside *nakti*- 'nox' (II § 101 p. 306, § 123 p. 390). Starting from these cases, the *i*-flexion next found its way into others, and sometimes it included all of them, its progress being aided by the identity of ending of the two classes in the acc. sing., which was regular, and in Baltic in the acc. plural too (Lith. *-i* *-is*, O.C.Sl. *-i*), e. g. Lith. *dant-i-s* 'tooth' O.C.Sl. *jelen-i* 'stag' (II § 93 pp. 283 f.) Since there were a certain number of nouns which made some of their cases from a consonant-stem and some from an *i*-stem, it sometimes happened that these caused old *i*-stems to form consonantal cases; e. g. Lith. dial. gen. pl. *krūtū pažastū* from *krūtī-s* 'mother's breast' *pažastī-s* 'armpit' (cp. also Bezzenberger, Beitr. zur Gesch. der lit. Spr., 143 f.), O.C.Sl. nom. pl. *pečat-e* from *pečatī* 'signet, seal' (II § 123 Rem. 3 p. 394). Compare Goth. gen. pl. *anst-ē* from the stem *ansti*, and the like, § 399 p. 290.

The *-iē-* of *i-* *iē*-stems is often interchanged with *-iā-*, and this is especially common in adjectives and participles; e. g. acc. Lith. *vėžanczią* O.C.Sl. *vezašta* from nom. Lith. *vežantī* O.C.Sl. *vezašti* (cp. the footnote on page 68). In connexion with these sprang up, in the masculine and neuter, cases extended by *-io-*, if the stem ended in a consonant, as gen. *vėžanczio* O.C.Sl. *vezašta* from nom. *vežās vezy*, *mirusio mirūša* from *mīrēs mīrū*, O.C.Sl. *slaždīša* from *slaždīši* (n. *slažde*). Compare § 368 Rem. p. 269.

§ 403. The first characteristic of Lithuanian which should be mentioned here is the loss of all neuter substantives, most of which became masculine: e. g. *lūnka-s* 'bast, inner bark' = Pruss. *lunka-n* O.C.Sl. *lyko*; *aki-s* f. 'eye' = Skr. *ākṣi*; *medū-s* m. 'honey' = Pruss. *meddo* Gr. *μέθυ*; *sėmū* (now

only used in pl.) m. 'seed' = O.C.Sl. *sěmę* Lat. *sēmen*; *vandŭ undŭ* m. 'water' = Goth. *vatō* Gr. *ῥῑδωρ*; *debes-ī-s* (gen. pl. still *debes-ū*) m. f. 'cloud' = O.C.Sl. *nebo*. In a certain number of words gender may have changed because the ending of the nom. acc. neuter was the same as in masculine words. This is the case with *sēmŭ vandŭ* m., following *akmŭ* and words like it (§ 223 p. 100, § 224 p. 103), as O.H.G. *namo sāmo* became masc. (Goth. *namō* n.) by the influence of masculines that had the same ending. Certain masculine words with nom. *-as*, gen. *-ō*, correspond to Idg. neuters in **-os*: *mēnas* 'moon' beside *mēnes-io* etc. (II § 132 p. 415), *ākas* 'ice-hole' = O.C.Sl. *oko*, and others (W. Meyer, *Die Schicksale des lat. Neutr.* 31; J. Schmidt, *Plur.* 195). Another is perhaps *medŭs* beside Skr. *mádhuṣ* (by-form of *mádhu*) Gr. *μεθυσ-θῆραι*. It is a reasonable conjecture that the stock of neuter words first began to thin in this way, and that afterwards the similarity of inflexion in most of the oblique cases affected the nom. acc. even when they differed in masc. and neut., and replaced the neuter form by one which was masculine or feminine.

The agreement of the dat. sing., nom. acc. dual, acc. gen. pl. *daŋgui dangŭ dangŭs dangŭ* (*u*-stem) with *vil̃kui vil̃kŭ vil̃kŭs vil̃kŭ* (*o*-stem) produced the re-formates *dangŭs-nā* and loc. *dangŭsē* (§ 326 pp. 227 f.). This change from *u*- to *o*-declension was carried further in dialects: e. g. *sūnāi sūnāms sūnāis* (cp. Brückner, *Arch. für slav. Phil.* III 252 f.; the Author, *Lit. Volksl. und Märch.* 300). In the same way Lettic *u*-stems came to form their plural in the *o*-declension.

r-stems, which had a nom. sing. in *-ē*, followed the analogy of *ī- iē*-stems, which has the same ending; e. g. *intē* 'brother's wife' (Skr. *yātar-*) gen. *intēs*. See II § 122 Rem. p. 383. Similarly perhaps is to be explained *kekē -ēs* 'dove', as being originally a neuter **kekē(r)* (cp. Lat. *cicer*), see § 224 p. 103.

§ 404. In Slavonic, *nomina agentis* in *-tel-* (Idg. *-ter-*) have kept to the old consonantal declension only in the nom. and gen. plural, and not consistently even there; e. g. *datel-e* (also

datelje with *j* from the other cases which have *-lj-*) and *datel-ŭ*; on the analogy of *datel-ŭ* we then have instr. *datel-y* in the *o*-declension. Otherwise they are *io*-stems, nom. sing. *-teljŭ* and so forth. Cases like *datelŭmŭ* may be regarded as the original forms answering to forms like *kamen-ŭ-mŭ* (§ 402), which are responsible for the change from consonant to *io*-stem. See § 368 Rem. p. 269.

The relation between *telę* and gen. *telete* seems to have been much the same as between Gr. *ὄνομα* and *ὀνόματος*. See § 244 pp. 142 f.

From *graždan-e* 'burghers, citizens' gen. *graždan-ŭ* (II § 115 p. 362), was formed in O.C.Sl. the acc. instr. *graždany* following *vlŭky*, like the instr. *dately*. In the older remains of several Slavonic languages occur plural dat. instr. loc. forms in *-jamŭ -jami -jachŭ* (O.Czech *Polás*), still retaining the old inflexion, in place of O.C.Sl. *-janŭmŭ -jany -janŭchŭ*; see vol. I § 585 p. 441, III § 356 p. 260, § 367 p. 269. The singular of these nouns is extended by *-ino-*, as *graždaninŭ*.

In fem. *ŭ-* *uy*-stems, the similarity between the ending of gen. *svekrŭv-ŭ* and that of *raqŭ* produced forms like *svekrŭv-amŭ -ami -achŭ*, following *raqa-mŭ* etc.

voda f. 'water' was doubtless originally a neuter in *-ō(r)*, see § 224 p. 103.

The ending *-o*, nom. acc. sing. of neuter *es-* and *o*-stems, caused a confusion of forms between these two classes, and in particular made *es*-stems pass into the *o*-class, as gen. *slova* instead of *sloves-e* from *slovo* = Gr. *κλέος*, *děles-e* instead of *děla* from *dělo* 'work'. This has made the *s*-declension disappear from modern Slavonic languages, all but a few traces. The declension of the Russian words *čudo* 'wonder' *nebo* 'heaven' should be noticed: sing. *čudo* gen. *čuda* etc. like *selo*, but pl. *čudesā* gen. *čudesŭ* etc. like *sela*, that is, they are like O.H.G. *kalb* pl. *kalbir* (§ 401).

Similarly, *u* and *o*-stems became mixed owing to their like endings in the nom. acc. sing.; and thus all *u*-stems have some *o*-cases, as gen. *syna* instead of *synu*, from *synŭ* 'son' = Lith.

sūnū-s; the reverse is rarer, e. g. *dlūgu* instead of *dlūga*, from *dlūgū* 'duty' = Goth. *dulg-s*. In most of the modern Slavonic languages the *u*-stems have in this way been almost entirely absorbed into the more numerous *o*-class.

[Tables of Noun Declension to illustrate §§ 190—404 are given below, pp. 296—319.]

Case-endings transferred from Pronouns to Adjectives.

§ 405. From the proethnic period downwards, there has never been any hard and fast line of demarcation between masculine and feminine pronouns in *-o*, as **to-* 'this, the' (which had in some of their cases different endings from nouns), and nominal adjectives with *o*-stems.

To what extent pronominal endings had spread in the parent language cannot now be made out. Two questions have to be answered. First, was the pronominal inflexion used in any of the forms of certain adjectives, purely nominal in origin, such as Skr. *viśva-* 'each' *sārva-* 'all' Lat. *sōlu-s* O.C.Sl. *vši* 'omnis'; and if so, in which? And secondly, where adjectives had *formative* suffixes which were used with both pronouns and nouns, how far were they *declined* after the noun system? For example, although the parent forms of Skr. *an-yá-s* Gr. *ἄλλο-ς* Lat. *al-iu-s* etc. must have belonged to the pronominal declension (we may conjecture that *an-yá-s* is simply *ana-* + *ya-*, as *tya-* is *ta-* + *ya-*, see § 409), it is wholly doubtful how the comparative of **qo-* 'quis' formed with *-tero-* was then declined (Skr. *katará-s* Gr. *νότερο-ς* etc.)

§ 406. It is certain at any rate that neither in Greek nor in Irish has the pronoun declension spread beyond the area it filled in the parent language. Indeed, in these languages the pronouns actually lost the greater number of their proper inflexions.

[Continued on page 320.]

1. o-Stems.

Appendix 2

	Pr. Idg.	Sanskrit.	Avestic.	Armenian.	Greek.
Sing. nom.	* <i>ulqo-s</i> 'Wolf':	<i>vṛka-s</i>	<i>vehrkō</i>	<i>gail</i>	λύκος;
	voc. * <i>ulqe</i> :	<i>vṛka</i>	<i>vehrka</i>	<i>gail</i> [nom. ?]	λύκε
	acc. m. * <i>ulqo-m</i> :	<i>vṛka-m</i>	<i>vehrke-m</i>	[z <i>gail</i>]	λύκον
	n. * <i>jugo-m</i> 'yoke':	<i>yugā-m</i>	<i>xšaṣrem</i> 'lordship'		ζυγό-ν
	gen. * <i>ulqo-sio</i> , -e-sio:	<i>vṛka-sya</i>	<i>vehrka-he</i>	<i>gailo-y</i> (?)	λύκον-ιο λύκοι λύκω Thess. χερόν. cp. μοι
	* <i>ulqe-i</i> -o-i ?:	cp. <i>mē</i>	cp. <i>mē</i>		Lokr. ω 'unde' [λύκοιο λύκοι λύκω]
	abl. * <i>ulqōd</i> , -ēd:	<i>vṛkād</i>	<i>vehrkāḥ</i>	i <i>gailo-y</i>	
	dat. * <i>ulqōi</i> , -ē(i):	<i>vṛkāya</i> , - <i>dhyaī</i> , <i>sakhyā</i>	<i>vehrkāi</i> , <i>aśu</i>	[<i>gailo-y</i>]	λύκῳ
	loc. * <i>ulqo-i</i> , -e-i:	<i>vṛkē</i>	<i>vehrkē</i>		Att. οἱ κοί οἱ κτ. 'at home'
	instr. * <i>ulqō</i> , -ē:	<i>vṛkā</i> , † <i>vṛkēna</i>	<i>vehrka</i>		Att. πῶ Lak. πτ. Tar. αἰῖ, [λύκῳ] Ep. θεό-φ.
	* <i>ulqo-bhi</i> -mi, -c- <i>bhi</i> -e-mi:			<i>gailo-v</i> <i>ardare-v</i>	
Dual. nom.-acc.	m. * <i>ulqōu</i> -ō:	<i>vṛkāu vṛkā</i>	<i>vehrka</i>	<i>erku</i> 'two' (?)	λύκω
	n. * <i>jugo-i</i> , -e-i:	<i>yugē</i>	<i>xšaṣrē</i>		ζυγώ, <i>fēl-pat.</i>
	gen. etc. dat. abl. instr. ?	dat. abl. instr. <i>vṛkābhyām</i>	dat. <i>vehrkaēbya</i>		λύκοιν λύκοιν (cp. Att. δουῖν), Arg. -οι, El. -οισ;
	gen. * <i>ulqōus</i> ?:	gen. loc. <i>vṛkayōḥ</i> , cp. pron. <i>ṇnōḥ</i>	gen. <i>vehrkayā</i>		
	loc. * <i>ulqōu</i> ?:		loc. <i>vehrkayō</i>		
Plur. nom.	* <i>ulqōs</i> :	<i>vṛkāś vṛkāśas</i>	<i>vehrkāḥ vehrkān- hō, vehrka</i>	<i>gailē</i>	† λύκοι
	acc. m. * <i>ulqo-ns</i> (* <i>ulqōns</i> ?):	<i>vṛkāś -ān</i>	<i>vehrkaś(-ca)</i> - <i>an</i> , <i>vehrka</i>	<i>z gails</i>	λύκονς λύκων.
	n. * <i>jugā</i> :	<i>yugā yugāni</i>	<i>xšaṣra</i> , <i>vispēng</i> <i>vispā</i> 'omnia'		ζυγά
	gen. * <i>ulqōm</i> , -ēm:	<i>vṛkāṃ vṛkā- ṇām</i>	<i>vehrkaṃ vehrka- ṇam</i>	<i>gailōc</i>	λύκων
	* <i>ulqōi-s</i> -s-u -s-i:	<i>vṛkē-ṣu</i>	<i>vehrkaē-ṣu</i> - <i>ṣv-a</i>	<i>gailōc</i>	λύκοις λύκοιν
	* <i>ulqo-bh</i> -m:	<i>vṛkē-bhyas</i>	<i>vehrkaēbyō</i>	dat. <i>gailōc</i> abl. i <i>gailōc</i>	[λύκοις λύκοις]
	* <i>ulqōi</i> s:	<i>vṛkāiḥ</i>	<i>vehrkāiḥ</i>		λύκοις [λύκοις]
	* <i>ulqo-bhi</i> (s) -mī(s):	<i>vṛkē-bhiḥ</i>	<i>vehrkaēbiḥ</i>	<i>guilo-vē</i>	θεό-φ.

any of the forms here given under a certain heading belong in form to a different place, and are here given to their meaning (e. g., accusative used for the nominative), they are enclosed in square brackets []. This implies that a given form, as far as its case-ending goes, may be counted the regular descendant of the

Latin.	Irish.	Gothic.	O.H.G.	Lithuanian.	O.C.Sl.
<i>lupu-s; Cor-nēli-s</i>	<i>fer</i> 'man'	<i>vulf-s; un-nut-s</i> 'use-less' <i>hairdeis</i> 'herdsman'	<i>wolf</i>	<i>vilka-s; žodi-s</i> 'word', <i>gai-dj-s</i> 'cook'	<i>olūku</i> ; <i>kraji</i> 'border'
<i>lupe; fili</i>	<i>fir</i>	<i>vulf; hairdi</i>	<i>wolf</i>	<i>vilke; žodi, gaidj</i>	<i>olūče; kraju</i>
<i>lupu-m; Cor-nēli-m</i> <i>jugu-m</i>	<i>fer n-</i> <i>dliged n-</i>	<i>vulf; hairdi</i> <i>juk</i> <i>†culfi-s</i>	<i>wolf</i> <i>wort</i> 'word' <i>†wolfe-s</i>	<i>vilka; žodi, gaidj</i> <i>†gēra</i> <i>[vilko]</i>	<i>elūkū; kraji</i> <i>igo</i> <i>[olūka]</i>
<i>lupi, fili, op. mi</i>	<i>fir</i>				<i>op. mi</i>
<i>lupō(d), rec-iē(d)</i>		<i>vulfa(?)</i>	<i>wolfu(?)</i> [<i>wol-fe</i>]	<i>vilko</i>	<i>elūka</i>
<i>lupō Numa-siōi</i>	<i>[fiur]</i>	<i>vulfa(?)</i>	<i>wolfe(?)</i>	<i>vilku</i>	<i>olūku</i>
<i>belli</i>	<i>cinn</i> 'at the end'	<i>culfa(?)</i>	<i>wolfe(?)</i>	<i>†vilke, namē</i> 'at home'	<i>olūcē</i>
<i>adv. modo, āre, [lupō(d)] olim(?)</i>	<i>fiur</i>	<i>hwē</i> 'wherewith' <i>vulfa(?)</i>	<i>wolfu</i> O.Sax. <i>hwō</i> <i>op. zi houbitun</i>	<i>vilku gerū-ju</i>	<i>novē- in novē-ji</i> <i>olūko-mi</i>
<i>duo</i>	<i>dāu dō</i> and <i>da</i> 'two', <i>fer</i>	<i>ahtau</i> 'eight'	<i>ahto</i> 'eight'	<i>vilku gerū-ju</i>	<i>olūka</i>
<i>vi-ginti(?)</i>	<i>dliged, dā n-</i> <i>dat. feraib, dib n-</i> <i>gen. fer</i>		O.Sax. <i>twē</i>	<i>dat. vilka-m instr. vilka-n</i>	<i>izē</i> <i>dat. instr. olūko-ma</i> <i>gen. olūku</i> <i>loc. olūku</i>
<i>†lupi poploe, op Osc. Nūvla-nūs</i> 'Nolani'	<i>†fir, op. voc. firu</i>	<i>vulfos</i>	<i>wolfu -a</i>	<i>†vilkaī, gerē-ji</i> 'good ones'	<i>†olūci</i>
<i>lupōs</i>	<i>firu</i>	<i>vulfans</i>	<i>[wolfu -a]</i>	<i>vilkaš, op. Pruss. deiwans</i> 'deos'	<i>olūky</i>
<i>juga</i>	<i>cēt</i> 'hundreds', <i>dligeda</i>	<i>juka</i>	<i>wort</i>	<i>keturió-lika</i> '14' <i>iga</i>	
<i>deum, †lupō-rum</i>	<i>fer n-</i>	<i>vulfē</i>	<i>wolfo</i>	<i>vilka</i>	<i>olūkū</i>
<i>[lupis(?), deivōs]</i>	<i>[feraib]</i>	<i>[vulfam]</i>	<i>[wolfum]</i>	<i>vilkašus vilkašē</i>	<i>olūcēchū</i>
<i>[lupis, deivōs]</i>	<i>[feraib]</i>	<i>vulfa-m(?)</i>	<i>wolfum(?)</i>	<i>vilka-ms</i>	<i>olūko-mū</i>
<i>lupis</i>	<i>feraib</i>	<i>vulfa-m</i>	<i>wolfum(?)</i>	<i>vilkašs</i>	<i>olūky</i>

Indo-Germanic proethnic form. Pronominal endings transferred to noun stems after the end of the proethnic period, are marked with a dagger †.

2. *ā*-Stems.

	Pr. Idg.	Sanskrit.	Avestic.	Greek.	Latin.
Sing. nom.	* <i>ekyā</i> 'mare':	<i>āśvā</i>	<i>haēnu</i> 'hostile host'	<i>χώρα</i> 'land' <i>ἵπ- νότης</i> [<i>ἵπνός</i>] 'charioteer'	<i>equa</i>
voc.	* <i>ekya</i> :	<i>āmbā</i> 'mother', <i>āśvā</i>	<i>haēnē</i>	<i>ῥόμφα δέσποτα</i>	[<i>equa</i>]
acc.	* <i>ekyā-m</i> :	<i>āśvā-m</i>	<i>haēnām</i>	<i>χώρα-ν</i>	<i>equa-m</i>
gen.	* <i>ekyās</i> :	<i>āśvāyās</i> , <i>gnās</i> -(?), [<i>āśvāyāi</i>]	<i>haēnayā</i>	<i>χώρας</i> , <i>ῥεανίου</i>	<i>viās</i> , <i>viāi equae</i>
abl.	* <i>ekyās</i> :	<i>āśvāyās</i>	<i>haēnayāb</i>	<i>χώρας</i> , <i>ῥεανίου</i>	<i>equā(d)</i>
dat.	* <i>ekyāi</i> :	<i>suva putyāi</i> (?), <i>āśvāyāi</i>	<i>haēnayāi</i>	<i>χώρα</i>	<i>Mātātā</i> , <i>equae</i>
loc.	* <i>ekyāi</i> :	<i>āśvāy-ām</i>	<i>haēnaya</i>	<i>Θηβα-γενή</i> ; <i>χώρα</i>	<i>Rōmae</i>
instr.	* <i>ekyā</i> :	<i>āśvā</i> , <i>†āśvayā</i>	<i>haēna</i> , <i>†haēnaya</i>	<i>ἀρῶ</i> , <i>ἀγέλη(ν)</i> , [<i>χώρα</i>]	[<i>equā(d)</i>]
Dual. nom.-acc.	* <i>ekyāi</i> :	<i>āśvā</i>	<i>haēnē</i>	<i>χώρα</i> , (pl. <i>χώραι</i>)	<i>duae</i>
gen. etc.	dat. abl. instr. ?	d. a. i. <i>āśvā-bhyām</i>	dat. <i>haēnā-byā</i>	gen. etc. <i>χώραν</i>	
	gen. ? loc. ?	gen. loc. <i>āśvayōṣ</i>	gen. <i>haēnayā</i>		
Plur. nom.	* <i>ekyās</i> :	<i>āśvās</i> , <i>āśvāsas</i>	<i>haēnā</i> (<i>haē-nās-ca</i>)	[<i>χώραι</i>]	[<i>equae</i>]
acc.	* <i>ekyās</i> :	<i>āśvās</i> , [<i>āśvāsas</i>]	<i>haēnā</i> (<i>haē-nās-ca</i>)	<i>χώραν</i> ; <i>χώρας</i>	<i>equās</i> (?)
gen.	?	<i>āśvā-nām</i>	<i>vanqm</i> , <i>haēnanqm</i>	<i>†δεσίων χώραν</i>	<i>†equā-rum</i>
loc.	* <i>ekyā-s-su-si</i> :	<i>āśvā-su</i>	<i>haēnā-hu</i> <i>-ho-a</i>	<i>ταμίαι-σι</i> , <i>χώραισι</i> , <i>χώρας</i>	O. Lat. dat. <i>ā-s</i> , [<i>equis</i>]
dat.-abl.	* <i>ekyā-bh-m</i> :	<i>āśvā-bhyas</i>	<i>haēnā-byō</i>	[<i>ταμίαι</i> , <i>χώραισι</i> , <i>χώρας</i>]	<i>equā-bus</i> , [<i>equis</i>]
instr.	* <i>ekyā-bhī(s)</i> <i>-mī(s)</i> :	<i>āśvā-bhīṣ</i>	<i>haēnā-biṣ</i>	<i>χώρας</i> , [<i>ταμίαι</i> , <i>χώραισι</i>]	<i>equis</i> , [<i>equābus</i>]

Oscan.	Irish.	Gothic.	O.H.G.	Lithuanian.	O.C.Sl.
<i>o v t o</i> 'civitas'	<i>tuath</i> 'people', <i>ben</i> 'woman'	<i>giba</i> 'gift'	<i>buoz</i> 'improvement' [<i>geba</i> 'gift']	<i>rankà</i> 'hand'	<i>ranka</i> 'hand'
Umbr. [<i>Tursa</i>]	<i>tuath</i> (?) <i>ben</i> (?)	[<i>giba</i>]	[<i>geba</i>]	<i>rankà</i> , <i>mótyn</i> 'mother'	<i>ranko</i>
<i>tovtam</i>	<i>tuaitn n- mnāi n-</i>	[<i>giba</i>], <i>pō</i> 'this'	<i>geba</i>	<i>ranka</i>	<i>ranka</i>
<i>tovtas</i>	<i>tuaithe mnā</i>	<i>gibōs</i>	<i>geba</i> [<i>gebu</i>]	<i>rankos</i>	<i>ranky</i> , <i>duše</i> 'of a soul'
<i>tovtad</i>				<i>rankos</i>	<i>ranky duše</i>
<i>deivai</i> 'divae'	<i>tuaitn</i>	<i>gibāi</i>	[<i>gebu gebo</i>]	<i>rankai</i>	<i>rankē</i>
<i>vīai</i> 'in via'	<i>tuaitn</i>	<i>gibāi</i>	[<i>gebu gebo</i>]	<i>rankoj-e</i>	<i>rankē</i>
	[<i>tuaitn</i>]	[<i>gibāi</i>]	<i>gebu gebo</i>	<i>rankà</i>	<i>ranka</i> , <i>†rankojā</i>
	<i>tuaitn</i> , <i>dī</i>	<i>pūsundja</i> (?)		<i>ranki gerē-jī</i>	<i>rankē</i>
	dat. <i>tuaitnib mnāib</i> gen. <i>tuath ban</i>			dat. instr. <i>ranko-m</i>	dat. instr. <i>ranka-ma</i> gen. loc. <i>ranku</i>
<i>tovtas</i>	<i>tuatha mnā</i>	<i>gibōs</i>	<i>gebā -a</i> , <i>kebo</i>	<i>rankos</i>	[<i>ranky duše</i>]
<i>vīass</i> 'vias'	<i>tuatha</i> (?) <i>mnā</i> (?)	<i>gibōs</i>	<i>gebā -a</i> , <i>kebo</i>	<i>rankās</i> , <i>rankos-nā</i>	<i>ranky duše</i>
<i>†tovtazum</i>	<i>tuath n- ban n-</i>	<i>gibō</i>	<i>gebōno</i> , <i>āleibo</i>	<i>rankū</i>	<i>rankū</i>
	[<i>tuaitnib mnāib</i>]	[<i>gibō-m</i>]	[<i>gebō-m</i>]	<i>ranko-su -se</i>	<i>ranka-chū</i>
[<i>Diumpais</i>]	[<i>tuaitnib mnāib</i>] op. Gall. <i>Namav- sua-βo</i>	<i>gibō-m</i> (?)	<i>gebō-m</i> (?)	<i>ranko-mis</i>	<i>ranka-mū</i>
<i>Diumpais</i>	<i>tuaitnib mnāib</i>	<i>gibō-m</i>	<i>gebō-m</i>	<i>ranko-mis -mi</i>	<i>ranka-mi</i>

3. *i-ic*-Stems.

Irish.	Gothic.	O.H.G.	Lithuanian.	O.C.Sl.
<i>n is</i> 'island' <i>si</i> 'ea'	<i>frijōndi</i> 'friend' f.	<i>gutin</i> <i>gutinna</i> 'goddess'	<i>vežantì</i> 'vehens' žž- <i>mē</i> 'earth'	<i>vezqšti</i> 'vehens' zemlja 'earth'
	<i>frijōndi</i>	<i>gutin</i>	[žmē]	<i>zemlje</i>
<i>n is n-</i> (?) <i>n si n-</i> (?)	<i>frijōndja</i>	<i>gutinne -a</i>	<i>vēžanczią žmę</i>	<i>vezqštą zemlją</i>
<i>n se</i> (?)	<i>frijōndjōs</i>	<i>gutinne -a</i>	<i>vežancziōs žmēs</i>	<i>vezqštę zemlję</i>
			<i>vežancziōs žmēs</i>	<i>vezqštę zemlję</i>
<i>n si</i>	<i>frijōndjái</i>	[<i>gutinnu</i>]	<i>vēžancziai žmei</i>	<i>vezqšti zemlji</i>
<i>n si</i>	<i>frijōndjái</i>	[<i>gutinnu</i>]	<i>vēžanczių-e žmėj-e</i>	<i>vezqšti zemlji</i>
<i>n si</i> (?)	[<i>frijōndjái</i>]	<i>gutinnu</i>	<i>vēžanczia žmē</i>	<i>vezqštą (†-ęą) zemlją</i> (†-ęą)
<i>n is</i> (?)				
<i>n is</i>			<i>vežantì-doi žmì</i>	<i>vezqšti zemlji</i>
dat. insib			dat. vežancziōm-dvēm instr. vėžancziōni-dvēm dat. instr. žmė-m	dat. instr. vezqšta-ma zemlja-ma gen. vezqštu zemlju loc. vezqštu zemlju
<i>n si</i> (?)	<i>frijōndjōs</i>	<i>gutinne</i>	<i>vēžancziōs žmēs</i>	[<i>vezqštę zemlję</i>]
<i>n si</i>	<i>frijōndjōs</i>	<i>gutinne</i>	<i>vēžanczias žmēs ž-</i> <i>mēs-nā</i>	<i>vezqštę zemlję</i>
<i>n se n-</i>	<i>frijōndjō</i>	<i>gutinnō, -in-</i> <i>nōno</i>	<i>vežancziū žmiū</i>	<i>vezqštī zemlji</i>
[<i>insib</i>]	[<i>frijōndjō-m</i>]	[<i>gutinnō-m, di-</i> <i>gi-m</i>]	<i>vežancziō-su -sē</i> <i>žmė-su -se</i>	<i>vezqšta-chū zemlja-chū</i>
[<i>insib</i>]	<i>frijōndjō-m</i> (?)	<i>gutinnō-m</i> (?), <i>di-</i> <i>gi-m</i> (?)	<i>vēžancziō-mis žmė-mis</i>	<i>vezqšta-mū zemlja-mū</i>
<i>n sib</i>	<i>frijōndjō-m</i>	<i>gutinnō-m, di-</i> <i>gi-m</i> (?)	<i>vežancziō-mis</i> <i>žmė-mis -mi</i>	<i>vezqšta-mi zemlja-mi</i>

4. *i*-Stems.

	Pr. Idg.	Sanskrit.	Avestic.	Armenian.	Greek.
Sing. nom.	* <i>oṃi-s</i> 'ovis':	<i>ávi-ṣ</i>	<i>aži-š</i> 'snake'	<i>sirt</i> 'heart'	<i>ὄφι-ς</i> 'snake'
voc.	* <i>oṃoi-ei</i> : * <i>oṃi</i> :	<i>ávē</i>	<i>ažē</i> <i>aži</i>	<i>sirt</i> [nom. P]	<i>ὄφι</i>
acc.	* <i>oṃi-m</i> : n. * <i>oqi</i> 'eye':	<i>ávi-m</i> <i>śúci</i> 'pure'	<i>aži-m</i> <i>būiri</i> 'much'	[<i>sirt</i>]	<i>ὄφι-ν</i> <i>ἰδρι</i> 'clever'
gen.	* <i>oṃoi-s-ei-s</i> : * <i>oṃ(i)ī-es-(i)ī-os</i> :	<i>ávē-ṣ</i> <i>ávy-as ariy-ás</i>	<i>ažōi-š, jainy-ōiṣ, vay-ō</i>	<i>srti</i> (P)	<i>ὄφεο; -εω; πόλις</i> <i>ὄφι-ος</i>
abl.	* <i>oṃoi-s-ei-s</i> : * <i>oṃ(i)ī-es-(i)ī-os</i> :	<i>ávē-ṣ</i> <i>ávy-as ariy-ás</i>	<i>ažōiḥ ašaēd-a</i>	<i>srtē</i>	<i>ὄφεο; -εω; πόλις</i> <i>ὄφι-ος</i>
dat.	* <i>oṃoi-ai</i> * <i>oṃ(i)ī-ai</i> : also * <i>oṃi</i> ?	<i>ávay-ē páty-ē</i> <i>ūtī</i>	<i>ažayaē-ca,</i> <i>paiḥyaē-ca</i> <i>fra-mrūiti</i>	<i>srti</i>	[<i>ὄφει, πόληι πόλι</i>] <i>βάσι</i>
loc.	* <i>oṃēi-ē, -ei</i> (P): * <i>oṃēi-i</i> :	<i>ávā ávāu</i> <i>ājad-y-i</i> (P)	<i>aža, mrūitē</i> (P)		<i>πόληι πόλη</i> <i>ὄφεϊ ὄφει</i>
instr.	* <i>oṃi</i> :	<i>matī f., ávyā f.</i> <i>aži</i> (Ved. also m.), <i>ávi-nā m.</i> (Ved. also f.)		<i>srti-v</i>	Ion. <i>βάσι</i> [<i>ὄφει πόληι πόλη</i>]
Dual. nom.-acc.	* <i>oṃi</i> : neut. * <i>oqi</i> :	<i>ávī</i> <i>śúci, śucinī</i>	<i>aži</i> <i>aši</i>		<i>ὄφει ὄφει</i> <i>ὄσσε</i>
gen. etc.	dat. abl. instr.? gen. * <i>oṃ(i)ī-oṃ-s</i> ? loc. * <i>oṃ(i)ī-oṃ</i> ?	dat. abl. instr. <i>ávi-bhyām,</i> neut. <i>akṣi-bhyām</i> gen. loc. <i>ávy-ōṣ</i>	dat. <i>aži-bya</i>		gen. etc. <i>ὄφειον</i>
Plur. nom.	* <i>oṃēi-es</i> :	<i>ávay-as, ariy-ás</i>	<i>ažay-o, fra-vasy-ō</i>	<i>sirtē</i>	<i>ὄφεις</i> Cret. <i>τετ-ες</i>
acc.	* <i>oṃi-ns</i> (* <i>oṃins</i>)? neut. * <i>tri</i> 'tria':	<i>ávīr-in m., áviṣ f., ariy-ás</i> <i>trī, trīni</i>	<i>aššm., [garayō]</i> <i>hu-baoḍi</i>	<i>sirts</i>	<i>ὄφεις, πόσις,</i> [<i>ὄφεις</i>] <i>τετα</i>
gen.	* <i>oṃ(i)īdm</i> :	<i>ávinām, sūrīm</i>	<i>kaoyam, vay-am, ašinam</i>	<i>srtiç</i>	<i>τεων, ὄφειον</i>
loc.	* <i>oṃi-s-su-si</i> :	<i>ávi-ṣu</i>	* <i>aži-šu</i>	<i>srtiç</i>	<i>ὄφισι, ὄφεισι</i>
dat.-abl.	* <i>oṃi-bh-m-</i> :	<i>ávi-bhyas</i>	<i>aži-byō</i>	d. <i>srtiç, a. i srtiç</i>	[<i>ὄφισι, ὄφεισι</i>]
instr.	* <i>oṃi-bh(i)s-mī(s)</i> :	<i>ávi-bhiṣ</i>	* <i>aži-biṣ</i>	<i>srti-rk</i>	[<i>ὄφισι, ὄφεισι</i>]

Latin.	Irish.	Gothic.	O.H.G.	Lithuanian.	O.C.Sl.
<i>turri-s</i>	<i>fäith</i> 'vates'	<i>anst-s</i> 'favour'	<i>anst</i> 'favour', <i>kuri</i> 'choice'	<i>nakti-s</i> 'night'	<i>nošti</i> 'night'
[<i>turris</i>]	<i>fäith</i> (?) <i>fäith</i> (?)	<i>anst</i>	<i>anst kuri</i>	<i>naktē</i>	<i>nošti</i>
<i>turri-m, ovem mare</i>	<i>fäith n- muir(n)-mare</i>	<i>anst hrdin</i> 'pure'	<i>anst kuri meri</i> 'mare'	<i>nakti</i>	<i>nošti</i>
<i>turris, Osc. -eis</i>	<i>fätho -a</i>	<i>anstái-s, ga- stis</i> 'of a guest'	<i>ensti</i> (?), <i>gastes</i> 'of a guest' <i>ensti</i> (?)	<i>naktēs</i>	<i>nošti</i>
<i>turri(d)</i>				<i>naktēs</i>	<i>nošti</i>
		[<i>anstái, gasta</i>]	[<i>gaste</i>]	<i>nākečiai, vāgiui</i> 'furi'	
<i>turri</i> (?)	<i>fäith</i>		<i>ensti kuri</i> (?)	<i>vész-paty</i>	<i>nošti</i>
<i>ove turri</i> (?)	<i>muir fäith</i>	<i>anstái</i>	<i>ensti kuri</i>	<i>dēktē dektē, naktijē</i>	<i>nošti</i>
<i>turri</i> (?)			<i>ensti kuri</i> (?)		
<i>turri quī, ove</i>	<i>fäith</i>	[<i>anstái</i>], <i>gasta</i>	<i>ensti kuri</i> (?), <i>gastiu</i>	<i>akī, nakti-mi</i>	<i>noštija, pāt-mi</i> (dat. <i>nošti</i>)
	<i>fäith</i>			<i>nakti</i>	<i>nošti</i> <i>oči (fem.)</i>
	dat. <i>fäithib</i> gen. <i>fätho -a</i>			dat. <i>nakti-m instr.</i> <i>nakti-m</i>	dat. instr. <i>nošti-</i> <i>ma</i> , neutr. <i>oči-</i> <i>ma</i> gen. <i>noštiju</i> loc. <i>noštiju</i>
<i>turres</i> [<i>turris</i>]	<i>fäithi, tri</i> 'tres'	<i>ansteis</i>	<i>ensti, dri</i> 'tres'	<i>naktys</i>	<i>pātij-e</i> [<i>nošti</i>]
<i>turris</i> [<i>turres</i>]	<i>fäithi</i>	<i>ansti-nis</i>	[<i>ensti</i>]	<i>naktis</i>	<i>nošti</i>
<i>tri-gintā, tria</i>	<i>tri, mure</i>	<i>þrija</i>	<i>driu</i>	<i>trý-lika</i>	<i>tri</i>
<i>turrium, apum</i>	<i>fäthe n-, tri n-</i>	<i>anstē, þrijē</i> 'tri- um'	<i>ensto -io,</i> <i>ensto</i>	<i>nakčiai, krūtū</i>	<i>noštij</i>
[<i>turri-bus</i>]	[<i>fäithib</i>]	[<i>ansti-m</i>]	[<i>ensti-m</i>]	<i>nakti-su -sē, tri-</i> <i>su -sē</i>	<i>nošti-chū</i>
<i>turri-bus</i>	[<i>fäithib</i>]	<i>ansti-m</i> (?)	<i>ensti-m</i> (?)	<i>nakti-ma</i>	<i>nošti-mū</i>
[<i>turri-bus</i>]	<i>fäithi-b tri-b</i>	<i>ansti-m</i>	<i>ensti-m</i>	<i>nakti-mis -mi</i>	<i>nošti-mi</i>

5. *u*-Stems.

	Pr. Idg.	Sanskrit.	Avestic.	Armenian.	Greek.
Sing. nom.	* <i>sūnu-s</i> 'son':	<i>sūnū-ṣ</i>	<i>bāzu-ṣ</i> 'arm'	<i>zard</i> 'orna- ment'	<i>πῆχυν-ς</i> 'lower arm' <i>ῥῑδῶ-ς</i> 'suavis'
voc.	* <i>sūnoy-eu</i> : * <i>sūnu</i> :	<i>sūnō</i>	<i>bāzu</i>	<i>zard</i> [nom. ?]	<i>ῖππεῦ</i> <i>πῆχυν</i>
acc.	* <i>sūnu-m</i> : n. * <i>medhu</i> 'sweetness'	<i>sūnū-m</i> <i>mādhū</i>	<i>bāzu-m</i> <i>mađu</i>	[<i>z zard</i>]	<i>πῆχυν-ν</i> ῥῑδῶ-ν. <i>ευρεῖα</i> <i>μέθυ</i>
gen.	* <i>sūnoy-s -eu-s</i> : * <i>sūn(u)y-es-os</i>	<i>sūnō-ṣ</i> <i>paśv-ās mādhu- uv-as</i>	<i>bāzao-ṣ -ēu-ṣ</i> <i>rraṣw-ō</i>	<i>zardu</i> (?)	<i>πῆχεος -εω;</i> ῥῑδιο: <i>δοιρός γένυ-ο:</i>
abl.	* <i>sūnoy-s -eu-s</i> : * <i>sūn(u)y-es-os</i>	<i>sūnō-ṣ</i> <i>paśv-ās mādhu- uv-as</i>	<i>bāzaoḥ bāzv-aḥ</i>	<i>i zardu, i zardē, i zarduē</i>	<i>πῆχεος -εω;</i> ῥῑδιο: <i>δοιρός γένυ-ο:</i>
dat.	* <i>sūney-ai</i> , -(u)y-ai:	<i>sūndāv-ē, śiśv-ē</i>	<i>bāzav-ē, bāzv-ē</i>	<i>zardu</i>	[<i>πῆχαι</i> <i>πῆχαι</i>]
loc.	* <i>sūney, -eu</i> (?) * <i>sūney-i</i> :	<i>sūndāu</i> <i>sūndāv-i</i>	<i>bāzāu, per*to</i> <i>gālav-a</i> (?)		<i>ῖππηφι-ι</i> (?) <i>πῆχαι</i> <i>πῆχαι</i> , <i>δοιρῆ</i>
instr.	* <i>sūnū</i> :	<i>sūnv-ā</i> Ved., <i>sū- nūnā</i>	<i>bāzu, bāzv-a</i>	<i>zardu</i>	[<i>πῆχαι</i> <i>πῆχαι</i>]
Dual. nom.- acc.	* <i>sūnū</i> : n. * <i>medhy-i</i> ? -i ?:	<i>sūnū</i> <i>mādhv-i, mādhu- unī</i>	<i>bāzu, bāzv-a</i>		<i>πῆχαι</i> <i>πῆχαι</i> <i>δοιρῆ</i>
gen. etc.	dat. abl. instr. ? gen. * <i>sūn(u)y- oy-s</i> ?: loc. * <i>sūn(u)y- oy</i> ?:	dat. abl. instr. <i>sūnū- bhyām</i> gen. loc. <i>sūnv-ōṣ</i>	dat. <i>bāzu-bya</i> gen. <i>bāzv-ā</i> loc. <i>bāzv-ō</i>		g. etc. <i>πῆχῶιν</i>
Plur. nom.	* <i>sūney-es</i> :	<i>sūndv-as, -krato- as</i>	<i>bāzav-ō, yātv-ō</i>	<i>zardē</i>	<i>πῆχες -εις</i>
acc.	* <i>sūnu-ns</i> (<i>sū- nūns</i> ?): neut. * <i>medhū</i> :	<i>sūnūr -ūn m., dhē- nūṣ f., paśv-ās</i> <i>mādhū, mādhuṇi</i>	<i>bāzūṣ, pasv-ō</i> [<i>gātavō</i>] <i>pouru</i>	<i>z zards</i>	<i>υῖν-ες, πῆχες,</i> [<i>πῆχες</i>] <i>ῥῑδα, γούρα</i>
gen.	* <i>sūn(u)yōm</i> :	<i>sūnūnām, dasyūm</i>	<i>bāzv-am, bā- zunām</i>	<i>zarduc</i>	<i>δοιρῶν, πῆχεων</i> <i>ῥῑδῶν</i>
loc.	* <i>sūnu-s -eu -si</i> :	<i>sūnū-ṣu</i>	<i>bāzu-ṣu -šv-a</i>	<i>zarduc</i>	<i>πῆχου, γονεύου</i>
dat.-abl.	* <i>sūnu-bh- -m</i> :	<i>sūnū-bhyas</i>	<i>bāzu-byō</i>	dat. <i>zarduc</i> , abl. <i>i zarduc</i>	[<i>πῆχου</i>]
instr.	* <i>sūnu-bhi(s)</i> -mī(s):	<i>sūnū-bhiṣ</i>	<i>bāzu-biṣ</i>	<i>zarduē</i>	[<i>πῆχου</i>]

Latin.	Irish.	Gothic.	O.H.G.	Lithuanian.	O.C.Sl.
<i>manu-s</i>	<i>bith</i> 'world'	<i>sunu-s</i>	<i>situ -o</i> 'custom'	<i>sūnà -s</i>	<i>synŭ</i>
[<i>manu-s</i>]		<i>sunu</i>	<i>situ -o</i>	<i>sūnaŭ</i>	<i>synu</i>
<i>manu-m</i>	<i>bith n-</i>	<i>sunu</i>	<i>situ -o</i>	<i>súnų</i>	<i>synŭ</i>
<i>pecu</i>	<i>mid (n-)</i>	<i>faihu</i>	<i>fihu -o</i>	<i>gražù</i>	<i>medŭ</i> (masc.)
<i>manū-s, quae- stī senātu-os -is</i>	<i>betho -ā</i>	<i>sundū-s</i> <i>mans</i>	<i>fridō -o</i> <i>man</i>	<i>sūnaŭ -s</i>	<i>synu</i>
<i>manū(d)</i>				<i>sūnaŭ -s</i>	<i>synu</i>
<i>manu-ī</i>	[<i>biuth</i>]	[<i>sundu</i>]	[<i>siliu</i>]	<i>súnui</i>	<i>synov -i</i>
<i>manū</i>	<i>biuth</i>	<i>sunáu</i> <i>mann</i>	<i>sitiu</i> <i>sītiu</i> (P), <i>man</i>	<i>sūnījē</i>	<i>synu</i>
<i>manū</i>	<i>biuth</i>	[<i>sundu</i>]	<i>sitiu</i>	<i>sūnu-mi</i>	<i>synomi</i>
	<i>bith</i>			<i>sún u</i>	<i>syny</i>
	dat. <i>bethaib</i> gen. <i>betha</i>			dat. <i>sūnū-m</i> instr. <i>sūnu-m</i>	dat. instr. <i>synŭ- ma</i> gen. <i>synov-u</i> loc. <i>synov-u</i>
<i>manūs</i> (P)	<i>mogai</i>	<i>sunjus</i>	<i>siti</i>	<i>súnūs</i>	<i>synov -e</i>
<i>manūs</i>	<i>bithu</i>	<i>sunu -ns</i>	[<i>siti</i>]	<i>súnus</i>	<i>syny</i>
<i>genua</i>					
<i>manuum</i>	<i>bithe n-</i>	<i>suniež, mann-ē</i>	<i>sileo, manno</i>	<i>sūnā</i>	<i>synov-ŭ</i>
[<i>manu-bus ma- ni-bus</i>]	[<i>bethaib</i>]	[<i>sunu-m</i>]	[<i>sitim</i>]	<i>sūnū-su -sē</i>	<i>synŭ -ch ŭ</i>
<i>manu-bus mani- bus</i>	[<i>bethaib</i>]	<i>sunu-m?</i>	<i>sitim</i> (P)	<i>sūnū-ms</i>	<i>synomŭ</i>
[<i>manu-bus ma- ni-bus</i>]	<i>bethaib</i> (P)	<i>sunu-m</i>	<i>sitim</i>	<i>sūnu -mīs -mī</i>	<i>synŭ -m i</i>

	Pr. Idg.	Sanskrit.	Avestic.	Armenian.	Greek.
Sing. nom.	*k(u)wā(n) 'dog'; -ē(n):	śvā	spā	akn 'eye', anjn 'soul'	κύων, ποιμήν 'herdsman'
					n κύον [ποιμήν]
					κύων-α, τέκτον-α ποιμέν-α θήμα
					ἦν κυν-ός
					ἦεν κυν-ός
					ἴδμεν-αι [κυνί, ποιμέν-ι]
					δόμεν δόμην πομέν-ι, κυνί
					[κυνί, ποιμέν-ι]
					κύν-ε, τέκτον-ε, ποιμέν-ε
					g. etc. κυν-οῖν, ποι- μένων
					κύν-ες, τέκτον-ες, ποιμέν-ες
					κύν-ας, τέκτον- -ας, ποιμέν-ας πλον-α, ἀρεν-α
					κυν-ῶν, ποιμέν-ων
					κυσί, ποιμίσι, φράσι θήμα-σι
					bl. [κυσί etc.]
					[κυσί etc.], κοτυλή- δον-όφρ

Latin.	Irish.	Gothic.	O.H.G.	Lithuanian.	O.C.Sl.
<i>homō -o, lien</i>	<i>cú, áru 'kidney'</i>	<i>guma 'man', tuggō 'tongue'</i>	<i>gomo 'man', zunga 'tongue'</i>	<i>szû szun 'dog', akmâ 'stone'</i>	<i>kamy 'stone'</i>
[<i>homō -o</i>]	[<i>cú</i>]	[<i>guma</i>]	[<i>gomo</i>]	<i>szun-ě [szû, akmâ]</i>	[<i>kamy</i>]
<i>homin-em nōmen</i>	<i>coin n-, árain n- ainm n-</i>	<i>guman hairtō 'heart'</i>	<i>gomon -un herza 'heart'</i>	<i>szûn-ĩ ākmen-ĩ</i>	<i>kamen-ĩ, dīn-ĩ 'day' imē 'name'</i>
<i>homin-is, car- n-is</i>	<i>con, áran anme</i>	<i>gumin-s</i>	<i>gomen -in</i>	<i>szûñ-s, akmeñ-s</i>	<i>kamen-e, dīn-e</i>
<i>cōnventiōn-id, [homin-e]</i>				<i>szûñ-s, akmeñ-s</i>	<i>kamen-e, dīn-e</i>
<i>homin-ĩ, carn- -ĩ, da min-ĩ</i>	<i>coin, árain [anminm]</i>	[<i>gumin</i>]	[<i>gomen -in</i>]	<i>szûniui, ākmeniui</i>	<i>kamen-i, dīn-i</i>
	<i>toimle</i>			<i>szun-yyē, akmen-yyē</i>	<i>kamen-e, dīn-e</i>
<i>homin-e, car- n-e</i>	<i>coin, árain [anminm]</i>	<i>gumin</i>	<i>gomen -in</i>		
<i>homine, carn-e</i>	<i>(coin árain?) anminm</i>	<i>gumin</i>	<i>gumin in</i>	<i>szun-i-mĩ, akmen-i- -mĩ</i>	<i>kamen-ĩ-mĩ, dīn- -ĩ-mĩ</i>
	<i>coin, árain [ainm]</i>			<i>szuniū, ākmeniū</i>	<i>kamen-i, dīn-i imen-ě imen-i</i>
	<i>dat. conaib fiad- naib gen. con, áran</i>			<i>dat. szun-ĩ-m, ak- men-ĩ-m, instr.-i-m</i>	<i>d. i. kamen-ĩ-ma, dīn-ĩ-ma g. kamen-u, dīn-u l. kamen-u, dīn-u</i>
<i>homin-ēs, carn- -ēs</i>	<i>coin, árain</i>	<i>guman-s</i>	<i>gomon -un</i>	<i>szûns szûn-ys, āk- men-s</i>	<i>jelen-e, dīn-e, kamen-tje</i>
<i>homin-ēs, carn-ēs nōmina</i>	<i>con-a, árn-a anmann</i>	[<i>gumans</i> , <i>aúh- sn-uns</i> <i>hairtōn-a, nam- n-a</i>]	[<i>gomon -un</i>] <i>herzon</i>	<i>szun-ĩs, ākmen- -ĩs</i>	<i>kamen-i, dīn-i imen-a</i>
<i>homin-um</i>	<i>con n-, áran n-</i>	<i>guman-ē, aúhs- n-ē</i>	<i>gomōn-o</i>	<i>szun-ū-iū, akmen- -ū-iū</i>	<i>kamen-ū, dīn-ū dīn-ĩjĩ</i>
[<i>homin-i-bus</i>]	[<i>conaib, fiadna- ib</i>]	[<i>gumam</i>]	[<i>gomōm</i>]	<i>szun-ysu, akmen- -ysu -ysē</i>	<i>kamen-ĩ-chū, dīn-ĩ-chū</i>
<i>homin-i-bus</i>	[<i>conaib, fiadna- ib</i>]	<i>gumam (p)</i>	<i>gomōm (p)</i>	<i>szun-ĩ-ms, akmen- -ĩ-ms</i>	<i>kamen-ĩ-mū, dīn-ĩ-mū</i>
[<i>homin-i-bus</i>]	<i>conaib, fiadnaib</i>	<i>gumam, aúhs- am</i>	<i>gomōm</i>	<i>szun-i-mis, akmen- -i-mis -mĩ</i>	<i>kamen-ĩ-mi, dīn- -ĩ-mi, n. imen- -y</i>

7. *r*-Stems.

	Pr. Idg.	Sanskrit.	Avestic.	Armenian.	Greek.
Sing. nom.	* <i>mātē(r)</i> 'mother' * <i>dōlō(r)</i> 'giver'	<i>mātā, dātā</i>	<i>māta, dāta</i>	<i>mair</i>	μήτηρ, δώτωρ
voc.	* <i>māter</i> , * <i>dōtor</i> :	<i>mātar, dātar</i>	<i>mātar^o, dātar^o</i>	<i>mair</i> [nom. v.]	μήτερ, δώτορ
acc.	* <i>māter-η</i> , * <i>dōtor-η</i> :	<i>mātār-am, dātār-am</i>	<i>mātar-em, dātār-em</i>	[<i>z mair</i>]	μήτε-α, δώτορ-α
gen.	* <i>mātr-es -os</i> , * <i>dōtr-es -os</i> : * <i>mātr-s</i> , * <i>dōtr-s</i> :	<i>nār-as</i> <i>mātūr, dātūr</i>	<i>māpr-ō, dāpr-ō</i> <i>ner^o-š, sāstar-š</i>	<i>maur dster</i> , <i>Rei</i>	μήτε-ός, μήτε-οι. δώτορ-ός
abl.	* <i>mātr-es -os</i> , * <i>dōtr-es -os</i> :		<i>māprā, dāprā</i>	<i>i maurē i dsterē</i>	μήτε-ός, μήτε-οι. δώτορ-ός
dat.	* <i>mātr-αι</i> , * <i>dōtr-αι</i> :	<i>mātr-ē, dātār-ē</i>	<i>māpr-ē, dāpr-ē</i>	<i>maur dster</i>	[μήτερι, μήτε-ι, δώτορ-ι]
loc.	* <i>māter-i -tr-i</i> , * <i>dōter-i -tr-i</i> :	<i>mātār-i, dātār-i</i>	<i>mātairi, dātairi</i>		μήτε-ι, μήτε-ι. δώτορ-ι
instr.	* <i>mātr-a</i> , * <i>dōtr-a</i> (-e?) :	<i>mātr-ā, dātār-ā</i>	<i>māpr-a, dāpr-a</i>	<i>mar-b dster-b</i>	[μήτερι, μήτε-ι, δώτορ-ι]
Dual nom.-acc.	* <i>māter-e</i> , * <i>dōtor-e</i> :	<i>mātār-au -ā, dātār-au -ā</i>	<i>mātar-amāpr-a, dātār-a</i>		μήτε-ε, δώτορ-ε
gen. etc.	dat. abl. instr. ? gen. * <i>mātr-ou-s</i> ? * <i>dōtr-ous</i> ? : loc. * <i>mātr-ou</i> ? * <i>dōtr-ou</i> ? :	d. a. i. <i>mātr-bhyām, dātār-bhyām</i> gen. loc. <i>mātr-ōš, dātār-ōš</i>	dat. <i>māter^o-bya, dāter^o-bya</i> gen. <i>nār-ā</i>		gen. etc. μήτε-οιν, δώτορ-οιν
Plur. nom.	* <i>māter-es</i> * <i>dōtor-es</i> :	<i>mātār-as, dātār-as</i>	<i>mātar-ō, dātār-ō</i>	<i>mar-k dster-k</i>	μήτε-ες, δώτορ-ες
acc.	* <i>mātr-ηs</i> , * <i>dōtr-ηs</i> or * <i>māter-ηs</i> , * <i>dōtor-ηs</i> : n. * <i>getyōr(s)</i> '4' :	<i>pañ nfr m, mātr-ī, dātār-ī</i> <i>catōār-i, dātār-i</i>	<i>mātar-ō, f^o-ār-ō, māter-ās, dātār-ō</i>	<i>z mars z dster-ers</i>	μήτε-ας, δώτορ-ας τέτορ-α τέτορ-α
gen.	* <i>mātr-ōm</i> , * <i>dōtr-ōm</i> :	<i>mātr-nām, dātār-nām</i>	<i>māpr-qm, dāpr-qm</i>	<i>març dsterç</i> (<i>dsteraç</i>)	μάτε-ων, μήτε-ων, δώτορ-ων
loc.	* <i>mātr-s -su -si</i> , * <i>dōtr-s -su -si</i> :	<i>mātr-śu, dātār-śu</i>		<i>març dsterç</i> (<i>dsteraç</i>)	μήτε-σι, δώτορ-σι
dat.-abl.	* <i>mātr-bh-</i> -m- * <i>dōtr-bh-</i> -m-:	<i>mātr-bhyas, dātār-bhyas</i>	<i>māter^o-byō, dāter^o-byō</i>	dat. <i>març abl. i març etc.</i>	[μήτεσι, δώτορ-σι]
instr.	* <i>mātr-bhī(s)</i> -mī(s), * <i>dōtr-bhī(s)</i> -mī(s):	<i>mātr-bhīś, dātār-bhīś</i>	<i>māter^o-biś, dāter^o-biś</i>	<i>mar-bk dster-bk</i>	[μήτεσι, δώτορ-σι]

Latin	Irish.	Gothic.	O.H.G.	Lithuanian.	O.C.Sl.
<i>māter, dator</i>	<i>māthir, siur</i> 'soror'	<i>brōþar</i> 'brother'	<i>muoter</i>	<i>motė mótė</i> 'wife', <i>sesė</i> 'soror'	<i>mati</i>
<i>māter</i> [nom.ʔ], [dator]	<i>māthir</i> [nom.ʔ], [siur]	<i>brōþar</i> [nom.ʔ]	<i>muoter</i> [nom.ʔ]	<i>[motė mótė, sesė]</i>	<i>[mati]</i>
<i>mātr-em, datōr-em</i>	<i>māthir n-</i>	<i>brōþar</i>	<i>muoter</i>	<i>móter-i</i>	<i>mater-i</i> [ma- ter-e]
<i>mātr-is-us, datōr-is</i>	<i>māthar</i> (ʔ)	<i>brōþr-s</i>	<i>muoter</i> ags. <i>mōdor</i>	<i>moteř-s</i>	<i>mater-e</i>
<i>[mātr-e]</i>				<i>moteř-s</i>	<i>mater-e</i>
<i>mātr-i, datōr-i</i>	<i>māthir</i>	<i>[brōþr]</i>	<i>[muoter]</i>	<i>móter-iai</i>	<i>ma-</i>
<i>mātr-e, datōr-e</i>	<i>māthir</i>	<i>brōþr</i>	<i>muoter</i>	<i>moter-yjė</i>	<i>ma-</i>
<i>mātr-e, datōr-e</i>	<i>(māthir ʔ)</i>	<i>brōþr</i>	<i>muoter</i>	<i>moter-i-mi</i>	<i>ma-</i>
	<i>māthir, siair</i>			<i>móter-i</i>	<i>ma-</i>
	dat. <i>māthrib</i> gen. <i>māthar</i>			dat. <i>moter-i-m instr. da</i> <i>moter-i-mi</i>	ge lo
<i>mātr-ēs, datōr-ēs</i>	<i>māthir</i>	<i>brōþrjus</i>	<i>muoter</i>	<i>móter-s</i>	<i>[n</i>
<i>mātr-ēs, datōr-ēs</i>	<i>māthrea</i>	<i>brōþr-uns</i>	<i>[muoter]</i>	<i>móter-is mótėres</i>	<i>m-</i>
<i>quattuor</i>	<i>cethir</i>	<i>fjōvōr</i>			<i>ce-</i>
<i>mātr-um, datōr-um</i>	<i>māthar māthre n-</i>	<i>brōþr-ē</i>	<i>muoter-o</i>	<i>moter-ū -iū</i>	<i>m-</i>
<i>[mātribus, datoribus]</i>	<i>[māthrib]</i>	<i>[brōþrum]</i>	<i>[muoterum]</i>	<i>moter-yau -ysė</i>	<i>m-</i>
<i>mātr-i-bus, datōr-i-bus</i>	<i>[māthrib], op. Gall. mātre-bō</i>	<i>brōþru-m</i> (ʔ)	<i>muoter-um</i> (ʔ)	<i>moter-i-ms</i>	<i>m-</i>
<i>[mātribus, datoribus]</i>	<i>māthri-b māthrai-b</i> (ʔ)	<i>brōþru-m</i>	<i>muoter-um</i>	<i>moter-i-mis -mi</i>	<i>m-</i>

8. *nt*--Stems.

Pr. Id.	Sanskrit.	Avestic.	Greek.	Latin.
			'bearing', 'blowing'	<i>ferēns</i>
			ν	[<i>ferēns</i>]
			ντ-α	<i>ferent-em</i>
			πέφαν	<i>ferēns</i>
			φος	<i>ferent-is</i>
			φος	<i>ferentū(d)</i> [<i>ferent-e</i>]
			τ-ι]	<i>ferentī</i>
			τι	<i>ferent-e</i>
			τ-ι]	<i>ferent-e</i>
			ντ-ε φκατ-ι	
			ιτο. φερόντ-	
			ντ-ες	<i>ferent-ēs</i>
			ντ-ας	<i>ferent-ēs</i>
			ντ-α	<i>silent-a ferent-ia</i>
			των	<i>ferent-um</i> <i>-ium</i>
			σι, φερό- τ-ασσι	[<i>ferentibus</i>]
			σι]	<i>ferent-i-bus</i>
			σι]	[<i>ferentibus</i>]

Irish.	Gothic.	O.H.G.	Lithuanian.	O.C.Sl.
<i>care cara</i> 'friend'	<i>frijōnd-s</i> 'friend'	<i>friunt</i> 'friend', <i>zan</i> 'tooth'	<i>vežā s</i> 'vehens', <i>dant-ī-s</i> 'tooth'	<i>vez y</i> 'vehens'; neut. <i>vez y</i>
[<i>care cara</i>]	<i>frijōnd</i>	<i>friunt</i>		
<i>carit n-</i>	<i>frijōnd, tunþ-u</i> 'den- tem'	<i>friunt</i>	<i>vēžantį dantį</i> -į <i>vēžā, dūšę</i>	<i>vezqšī</i> <i>vezqšie</i>
<i>carat</i>	<i>frijōnd-i-s</i>	<i>friunt-e-s</i>	<i>vēžanczio</i>	<i>vezqšta</i>
			<i>vēžanczio</i>	<i>vezqšta</i>
<i>carit</i>	[<i>frijōnd</i>]	[<i>friunt</i>]	<i>vēžancziām</i>	<i>vezqštu</i>
<i>carit</i>	<i>frijōnd</i>	<i>friunt</i>	<i>vēžancziame</i>	<i>vezqšti</i>
(<i>carit</i> ?)	<i>frijōnd</i>	<i>friunt</i>	<i>vēžancziu</i>	<i>vezqštemī</i>
<i>carit</i>			<i>vēžancziu-du</i>	<i>vezqšta</i> <i>vezqšti</i>
dat. <i>cairtib</i> gen. <i>carat</i>			dat. <i>vežantēm-dvēm</i> instr. <i>vežantēm-dvēm</i>	dat. instr. <i>vezqštema</i> gen. <i>vezqštu</i> loc. <i>vezqštu</i>
<i>carit</i>	<i>frijōnds</i>	<i>friunt</i>	<i>vēžā, vēžant-ys</i>	<i>vezqšte</i>
<i>cairtea</i>	[<i>frijōnds</i>] <i>tunþ-uns</i>	[<i>friunt</i>]	<i>vēžanczius, dant-ī-s</i>	<i>vezqšlē</i> <i>vezqšta</i>
<i>carat n-</i>	<i>frijōndē</i>	<i>friunt-o</i>	<i>vēžancziū, dant-ū</i>	<i>vezqšā</i>
[<i>cairtib</i>]	[<i>frijōndam</i>]	[<i>friuntum</i>]	<i>vēžancziū-su -se,</i> <i>dant-y-su -sē</i>	<i>vezqšlichū</i>
[<i>cairtib</i>]	<i>frijōnd-a-m</i> (?)	<i>friunt-um</i> (?)	<i>vēžantiems, dant-ī-ms</i>	<i>vezqštemū</i>
<i>cairti-b</i>	<i>frijōnd-a-m, tunþ-</i> <i>um, op. tigum</i>	<i>friunt-um</i>	<i>vēžancziāts, danti-</i> <i>-mīs -mī</i>	<i>vezqšti, neut. telet-y</i>

9. *es*-Stems.

	Pr. Idg.	Sanskrit.	Avestic.	Greek
Sing. nom.	neut. * <i>menos</i> 'mind': masc. * <i>dus-menēs</i> 'ill disposed' neut. * <i>dus-menes</i> :	<i>mānas</i> <i>durmánās</i> <i>durmanas</i>	<i>manō manē</i> <i>dušmanā</i> <i>dušmanō</i>	<i>μένος</i> <i>δυσμενής</i> <i>δυσμενές</i>
voc.	masc. * <i>dus-menes</i> :	<i>dúrmanas</i>	<i>dušmanō</i>	<i>δυσμενές</i>
acc.	masc. * <i>dus-menes-η</i> :	<i>durmanas-am</i>	<i>dušmanan̥h-em</i>	<i>δυσμενέα -ῆ</i>
gen.	* <i>menes-es -os</i> , * <i>mēns-es</i> - <i>os</i> 'mensis':	<i>mānas-as</i>	<i>manan̥h-ō</i>	<i>μένεος -ους, μην-</i> -ός
abl.	* <i>menes-es -os</i> , * <i>mēns-es</i> - <i>os</i> :	<i>mānas-as</i>	<i>manan̥haḥ</i>	<i>μένεος -ους, μην-</i> -ός
dat.	* <i>menes-ai</i> , * <i>mēns-ai</i> :	<i>mānas-ē</i>	<i>manan̥h-ē</i>	[<i>μένει -ει, μηνί</i>]
loc.	* <i>menes</i> , * <i>mēnes</i> : * <i>menes-i</i> , * <i>mēnes-i</i> * <i>mēns-i</i> :	<i>sa-dīvas</i> <i>mānas-i</i>	<i>manah-i</i>	<i>αἰέες</i> <i>μένει -ει, μηνί</i>
instr.	* <i>menes-a (-e?)</i> , * <i>mēns-a</i> (- <i>e?</i>):	<i>mānas-ā</i> , <i>bhiṣ-ā</i>	<i>manan̥h-a</i>	[<i>μένει -ει, μηνί</i>]
Dual. nom.-acc.	neut. * <i>menes-i?</i> - <i>i?</i> : masc. * <i>dus-menes-e</i> :	<i>mānas-i</i> <i>durmanas-āu -ā</i>	<i>dušmanan̥h-a</i>	<i>μένει</i> * <i>δυσμενεῖ</i>
gen. etc.	dat. abl. instr ?: gen. * <i>menes-oy-s</i> , * <i>mēns-</i> - <i>oy-s?</i> : l. * <i>menes-oy</i> , * <i>mēns-oy?</i> :	dat. abl. instr. <i>mānō-</i> <i>bhyām</i> gen. loc. <i>mānas-ōḥ</i>	dat. * <i>manē-bya</i>	gen. etc. <i>μενέοιν -οῖν.</i> <i>μην-οῖν</i>
Plur. nom.	neut. * <i>menōs -ōs-a</i> : masc. * <i>dus-menes-es</i> : neut. * <i>dus-menes-a</i> :	<i>mānās-i</i> <i>durmanas-as</i> <i>durmanās-i</i>	<i>manā var^ccāh-i</i> <i>manan̥h-a</i> <i>dušmanan̥h-ō</i>	<i>μένε-α μένη</i> <i>δυσμενέ-ες -εῖ;</i> <i>δυσμενέ-α -ῆ</i>
acc.	masc. * <i>dus-menes-es</i> :	<i>durmanas-as</i>	<i>dušmanan̥h-ō</i>	<i>δυσμενέ-ας</i> , [<i>δυσ-</i> <i>μενεῖς</i>]
gen.	* <i>menes-ōm</i> , * <i>mēns-ōm</i> :	<i>mānas-ām</i>	<i>manan̥h-am</i>	<i>μενέ-ων -ῶν, μην-</i> -ῶν
loc.	* <i>menesu -si</i> (* <i>menes-su</i> - <i>si</i>):	<i>mānasu mānas-</i> <i>-su -ah-su</i>	<i>manah-u -ahv-a</i>	<i>μένεσ-σι -εσι, μηνί</i>
dat.-abl.	* <i>menez-bh- -es-m</i> :	<i>mānō-bhyas</i> , <i>uṣād-bhyas</i>	cp. <i>manē-byō</i>	[<i>μένεσσι -εσι, μηνί</i>]
instr.	* <i>menez-bhī(s) -es-mī(s)</i> :	<i>mānō-bhiṣ</i> , <i>uṣād-bhiṣ</i>	cp. <i>manē-biṣ</i>	<i>δρεσ-φι</i> , [<i>μένεσσι</i> - <i>εσι, μηνί</i>]

Latin.	Irish.	O.H.G.	Lithuanian.	O.C.Sl.
<i>genus</i> <i>dēgner pūbēs</i> <i>dēgener</i> [<i>dēgener pūbēs</i>] <i>dēgener-em</i>	<i>tech</i> (n-) 'house'	<i>kalb</i> 'calf'	<i>ākas</i> 'ice-hole' (masc.)	<i>slovo</i> 'word'
<i>gener-is Vener-</i> <i>-us, mēns-is</i> <i>airid</i> , [<i>aer-e, mēns-e</i>]	<i>tige, mis</i>	<i>kalbes</i> , cp. <i>Kelbiris-</i> <i>bach</i>	<i>debes-žs</i> 'of a cloud'	<i>sloves-e</i>
<i>gener-i, mēns-i</i>	[<i>taig</i>], <i>mis</i>	<i>kalbir-e kalbe</i>	<i>džbes-iai</i>	<i>sloves-i</i>
<i>pencs</i> <i>gener-e, mēns-e</i>	<i>taig</i> <i>mis</i>	<i>kalbir-e kalbe</i>	<i>debes-yjē</i>	<i>sloves-e</i>
<i>gener-e, mēns-e</i>	[<i>taig</i>], (<i>mis</i> ?)		<i>debes-i-mi</i>	<i>sloves-i-mi</i>
	[<i>tech</i>]			<i>sloves-i, -ē</i>
	<i>dat. tigib, misaib</i> <i>dat. tige, mis</i>		<i>dat. debes-i-m instr.</i> <i>debes-i-m</i>	<i>dat. instr. sloves-</i> <i>-i-ma</i> <i>gen. sloves-u</i> <i>loc. sloves-u</i>
<i>gener-a</i> <i>dēgener-žs</i> <i>dēgener-žs</i>	<i>tige</i>	<i>kalbir</i>		<i>sloves-a</i>
<i>gener-um, mēns-</i> <i>-um</i>	<i>tige n-, mis n-</i>	<i>kalbir-o</i>	<i>debes-ū -iū</i>	<i>sloves-ū</i>
[<i>generibus</i>]	[<i>tigib</i>]	[<i>kalbirum</i>]	<i>debes-ysu -ysē</i>	<i>sloves-i-chu</i>
<i>gener-i-bus</i>	[<i>tigib</i>]	<i>kalbir-um</i> (?)	<i>debes-i-ms</i>	<i>sloves-i-mū</i>
[<i>generibus</i>]	<i>tigi-b</i>	<i>kalbir-um</i>	<i>debes-i-mis -mi</i>	<i>solves-y</i>

10. *iēs-* and *ues-*Stems.

	Pr. Idg.	Sanskrit.	Greek.	Latin.	O.C.Sl.
Sing. nom.	<i>*ók(i)ios</i> 'ocior':	<i>āśiyāś -ān</i> , Avest.	<i>ἰδωρ</i> 'suavior'	<i>ōcior</i>	<i>slaždījī</i> 'sūsar'
				[<i>ōcior</i>]	
				<i>ōciōr-em</i> <i>ōcius</i>	<i>slaždījī</i> <i>slaždē</i>
				<i>ōciōr-is</i>	<i>slaždīša</i>
				<i>ōciōr-i</i> , [<i>ōciōr-e</i>]	<i>slaždīša</i>
				<i>ōciōr-ī</i>	<i>slaždīšu</i>
				<i>ōciōr-e</i>	<i>slaždīši</i>
				<i>ōciōr-e</i>	<i>slaždīšemī</i>
					<i>slaždīšu</i> <i>slaždīši</i> (?)
				<i>iv-</i>	dat. instr. <i>sla-</i> <i>dīšema</i> gen. <i>slaždīšu</i> loc. <i>slaždīšu</i>
				<i>ov-ōciōr-ēs</i>	<i>slaždīše</i>
				<i>α, ōciōr-ēs</i>	<i>slaždīše</i>
				<i>ov-ōciōr-a</i>	<i>slaždīša</i>
				<i>ōciōr-um</i>	<i>slaždīši</i>
				[<i>ōciōribus</i>]	<i>slaždīšichū</i>
				<i>ōciōr-i-bus</i>	<i>slaždīšemū</i>
				[<i>ōciōribus</i>]	<i>slaždīši</i>

Pr. Idg.	Sanskrit.	Avestic.	Greek.	Lithuanian.
* <i>weidyōs</i> (* <i>widyēs</i>) knowing	<i>vidvās -ān</i>	<i>vidvā</i>	<i>ειδω;</i>	<i>mīrēs</i> 'dead' O.C.Sl. m. n. <i>mīr-ū</i>
* <i>weidyos</i> :	<i>vidvas, -van</i>			
* <i>weidyos-ns</i> :	<i>vidvās-am</i>	<i>vidvōnōh-em</i>	<i>ειδότε-α</i>	<i>mīrus-j</i>
* <i>weidyos</i> :	<i>vidvāt</i>		<i>ειδοτες</i>	<i>mīrē, aksl. mīrūšē</i>
* <i>weidyus-es -os</i> :	<i>vidúš-ās</i>	<i>viduš-ō</i>	<i>ειδοτες-ος</i>	<i>mīrus-io</i>
* <i>weidyus-es -os</i> :	<i>vidúš-ās</i>	<i>vidušā</i>	<i>ειδοτες-ος</i>	<i>mīrus-io</i>
* <i>weidyus-ai</i> :	<i>vidúš-ē</i>	<i>viduš-ē</i>	[<i>ειδοτε</i>]	<i>mīrus-iām</i>
* <i>weidyus-i -us-i</i> :	<i>vidúš-i</i>		<i>ειδοτε-ι</i>	<i>mīrus-iamē</i>
* <i>weidyus-a (-e?)</i> :	<i>vidúš-ā</i>	<i>viduš-a</i>	[<i>ειδοτε</i>]	<i>mīrus-iu</i>
* <i>weidyos-e</i> :	<i>vidvās-āu -ā</i>		<i>ειδοτε-ι</i>	<i>mīrus-iu</i>
neut. * <i>weidyus-i? -i?</i> :	<i>vidúš-i</i>			O.C.Sl. <i>mīrūš-i</i> (?)
dat. abl. instr.?	dat. abl. instr. <i>vid- vād-bhyām</i>	dat. * <i>viduš-bya</i>	gen. etc. <i>ειδοτε-ων</i>	dat. instr. <i>mīrusēm- -dēm</i> O.C.Sl. gen. <i>mīrūšu</i> O.C.Sl. loc. <i>mīrūšu</i>
gen. * <i>weidyus-om-s?</i> :	gen. loc. <i>vidúš-ōš</i>			
loc. * <i>weidyus-om?</i> :				
* <i>weidyos-es</i> :	<i>vidvās-us</i>	<i>vidvānōh-ō</i>	<i>ειδοτες-ε;</i>	<i>mīrē mīrus-ys, aksl. mīrūšē</i>
* <i>weidyus-ns</i> or * <i>weidyos-ns</i> :	<i>vidúš-ās</i>	<i>viduš-ō</i>	<i>ειδοτες-ας</i>	<i>mīrus-ius</i>
n. * <i>weidyōs -yōs-ə</i> :	<i>vidvās-i</i>		<i>ειδοτε-α</i>	O.C.Sl. <i>mīrūša</i>
* <i>weidyus-ōm</i> :	<i>vidúš-ām</i>	<i>viduš-qm</i>	<i>ειδοτε-ων</i>	<i>mīrus-iū</i>
* <i>weidyus-si</i> (* <i>weidyus-su -si</i>):	<i>vidvātsu</i>		<i>ειδοσι</i>	<i>mīrus-iūsu -se</i>
* <i>weidyuz-bh- -us-m-</i> :	<i>vidvādbhyas</i>	* <i>viduš-byō</i>	[<i>ειδοσι</i>]	<i>mīrus-ēms</i>
* <i>weidyuz-bhī(s) -us- -mī(s)</i> :	<i>vidvādbhīš</i>	<i>viduš-bīš</i>	[<i>ειδοσι</i>]	<i>mīrus-iaīs</i>

11. ū- uṛ-, ī- īṛ-, ī- īṛ-Stems.

Pr. Idg.		Sanskrit.		Greek.
Sing. nom.	*bhrū-s 'brow':	bhrū-ṣ	dhī-ṣ 'thought' pūr 'fortress'	ὀφρῦ-
voc.	*bhrū?:	[bhrūṣ], śvāśru	[dhīṣ], nádi [pūr]	ἰχθῦ 'fish'
			ber ^o zai- op. jā-m	ὀφρῦ-ν
			pur-am	ὀφρῦα (?)
			ās pur-ās	ὀφρῦ-ο;
			ās pur-ās	ὀφρῦ-ο;
			ē pur-ē	[ὀφρῦ]
			i, gaurī pur-i	ὀφρῦ-ι
			pur-ā	[ὀφρῦ]
			-ā pur-āu -ā	ὀφρῦ-ε
			l. instr. dat. abl. instr. gen. etc. ὀφρῦ hyām pūr-bhyām οἷν dhīy- gen. loc. pur- -ōṣ	
			as pūr-as	ὀφρῦ-ε;
			as pūr-as	ὀφρῦ-ας, ὀφρῦ
			ām dhī- pur-ām	ὀφρῦ-ων
			ū pūr-ṣū	ὀφρῦ-αι
			ās pūr-bhyās	[ὀφρῦαι]
			īṣ pūr-bhīṣ	[ὀφρῦαι]

Greek.	Latin.		O.Icel.	Lithuanian.	O.C.Sl.
-ς 'weevil'	<i>sū-s</i>	<i>rī-s</i>	<i>sy-r</i> 'Sow'	<i>šuv-i-s</i> 'fish'	<i>krŭv-i</i> O.Pol. <i>kry</i> 'blood'
στ	[<i>sūs</i>]	[<i>rīs</i>]		<i>šuv-ē</i>	<i>svekry</i> (P)
ι-ν	<i>socrum</i> (P) <i>su-em</i>	<i>ri-m</i>	<i>sū</i>		<i>ljuby</i> (P)
				<i>šuv-i</i>	<i>krŭv-i</i>
-ός	<i>su-is</i>	<i>rīs</i>	<i>sy-r</i>	<i>šuv-ēs</i>	<i>krŭv-e</i>
-ός	[<i>su-e</i>]	<i>rī</i>		<i>šuv-ēs</i>	<i>krŭv-e</i>
αι]	<i>su-i</i>	<i>rī</i>	<i>sū</i>	<i>šuv-iai</i>	<i>krŭv-i</i>
ι-ι	<i>su-e</i>	<i>rī</i> (P)	<i>sū</i>	<i>šuv-yjē</i>	<i>krŭv-i svekrŭr-e</i>
αι], ι-ου	<i>su-e</i>	<i>rī</i>	<i>sū</i>	<i>šuv-i-mi</i>	<i>krŭv-ija</i>
ι-ι				<i>šuv-i</i>	
en. etc. ιι-οιν				dat. <i>šuv-i-m</i> instr. <i>šuv-i-ni</i>	
ι-ες	<i>su-ēs</i>	<i>rīs vīrēs</i>	<i>sy-r</i>	<i>šuv-ys</i>	[<i>krŭv-i</i>]
ι-ας	<i>su-ēs</i>	<i>rīs vīrēs</i>	[<i>sy-r</i>]	<i>šuv-i-s</i>	<i>krŭv-i</i>
ι-ων	<i>su-um, -ium</i>	<i>vīrium</i>	<i>sūa</i>	<i>šuv-ū, -iū</i>	<i>krŭv-ijā, svekrŭv-ū</i>
ι-αι	[<i>sūbus subus su-ibus</i>]	[<i>vīribus</i>]	[<i>sūm</i>]	<i>šuv-y-su -ed</i>	<i>krŭv-i-chū</i>
ιαι]	<i>sū-bus su-bus su-i-bus</i>	<i>vīribus</i>	<i>sū-m?</i>	<i>šuv-i-ms</i>	<i>krŭv-i-mū</i>
ιαι]	[<i>sūbus subus su-ibus</i>]	[<i>vīribus</i>]	<i>sū-m</i>	<i>šuv-i-mis -mi</i>	<i>krŭv-i-mi</i>

12. The Stems *nāṁ- 'ship', *gṛ- *gou- 'head of cattle'.

	Pr. Idg.	Sanskrit.	Greek.	Latin.
Sing. nom.	*nāṁ-s 'ship':	nā ū - ś	ναῦ-ς, νηῦς	nāv-i-s
acc.	*nāṁ-η:	nāv-am	νη-α ναῦν	nā r - e m, nār-i-m
			ναῦς	nāv-i-s
			ναῦς	nāv-i-(d), [nāre]
				nā r - i
				nāv - e
				nā r - e
			2. *νηοῖν	
				nāv-ēs
			ναῦς	nāv - ē s
			νηοῖν	nāv-i-um
			νηοῖ	[nāvibus]
			νηοῖ	nāv-i-bus
			[ναοῖ νηοῖ]	[nāvibus]

Pr. Idg.	Sanskrit.	Greek.	Latin.	Irish.	O.H.G.
*gōu-s 'ox. cow':	gāú-ṣ	βοῦ-ς, βοῶς	bō-s	bō	kuo
*gōm:	gām, Avest. gāum	βοῦν, βοῦν	bov-em, Umbr. bum	boin n-	kuo
*g(u)u-es *gou-s:	gōṣ, gāv-as	Βόσ-πορος, βο-ός	bov-is	bou bō	kuo
*g(u)u-es *gou-s:	gōṣ, gāv-as	βο-ός	bovī(d), [bove]		
*g(u)u-ai(*gou-ai?):	gāv-ē	[βοί]	bov-i	boin	
*geu-i *g(u)u-i:	gāv-i	βο-ί	bov-e	boin	
*g(u)u-a (*gou-a?) (-e?):	gāv-ā	[βοί]	bov-e	boin (?)	
*gou-e:	gāv-āu -ā	βο-ε		boin	
dat. abl. instr.?: gen. *g(u)u-ou-s? (*gou-ou-s?): loc. *g(u)u-ou? (*gou-ou?):	dat. abl. instr. gō-bhyām gen. loc. gāv-ōṣ	gen. etc. βο-οῖν		dat. buaiḃ gen. bō	
*gou-es:	gāv-as	βο-ες	bov-ēs	bai (?)	kuo, kuo-i
*g(u)u-ps or *gou- us?:	gās, gāv-as (?)	βο-ας, βοῦς βοῶ;	bov-ēs	bū	[kuo, kuo-i]
*g(u)u-ām (*gou- -ām?):	gāv-ām gōnām	βο-ῶν	bov-om boum	bō n-	kuo
*gū-s -su -si(*gou-s- -su -si?):	gō-ṣu	βοv-αι	[būbus bōbus]	[buaib]	O.Low Frankish [cuon]
*gū-bh- -m- (*gou- -bh- -m-?):	gō-bhyas	[βουσί]	bū-bus bō-bus	[buaib]	O.Low Frankish cuon?
*gū-bhī(s) -mī(s) *(gou-bhī(s)-mī(s)?:	gō-bhīṣ	[βουσί]	[būbus bōbus]	buaib	O.Low Frankish cuon

In Latin, Slavonic, and Aryan, side by side with pronouns strictly so called, are found a number of derivatives from pronouns, and adjectives derived from nouns, forming their cases as pronouns do. Take as examples Lat. *ū-nu-s al-ter u-ter sōlu-s tōtu-s*, although the genitive singular of these words — the only case which concerns us in them — had the noun ending as well, as gen. *sōli Lūciī*, dat. *nullō ūsui*, dat. *mihi solae* (for the gen. in *-ī* cp. § 419). O.C.Sl. *tvojī* 'thy' *ta-kū* 'talīs' *to-likū* 'tantus' *mūnogū* 'multus' *drugū* 'alius'. Skr. *ka-tarā-s* 'uter' superl. *ka-tamā-s*, *ē-ka-s* 'unus' Avest. *ae-va* 'unus', Skr. *viśva-s* Avest. *viśpa-* Skr. *sārva-* 'all' *dākṣiṇa-s* 'right, of the right hand, southerly' *madhyamā-s* 'midmost' Avest. *abdō-tema-* 'deepest' (*a-bda-* properly 'footless'); but the Aryan words of this class also have the noun flexion, some of them often, others rarely, as R.-V. dat. *viśvāya* beside *viśvasmāi*, Avest. gen. *viśpanqm* beside *viśpaēšqm*.

But in Germanic, Lithuanian, and Armenian we see the inflection of pronouns applied to any adjective at will.

In Germanic grammar this kind of adjectival flexion¹⁾ is called the Strong Declension, as opposed to what is called the Weak, the latter of which has arisen by the transfer of stems to the *n*-class; examples are Goth. nom. pl. *blindái* like *pái* (cp. § 314 p. 214), beside which is *blindans* like *gumans*. The former is the older, and is the rule when the adjective is used predicatively or as an attribute without an accompanying article; the latter arose when the stems were made substantives by means of the suffix *-en-*, and it is used after the article and mostly where the adjective has the value of a substantive (see II § 114 p. 353). Declined like pronouns: Goth. masc. *blindamma midjamma hráinjamma hardjamma* (nom. *blind-s midji-s hráin-s hardu-s*) following *þamma*, also *blindái* following *pái*,

1) Leo Meyer, *Über die Adjectiva im Deutschen*, Berl. 1863; *Das Deutsche*, insb. gotische Adjectivum, Germania IX 137 ff.; *Zur Lehre von der deutschen Adjectivflexion*, Zeitschr. deutsch. Phil. IX 1 ff. Holtzmann, *Das got. Adjectivum*, Germania VIII 257 ff. Sievers, *Die starke Adjectivdeclination*, Paul-Braune's Beitr. II 98 ff.

blindáizē following **páizē* (*pizē* is used instead of this), *blindáim* following *páim*, neut. *blindat-a* following *pat-a* (also, with noun-flexion, *blind*, like *hráin hardu*), fem. *blindáizōs* following **páizōs* (*pizōs* is the form used), *blindáizō* following **páizō* (the form used is *pizō*); O.H.G. *blintemu blinte blintero blintēm, blintaz, blintera blintero*. As regards such variations as *blindáizē : pizē* see §§ 420, 429. The acc. *blindan-a* (O.H.G. *blintan*) follows the noun declension in its suffix *-an*, but the particle *-a* affixed to it assimilates the ending to the pronouns, cp. *pan-a* (§ 417). In O.H.G. other forms were drawn into the circle of attraction, *blintēr* like *jenēr* (§ 414), *blintiu* like *dīu*. There is some strangeness in Goth. dat. sing. fem. *blindái* like *gibái* beside *pizái*; but O.H.G. *blinteru* O.Icel. *blindre* are pronominal forms, and doubtless fairly reproduce those used in proethnic Germanic.

In Lithuanian, where the endings peculiar to pronouns are found only in the masculine (neuter), it results that adjectives differ from nouns only in this gender. Masc. sing. *gerám geramè*, pl. *gerëms*, dual *gerëm gerëm*, like *tám tamè, tẽms, tẽn(-dvẽm) tẽm(-dvẽm)*. The nom. pl. is *gerì* for **gerẽ* (cp. *gerẽ-jì*) as against *tẽ anẽ* (the latter accented like the subst. *vilkai*), where the difference in accent is remarkable, cp. the dual masc. *gerù* fem. *gerì* as contrasted with *tũ-du tẽ-dvi*; the accentuation of **gerẽ* is proved to be older by Gr. *τοί, καλοί* (I § 671 p. 536); on this difference in accent, see Bezzenberger in his Beiträge X 204. We should add the neut. sing. *gẽra* for *-*a-d* following **ta(-d)* = Pruss. *s-tu* (§ 227 p. 110), and the neut. pl. *gerai* following *taĩ*, e. g. *taĩ geraĩ* 'haec bona (sunt)', see § 428; usually these adjective forms in *-ai* are used as adverbs. From *saldũ-s* 'sweet': *saldžiám saldẽms* like *tuszcziám tusztẽms* (nom. sing. *tuszczia-s* 'empty'), by association with the fem. *saldì saldžiōs* (II § 110 p. 334); cp. Goth. masc. *hardu-s* pl. *hardjái* beside fem. pl. *hardjōs*. The reason why the nom. pl. masc. is *saldūs*, and not *saldĩ*, like *tusztĩ*, is that at the time we are now describing, when the case-endings spread from pronouns to adjectives, the

pronominal nom. pl. masc. suffix **-oi* had already driven out the original ending **-ōs* from all noun stems (§ 314 pp. 214 f.), and thus **-oi* was not regarded as a special ending of the pronouns.

In Armenian the pronominal endings *-um* (dat. loc.) and *-mē* (abl. sing.) could be used with any adjective, as *srbum* (*surb* 'holy') following *orum* ('which'), *ailum* ('other'). (In Mod.E.Arm. *-um* extends to substantives, as *mardum*, cp. Lett. *grēkam* in the following Remark.) Compare Hübschmann, Ztschr. der deutsch. morg. Ges. XXXVI 123 ff.

Remark. The application of the endings of the pronouns to adjectives must be kept distinct from other examples of these endings transferred to nouns in general, such as Skr. *vykēṇa nāvēṇa* following *tēṇa*, Pali loc. *lōkasmim* (instead of *lōkē*) following *tasmim*, abl. *lōkasmā* (instead of *lōkā*) following *tasmā*, Gr. *ἱπποί, ναυοί* following *τοί*, Lat. *mēnsārum bonārum* following *istārum*, O.C.Sl. *rakojā novojā* following *ojā*. Of course we cannot know whether the adjectives were not sometimes or always the first to adopt this inflexion in these instances, as elsewhere, and then passed it on to substantives. This was certainly the case in the Lettic dat. instr. sing. *grēkam* dat. instr. pl. *grēklm* (*grēk-s* 'sin') following the adj. *labbam labblm* (*lab-s* 'good') and the pronoun *tam tēm* (*ta-s* 'that').

PRONOUNS.¹⁾

§ 407. The main difference between Pronouns and the great majority of Nouns is that they are formed from peculiar roots, which are called Pronominal Roots. But they also have

1) Many of the works and essays cited in the footnote to page 52, and under the various noun-cases, include a discussion of pronominal forms. We may add here, as dealing with the whole subject of Pronouns, the following.

On the Indo-Germanic Pronouns in general: Bopp, Vergleich. Gramm. II³ §§ 326 ff. pp. 101 ff. Schleicher, Compendium⁴ pp. 408 ff. Fr. Müller, Grundriss der Sprachw. III 563 ff. Pott, Das idg. Pronomen, Zeitschr. der deutsch. morg. Ges. XXXIII 1 ff. Günther, Üb. die Bedeutung und Eintheilung der Pronomina mit bes. Beziehung auf die lat. und gr. Spr., Seebode's Miscell. orit. I 113 ff. Kvěčala, Untersuchungen auf dem Geb. der Pron., bes. der latein., Sitzungsber. der Wiener Ak., 1870, pp. 77 ff. E. Müller, Von dem Pronomen, ein Beitrag zur allgemeinen Sprachlehre, Philol. V 225 ff.

many peculiarities of inflexion, which are accordingly named the Pronominal Declension.

These peculiarities are of three kinds.

1. The Case Ending is usually different from that of the nouns. Compare, for example, the nom. acc. sing. neut. Skr. *tá-d* Lat. *istu-d* as contrasted with *yugá-m jugu-m*. In particular, it is far more common with pronouns than with nouns to give the function of some distinct case to an uninflected form, such as Skr. *mā* Gr. *μή* 'me' (cp. § 185 pp. 57 f.).

Aryan. Whitney, Skr. Gramm. pp. 179 ff. Bartholomae, Handbuch der altiran. Dialekte, pp. 102 ff. *Idem*, Die Stellung der enklitischen Pronomina und Partikeln, Ar. Forsch. II 1 ff.

Greek and Italic. M. Schmidt, Comment. de pronomine Graeco et Latino, 1832. Henry, Précis de grammaire comparée du grec et du latin² pp. 246 sqq.

Greek. Kühner, Ausführl. Gramm. der griech. Spr. I² pp. 445 ff. G. Meyer, Griech. Gramm.² pp. 380 ff. The Author, Griech. Gramm. (I. Müller's Handb. der klass. Altertumsw. II²) pp. 129 ff. Schmolling, Über den Gebrauch einiger Pronomina auf att. Inschriften, 1882, 1885.

Italic. Kühner, Ausführl. Gramm. der lat. Spr. I 377 ff. Stolz, Lat. Gramm. (I. Müller's Handb. der klass. Altertumsw. II²) pp. 345 ff. F. Neue, Formenlehre der lat. Spr. II² 178 ff. F. Bücheler, Grundriss etc. (see p. 54). Merguet, die Entwicklung der lat. Formenbildung pp. 141 ff. Kolberg, De antiqua pron. Latinorum forma, 1838.

Keltic. Zeuss-Ebel, Gramm. Celt. pp. 324 sqq. Stokes, Ir. Pronominal-Declination, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. I 468 ff. *Idem*, Celtic Declension pp. 100 ff. Ebel, Kelt. Studien: Das Relativum, Infigierte persönliche (und demonstrative) Fürwörter, Notae augentes, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. V 17 ff.

Germanic. Grimm, D. Gr. I² (1870) pp. 702 ff. Kluge, Noreen, Behaghel, Paul's Grundriss der german. Philol. I 391 ff., 498 ff., 627 ff. Rumpelt, Die deutschen Pronomina und Zahlwörter, 1870. Braune, Got. Gramm.² pp. 60 ff. *Idem*, Althochd. Gramm. pp. 195 ff. Witte, Bemerkungen über das neuags. Pronomen, 1877.

Balto-Slavonic. Smith, Bemerkungen über die primitiven Fürwörter der balt. und slav. Sprachen, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. II 330 ff., III 97 ff., 129 ff. Leskien, Die Declinat. im Slav.-Lit. und Germ., 108 ff. Schleicher, Litau. Gramm. pp. 194 ff., 216 ff. Kurschat, Gramm. d. littau. Sprache pp. 229 ff. Bezzenberger, Beitr. zur Gesch. d. lit. Spr. pp. 161 ff. Miklosich, Vergleich. Gramm. der slav. Spr. III² pp. 44 ff. Leskien, Handb. der abulg. Sprache² pp. 80 ff.

Works treating specially of pronouns with gender distinguished, or of personal pronouns, will be cited in notes to § 408 and § 438.

These differences in flexion were clearly more or less connected with a certain vagueness which is seen in the cases of pronouns. Pronominal forms were not originally so minutely subdivided or so clearly defined as were the cases of the noun. It was only the constant endeavour to express similar uses by similar forms which brought about the more complete agreement of pronouns with nouns, as we see it in the historical developement of different languages.

2. A number of cases from pronoun stems have always been extended by certain suffixes which were placed before the case-ending, to aid in distinguishing the cases. In these the case-ending is sometimes one peculiar to pronouns, and sometimes it is common to them with nouns. The most important of the elements thus interwoven into the cases of pronouns are *-sm-* and *-sĭ-* *-s-*. Examples: Skr. loc. *tá-sm-in* abl. *tá-sm-ād* (cp. *vfkād*), although the acc. is *tá-m* 'that' (cp. *vfka-m*); Avest. abl. *yū-šm-aḥ*, but nom. *yū-š* 'vos'; dat. Skr. *tá-sy-āi* Goth. *þi-z-ái* (cp. Ved. *suwapatyāi* Goth. *gibái*), but acc. Skr. *tá-m* Goth. *þō* f. 'the, this, that' (cp. Skr. *ásvā-m*).

How these particles got into the words can generally be seen without difficulty. We shall explain the forms in detail in the succeeding paragraphs. Such a word as "insertion" cannot properly be used of any them.

3. Cases of pronouns, more frequently than nouns, attract certain particles which become affixed to them (cp. § 186 p. 62). For example: **-em* **-om* **-m* in Skr. *id-ám* 'id, hoc' *im-ám* 'eum, hunc', *vay-ám* 'nos'; *-u* in the nom.-sing. O.Pers. *ha-uvo* Gr. **o-ú* 'that yonder' (in *oú-roç*); *-i* in the nom. sing. Lat. *qo-i* *quī*, O.Sax. A.S. *sē* 'that' for **so-ĭ*, and others. If we turn to recorded languages, we find actually used such affixes as Gr. *-ī* in *oúroo-ī*, Lat. *-ce* (*-c*) in *his-ce*, with a deictic or emphatic meaning. Just so must the former affixes have once had their own proper meaning, although we are now in the dark as to what it originally was. After their ground-meaning became weakened and obscured they became

no more and no less than case-suffixes; the stock example is Goth. *mi-k* O.H.G. *mi-h* = Gr. *ἐμέ-γε* (beside *ἐμέ μέ*).

Remark. It may be pointed out in passing that the principle exemplified in the attaching of these affixes, deictic, emphatic, and so forth, to words is well suited to throw light on the origin of the proethnic Indo-Germanic case-forms. The principles on which the older cases were built up must be the same as those which we can trace in these later forms. The formation of cases is not something which took place once for all at a definite point in the proethnic period; it has always been going on afresh, although to a much smaller extent in historical times than in prehistoric. At this very day we can see the beginnings of inflected cases, as Mod.H.G. *heimat-wärts* 'home-wards', *stadt-wärts* 'town-wards', *thal-wärts* 'vale-wards', and the like.

Pronouns are usually classified thus: those with distinguishable Gender (Demonstrative, Relative etc.), and those without distinguishable Gender, or Personal Pronouns. We discuss Possessive Pronouns along with the Personal Pronouns (§§ 450 ff.), because the two are so closely connected, especially in the forms of the genitive case.

Pronouns in which the Gender is distinguished.¹⁾

§ 408. A number of these pronouns did not form all their cases in the original language from the same stem, but filled up certain gaps from others: for example, **so-* and **to-*

1) Add to the works cited in the footnote to pages 322 f.:

Scherer, *Zur Gesch. d. deutsch. Spr.* 3 pp. 490 ff. Leo Meyer, *Vergleich. Gramm.* I² 577 ff. Steinthal, *De pronomine relativo* etc., 1847. Windisch, *Untersuch. üb. d. Ursprung des Relativpron.* in den idg. Sprachen, Curtius' Stud. II 201 ff. Schoemann, *Bedenken und Fragen über die pronomina indefin. und interrog.*, Hoefer's Zeitschr. f. d. Wiss. d. Spr. I 241 ff. Bréal, *Le thème pronominal da*, *Mém. d. l. S. d. l.* I 193 ff., 276.

I. H. Hall, *The Declension of the Definite Article in the Cypr. Insor.*, *Transactions of the Amer. Phil. Assoc.* XI (1880) pp. 51 ff. Schanz, *Novae commentat. Platonicae* [*ταὐτό* und *ταὐτόν* u. dgl., *οὗτος* und *οὗτω* etc.] 1871. Lottner, *εἶ*; und verwandte Pronominalbildungen, *Kuhn's Zeitschr.* V 396 f. Savelberg, *Das [griech.] pronom. relat., aus dem interrog. entstanden*, *Kuhn's Zeitschr.* VIII 408 ff. Lottner, *Der griech. Relativstamm*, *ibid.* IX 320. Kratz, *Quaestiones Homericae* I: *De pro-*

together made up the cases of 'this, the' (Gr. nom. *ó* gen. *roũ* etc.). In the separate languages these heteroclite forms were levelled down and assimilated more or less, so that the groups became more homogeneous. These levellings, together with the composition of simple original pronoun stems with each other or with deictic and other particles, produced a large number of analogical forms in the different branches of Indo-Germanic; and pronoun forms as we have them are

nomimum *ōc*; et *ōstic* natura etc., 1854. Otto, Beiträge zur Lehre vom Relativum bei Homer, 1859, 1864. Hentze, De pronominum relativorum linguae Graecae origine atque usu Homérico, 1863. Lammert, De pronomibus relativis Homericis, 1874. Wackernagel, Die [griech.] indefiniten Relativa, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 89 ff.

J. Schmidt, Zur Decl. der lat. geschlechtigen Pronomina, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XIX 196 ff. L. Havet, *Isto-, eis eisdem, illē istē, qui hic*, Mém. Soc. ling., II 234 f. Heffter, Üb. das ursprüngl. pron. demonstr. der lat. Spr. etc., Jahn's Jahrb., IV. Suppl., 104 ff. Osann, Comment. gramm. de pronominis tertiae pers. *is ea id* formis (with Excursus on other Pronouns), 1845. F. W. Schmidt, Quaestiones de pronominum demonstrativorum formis Plautinis, 1875. Prehn, Quaestiones Plautinae de pronomibus indefinitis, 1887. Niemöller, De pronom. *ipse* et *idem* ap. Plaut. et Ter., 1887. Fleckeisen, Über die Femininform in nom. plur. des Pronomen *hic haec hoc*, Rhein. Mus. VII 271 ff. F. W. Schmidt, Die Pluralformen des Pron. *hic* bei Plaut. und Ter., Hermes VIII 478 ff. Meunier, De quelques anomalies que présente la déclinaison de certains pronoms lat., Mém. Soc. ling. I. 14 sqq. Brandt, De varia quae est apud veteres Romanorum poetas scaen. genetivi sing. pronominum forma ac mensura, 1877. Danielsson, De gen. et dat. pronominum Lat. in *-ius* et *-i* desinentibus, Studia gramm. (Upsal. 1879) pp. 1 ff. L. Havet, Sur les génitifs pronominaux en latin, Mém. Soc. ling. III 187 ff. Luohs, Zur Lehre von der Genitivbild. der lat. Pron., Studemund's Stud. I 316 ff. Wichmann, De *qui* ablativo, 1875.

Windisch, Der irische Artikel, Rev. Celt. V 461 ff. D'Arbois de Jubainville, Rech. sur l'hist. de l'article dans le bret. armor., *ibid.* II 204 ff.

Hoefler, Das Pronomen *diser*, Germania XV 70 ff. J. Grimm, *Wer*, Zeitschr. f. deutsche Alt. VII 448 ff.

Schleicher, Das Pronomen lit. *szī*, slav. *sī* = got. *hi* ground-form *ki*, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. I 48 f. Miklosich, Über den Ursprung einiger Casus der pronominalen Declination [des Slavischen], Sitzungsber. der Wiener Ak. LXXVIII 143 ff. Idem, Über die Genitivendung *-go* in der pronominalen Declination der slav. Sprachen, *ibid.* LXII 48 ff.

often separated from their Indo-Germanic prototype by one long line of re-formations due to analogy.

It is impossible within the limits of this work to describe with any degree of completeness all these analogical formations in the various languages of our group. We can only give a general summary of the stems which are found in several languages, and which are therefore to be regarded as proethnic, subjoining their most important inflexions.

1. Etymology and Morphology of Pronouns with Gender.

§ 409. Demonstratives.

The Stems **so-* **sa-* and **to-* **ta-*. In the parent language the *s*-stem probably made only the nom. sing. masc. and fem., and the *t*-stem all other cases. By degrees one or other invaded the other's ground; examples are Ved. loc. *sásmin* instead of *tásmin*, Gr. nom. *οἱ αἱ* instead of *τοῖ ραί*, and conversely Lith. nom. *tà-s tà* instead of **so(-s) *sā*. Aryan: nom. sing. masc. Skr. *sá sá-s* Avest. *hō* fem. Skr. *sā* Avest. *hā*; acc. sing. masc. Skr. *tā-m* Avest. *te-m* fem. Skr. *tā-m* Avest. *tām*. Armen. *-d*, a demonstrative affix, beside Idg. **to-*, e. g. *tēr-d* 'the master, this master', *da* 'this' *do-in* 'the same'; *d-*, for *t-*, is doubtless strictly regular only after *r* and *n* (cp. I § 483 p. 357), as in *du* 'thou' (§ 440). Gr. *ὁ ἦ; τό-ν ῥή-ν*. O.Lat. *sa-psa* 'ipsa', also **so-* in *ip-se ip-sa* (§ 413); **to-* in *topper* = **tod per*, and *tam*; in Italic the stem **e-so-* (*e-* as in Skr. *a-sāú* Gr. *ἐ-κεῖ* Osc. *e-ko-* 'hic' Lat. *e-quidem* Osc. *e-tanto* 'tanta') combined with **to-* and formed **es-to-*, as in Baltic **ko-* + **to-* made **k-to-* (Lith. *sztát* Pruss. *s-ta-s*), whence Umbr. *estu* 'istum', with which Lat. *isto-* is closely connected, if not identical.¹⁾ O.Ir. *so* a demonstrative

1) No satisfactory explanation has been suggested for *i-* in *iste*. Since, however, *e-* is doubtless the same stem as the pronominal stem **o-* which is shortly to be described (see next page), it is quite possible that *i-* in *iste* is the stem of *i-s* 'he'. This stem has also been identified with the locative suffix *-i*, in *ποιμέν-ι* etc.; and if this is correct, the

particle meaning 'here', Gall. *so-sin nemeton* 'hoc sacellum'; the stem *to-* is found in *ua-d* 'ab eo' *ua-di* 'ab ea' *ua-diḃ* 'ab eis' and others like them, and in the article *in-d* for **sen + to-* (cp. Windisch, *Revue Celt.* V 462; **to-* doubtless became *do-* in syllables coming just before the accent, cp. vol. I p. 510, and Thurneysen, *Rev. Celt.* VI 321, footnote 1). Goth. *sa sō* 'this, the' m. f. O.Sax. A.S. *sē* m. 'the, this' O.H.G. *de-se* m. 'this'; Goth. *þana* O.H.G. *den* acc. m. 'this, the'. Lith. *tā* O.C.Sl. *tū* 'the, this' m., Lith. *tā* O.C.Sl. *tq* 'the, this' f.

The Stems **sṛjo-* **sṛjā-* and **tṛjo-* **tṛjā-* (also found with *-ij-* instead of *-j-*). In Aryan, they were distributed among the cases in the same way as **so-* **to-*. Skr. nom. *syá* *syá* acc. *tyá-m* *tyá-m* nom. acc. *tyá-d*, O.Pers. nom. *hya* *hyā* acc. *tya-m* *tyā-m*. O.Ir. *co-se* 'ad hoc, adhuc' *re-siu* 'hitherto'. O.H.G. *siu* = Skr. *syá*, instr. sing. neut. *diu*, nom. acc. pl. neut. *diu*, nom. pl. fem. *deo dio*. Whether the *-jo-* of **sṛjo-* **tṛjo-* be called the same as the suffix of comparison *-jo-*, discussed in II § 63 pp. 132 f. (**tṛjo-* : **to-* = Skr. *an-yá-* : *aná-*), or identified with the demonstrative pronoun stem **jo-* (pp. 331 f.), compounded here with other stems, it all comes to the same thing. Compare also the nom. sing. fem. in *-i* Goth. *s-i* O.Ir. *s-ī* 'ea' (II § 110 p. 339), perhaps connected with Sophocles' *ī* (cp. the Author, *Ein Problem der hom. Textkr.*, 125 ff.; Meister, *Gr. Dial.* II 281), beside which we have the fem. **ī* in Skr. *īy-ām* etc. (p. 332); — here the same thing looked at from different points of view, and occurring at different stages of the growth of language, might be called variously a suffix or part of a compound word.¹⁾

following equation holds good: — Umbr. *e-sto-*: Lat. *i-sto-* = loc. Gr. *ποιμέν-*: O.C.Sl. *kamen-e* (compare also Lith. *rañkoj-e* Skr. *ṛfāy-a*); on this postposition *-e*, see further § 186 p. 62, § 246 p. 145, § 257 pp. 158 f. The two positions of the stem in these compounds may be illustrated by Lat. *ce-do* : *hi-ce*.

1) Whether *-jo-* in the Indo-Germanic languages (see II § 63 pp. 122 ff.) is *always* identical with the pronoun **jo-* I leave an entirely open question. For the present I assume merely a resemblance between the pronoun and the *-jo-* of comparison.

The Stem **o- *ā-*. Aryan: dat. sing. masc. Skr. *a-smāi* Avest. *a-hmāi* dat. abl. pl. fem. Skr. *ā-bhyās* Avest. *ā-byō*. O.Ir. *ē* 'he' see § 414, gen. *ai ae* 'eius' see § 418. Germ. gen. sing. Goth. *i-s* O.H.G. *e-s*: cp. Skr. *a-syā*. Elsewhere it is not found as part of a living case-system. Greek loc. *ε-ι* (in clauses expressing a wish or a condition) and instr. (Heracl. Cret. etc.) *ῆ* 'if', *εἰ-τα* 'then'. The same loc. **e-ι* is doubtless contained in Idg. **ei-so *ei-sā*, meaning 'this here' or something to that effect, acc. **ei-to-m* etc.: Skr. *ē-śā ē-śā* Avest. *aē-ša aē-ša*, acc. *ē-tā-m aē-te-m*, Umbr.-Osc. **ei-zo-* (the *-z-* of the nom. sing. masc. fem. was carried through all the cases), Umbr. *ere* 'is' for **ē-ro* (§ 274 Rem. p. 174), eru-ku 'cum eo' era-k abl. 'ea' Osc. *eisúd* 'eo' *eizois* 'eis' *eisa-k eiza-c* abl. 'ea'. The bare stem, *e*, may be contained in Lat. *e-quidem* and other words of the same sort; in the loc. O.C.Sl. *kamen-e* and the like, see p. 327 with the footnote; and in the augment, as Gr. *ἐ-γενον*; compare loc. **te* § 424 p. 349.

The Stem **eno- *enā-, *ono- *onā-*. Ar. *ana-* 'this, that, he': instr. sing. Skr. *anēna anāyā* Avest. *ana*. Lith. *anà-s ańs* 'that' fem. *anà*, O.C.Sl. *onū* 'that, he' fem. *ona*. Also, doubtless, the Armenian article *-n*, e. g. *tēr-n* 'the lord' beside *no-in* 'the same', and *in-ēn* 'ipse', for **eno-*.

The Stem **a^xuo- *a^xuā-*. Ar. *ava-* 'that, that yonder': Skr. gen. dual *avōṣ*, nom. pl. Avest. *avē avā* O.Pers. *avaiy avā* (cp. Bartholomae, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 498). O.C.Sl. *ovū* 'this'. Wackernagel conjectures that this same stem is contained in Lat. *ō-lim* (*ibid.*, XXVIII 139), with which should be connected Umbr. *ulo ulu* 'illuc'.

The Stems **ko- *ki- *kio-*.

**ko-*. Gr. loc. *ἐ-κε-ι* 'there' *κεῖνο-ς* Dor. *κεῖνο-ς* 'that' (cp. II § 67 Rem. p. 150, Prellwitz, Bezz. Beitr. XV 154 ff.). Osc. *e-kas* 'hae' *e-cu-c* neut. 'hoc'; of Latin forms we may doubtless add *ce* in *ce-do hī-ce hī-c* (cp. Osc. *ce-bnust*); *e-* in *ē-xē* *e-kas* as in Osc. *e-tanto* 'tanta' etc., p. 327. O.Icel. *hann* 'he' *hon* 'she', O.Sax. *hē hie* O.H.G. *hē her* 'he', unless the last-named were made from the stem *hi-* on the analogy

of *thē* etc. (§ 414). Also Lith. *szēn* and *szē* 'hither' may belong to this same group; but it is just as likely that they come from **szien* **szie* (I § 147 p. 131) and belong to the stem *szia-* (see below), being made on the analogy of the forms *tēn tē.*¹⁾

**kī-*. In Greek, we may conjecture that this form is to be seen in the *κί* of *ὀν-κί*, *πολλά-κί* and other words; see § 182 p. 49. Lat. *ci-ter ci-tra*, Umbr. *ši-mu* 'ad citima, retro'. O.Ir. *cē* 'on this side'. Goth. *hi-mma* 'to this'. Lith. *szē-s* O.C.Sl. *ši* 'this'. Cp. also Alban. *si-viēt* 'in this year'.

Whether the Armenian affix *-s*, as *tēr-s* 'the lord, this lord', belongs to **kō-* or **kī-*, cannot be decided.

**kjo-* (compare **tjo-* beside **to-*, above) may also be an old form: Gr. *σήμερον* Att. *τήμερον* adv. 'to-day' for **κ(ο)-αμερον* (known phonetic laws give no justification for deriving this from **tjo-*); O.H.G. instr. *hiu-tu* O.Sax. *hiu-diga* 'on this day, to-day'; gen. sing. Lith. *szjō* O.C.Sl. *sego* instead of **šego* following *ši*. Compare also the fem. formation A.S. *hī* Lith. *szī* O.C.Sl. *si* for **kī*, like O.Ir. *si* Goth. *si* (see p. 328).

A contamination of **kō-* and **to-* produced Balt. **k-to-*, represented by Lith. *sztai* 'see here' (its opposite is *antai* 'see there' from *anò-s* 'that yonder') and Pruss. *s-ta-s*. *sz-ta* : *ta* = *sz-ia* : *ja*²⁾. Lith. *szita-s* is a re-formate of later date, following *szī-s*. In a similar way arose in Oscan, by contamination of *eko-* and *eso-* (*esei éoor* etc.) a stem *ekso-* (*exac* 'hac' etc.), a form which sprang up during the period of separate dialects (for pr. Umbr.-Samn. **ekso-* would have become **ehso-* **esso-*, cp. nom. sing. medíss 'meddix').

Remark 1. If there was in pr. Idg. a variation between *tenuēs* and *tenuēs aspiratae* analogous to the variation of *mediae* and *mediae aspiratae* (I § 469. 8 pp. 346 f.) in favour of which view might be adduced Gr. *πλατύ-* beside *πλατάνο-ν* Skr. *pr̥thú-* §, Gr. *τέταρ-το-* Lat. *quar-tu-s* beside Skr. *catur-thá-s*, Gr. *πάτο-* *πόντο-* beside Skr. *path-* *pánthā-*, Gr. *ἑστῆ-ν*

1) Conversely, Lith. *teip* beside *taip* 'so' was modelled after *szēi-p* i. e. *sziaip* (neut. pl., see § 428).

2) The suggestion that *s* in *s-ta-s* is the same as *s* in Lat. *iste* (I p. 425 footnote 2) is less probable.

beside Skr. *ástā-m* etc. — the Lat. pronoun *ho-* (*hi-c*) could be added in this place. It would be derived from **k̑ho-*. But then the question would arise whether we should not derive Goth. *hi-* from **k̑hi-*, Gr. *σ-* *τ-* in *σημερον τήμερον* from **k̑h̑o-*, and other words from similar forms.

The Stem **i-* **eḡ-* (**i-o-* **eḡ-o-*). Aryan: neut. Skr. *i-d* (adv.), *i-d-ām* with the particle *-ām* affixed, Avest. *i-ḡ* (adv.), acc. sing. masc. Skr. *i-m-ām* Avest. *imem* O.Pers. *imam* also with the particle *-am*; the association of this accusative form with *etā-m aṣte-m* etc. suggested a number of analogical forms: fem. Skr. *imā-m* Avest. *imqm* O.Pers. *imām*, neut. Skr. *imā-d* Avest. *imaḡ* O.Pers. *ima*, pl. Skr. *imē* Avest. *imē* O.Pers. *imaiy* etc. In Greek there are only isolated forms: acc. *ἴ-ν* 'eum' *μὴν* for **σμ' ἴν* (*σμ'* = Skr. *sma*), *νὶν* for **νφ ἴν* (**νφ* = *vv*), see Thumb, in Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 1887 pp. 641 ff.; adv. (instr.) *ἴνα*, used in relative sentences (§ 410), instead of **i-va* (§ 421), which took its rough breathing from the relative *ō-*, as Lith. *jī-s* instead of **i-s* took its initial from *ja-* (see below). Lat. *i-s* *i-d*, *eō ea-m*, Umbr. *eam* 'eam' *eaf* 'eas' Osc. *io-k* 'ea', Ital. *eo- ea-* for **eḡo- *eḡā-* (I § 134 p. 121); on Lat. *it* *its* beside *et* *ets* see Thurneysen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXX 499 f. Whether O.Ir. *ed* 'it' should be added to the list will remain doubtful so long as its ending is not explained.) Goth. *i-s* O.H.G. *i-r* 'he', Goth. *iȝa* 'eam'; and doubtless Goth. *jáin-s* and O.H.G. *jenēr* 'that yonder', although the construction of their stems is not quite clear (cp. I § 123 p. 113, Holthausen in Paul-Braune's Beitr. XI 552 f., Singer *ibid.* XII 211, Lidén in the Arkiv f. nord. fil. III 242 f., Johansson in Bezz. Beitr. XVI 154 ff., who gives references to other works on the subject). In Balto-Slavonic we have **iō-* in the gen. Lith. *jō* O.C.Sl. *jego*

1) A ground-form *id-om* might be inferred from *edn-on-oen* 'the very same', but that there is no nasal in *ed-on* (used with the meaning of Lat. 'id est'). The inserted pronoun (*pronomem inflexum*) *-d-* (*-id-*?), used for all genders and numbers — if we are right in placing it here — causes aspiration, and therefore ended in a vowel originally. A ground-form **idō* is hardly possible, since before *-u* (for *-ō*) the *i* would have been preserved. (Based on Thurneysen.)

'eius' etc. beside nom. Lith. *jì-s* O.C.Sl. *-jī* (in *dobrū-jī* and the like, but *i* in *i-že* 'qui') instead of **i-s* (= Lat. *i-s*) with *j-* from the other cases; cp. I § 84 Rem. 1 p. 80; Streitberg, Paul-Braune's Beitr. XIV 195 f.; J. Schmidt, Pluralb. 43.

Remark 2. The pronoun *jis jī* (declined) was affixed to inflected adjectives in Balto-Slavonic; and out of this grew what is called the 'definite adjective', as Lith. *geràs-is* O.C.Sl. *dobrū-jī* *dobryjī* 'the good (man, etc.)' (I § 84 p. 80). Form-association brought about a variety of changes in the case-systems of these words. See Leskien, Deol. pp. 131 ff.

**ī*, a fem. of **i-s*, is preserved in Skr. *iy-ām* Avest. *īm* i. e. *iy-em* and in Lith. *jì* instead of **ī*, earlier **ī*, as *jì-s* stands instead of **i-s*; perhaps also in Cypr. *ī-ν* 'αὐτῇ' (Meister, Gr. Dial. II 281), with the particle *-m*.¹⁾ Compare **kī* beside **kī-s*, on the last page.

§ 410. The Relative. From the proethnic period **iō-* has been used for the relative pronoun. Skr. *yá-s yá-d yá*, Avest. *yō ya-h yā*. Gr. *ὅ-ς ὅ ἥ*. Connected with it are adverbs like Goth. *ja-bái* Lith. *jéi jēi* 'if', and derivative adjectives such as Gr. *οἴο-ς* 'qualis' *οὔο-ς* 'quantus' O.C.Sl. *jakū* 'qualis' *jelikū* 'quantus'. There can be no doubt that this **iō-* is the same as the anaphoric **iō-* and **i-* discussed in § 409 above. The identity of these is made clear in Gr. *ἴνα* for **i-na* (see above), for *ἴνα* : *ὅ-ς* = Lith. *(j)ī-s* : *jō*. Thus **iō-* came to be used as a relative in the proethnic language without losing its purely anaphoric value. The chief reason why the anaphoric use survived in Balto-Slavonic was doubtless the association in use with nom. **i-s* acc. **i-m* (Lith. *j-ī-s j-ī* O.C.Sl. *j-ī*), which were always demonstrative. Whether the Goth. relative particle *ei* in *sa-ei* etc. is Idg. **ī*, the instr. of **i-s* (§ 421), or **e-ī*, the loc. of **o-* (p. 329), I leave undecided.

The relative use of **qo* and **to-* in several languages came in later. See the Syntax.

1) Mid.Ir. *ī* was coined beside *ē* because of other pairs of forms — *ē* and *sē*, *iat* and *siat*. (Based on Thurneysen.)

§ 411. Interrogative and Indefinite Pronouns. The stems **go-* **qi-* **qu-*, from the proethnic stage onwards, had an interrogative meaning with the acute accent, and were indefinite when unaccented. The use of these pronouns for the relative, as was but now remarked (§ 410), is later in origin.

**go-* **qā-*. Skr. *kā-s kā*, Avest. *kō kā*. Gr. gen. Hom. *ré-o* Att. *roū* = Avest. *ca-hyā*, and such adverbs as *noū noī*, Dor. *πῆ* Att. *πῆ*. Lat. *quo-d quā*, Umbr. *poei poi* 'qui' *paf-e* 'quas' Osc. *pod* 'quod' *paam* 'quam'. O.Ir. *cia* Mod.Cymr. *pwyl* 'who? what?' for **kue-i* (§ 414), O.Ir. *cā-ch* O.Cymr. *pau-p* 'quivis'. Goth. *hva-s hvō*, gen. *hvi-s* O.H.G. *hwe-s*. Lith. *kā-s* O.C.Sl. *kū-to* 'who?' Uninflected **qe* 'how' (indefinite 'somehow', and 'as also' = 'and'): Skr. Avest. *ca* Gr. *τε* Lat. *-que* Goth. *-h*.

qi-*. Aryan: neut. Skr. *ci-d* Avest. *ciþ* O.Pers. *ciy* generalising particle 'any', masc. Avest. *ci-š* O.Pers. *ciš-ciy*; Skr. *kī-m* 'what?' *nā-kī-š* 'no one' with *k-* instead of *c-* taken from *ka-*, see I § 448 Rem. p. 333. Gr. *τί-ς τί*. Lat. *qui-s qui-d*, Umbr. *sve-pis* 'si quis' *pif-i* 'quos' Osc. *pi-s* 'qui' *pí-d* 'quid'; Lat. *quem* doubtless instead of **quim* = Osc. *pim* by analogy of *ovem*: *ovi-s* (§ 214 p. 92), and similarly *em* instead of *im*, and used side by side with it, from *i-s* (J. Schmidt explains differently, Plur. p. 62 footnote 1). O.Ir. *ce ci* 'which?' may belong to this stem, or it may be *cia* (cē*) shortened by a pretonic position. Germ. *hvi-* perhaps in Goth. *hvi-leiks* A.S. *hwi-le* 'how constituted?' O.C.Sl. *čī-to* 'quid?'

**qu-*. Skr. *kū-tra* Avest. *ku-þra* 'where? whither?', Skr. *kū-tas* 'whence?' We may suggest that this is the root of O.C.Sl. *-gda* for **k(ū)-dā* in *tū-gda* 'then' and other words (Kozlovsky, Arch. für slav. Ph. X 658). There is great doubt whether it has anything to do with Lith. *ku-ř* 'where, whither' and Lat. *ali-cubi* Umbr. *pu-fe* Osc. *pu-f* 'ubi'.

Remark. The etymology of Armen. *o* 'who?' *i* 'what?' and Lat. *u-ter* has so far not been explained. Bugge (Beitr. zur etym. Erl. der arm. Spr., 28 f.) would postulate Idg. **go-* **qi-* as by-forms of **go-* **qi-*. But by this nothing would be gained as far as Armenian is concerned, since **go-* would have become *ko-*, op. *kov* 'cow' etc. I § 456 p. 336.

Distinguished. §§ 411, 412.

see further I § 431 Rem. 3
1887, pp. 37 f.; Kozlovsky,
Gr.² § 46 Rem. 1 p. 290.

ended with *sem- 'unus'):

er is Distinguished.

has often been pointed
out to nouns. This,
stances as early as the
findings sometimes pass
particularly in Greek
these languages very
special suffixes which

cases pronouns varied
the same ending as a

Take as examples
(Skr. *ká-s*), abl. sing.
(Skr. *tád*). In such
that the pronominal
that the noun ending
vary, as we shall see,
cases the ending was
pronoun, and that the
date. It seems, for
: *vřkad*) the agreement
) is **tód* transformed
ie **tesmin* (Lith. *tamė*

pronominal endings in
the acc. pl. masc. fem.
s nouns and pronouns
it is needed is a note

upon Goth. *þan-a* 'the, that', which will be found in § 417 Rem. On O.Ir. acc. pl. masc. *inna* cp. § 326 p. 226 and p. 355 footnote 1.

Nominative Singular Masculine and Feminine.

§ 413. Side by side with masc. forms in *-o-s* as **qo-s* 'who?' (= Skr. *ká-s*, O.Ir. *ne-ch* for **ne-kyo-s*, Goth. *hva-s*, Lith. *kà-s*) was **so* 'this, that': Skr. *sá*, Avest. *hā* and *aē-ša* = Skr. *ē-śá* (Jackson, Am. Or. Soc. Proc. 1889 p. cxxvi), Gr. *ó*, Goth. *sa*, probably also Lat. *ip-se* for **-so*, *iste* instead of **isse* for **is-so* and the like (I § 81 pp. 73, § 568 p. 425). Umbr. *ere* 'is' = **ei-so* Skr. *ē-śá* (cp. § 409 p. 329). Perhaps even in the parent language there was a form **so-s*: cp. Skr. *sá-s* Gr. *ὅ-ς* (*ῥ δ' ὅς* and the like) Lat. *ip-su-s* beside *ip-se*. The fem. was **sā*: Skr. *sā* Gr. *ῆ* Lat. *ip-sā* Goth. *sō*.

§ 414. There were forms from *o-* and *ā-* stems ending in *-oī* *-eī* and *-aī*, in which *-ī* was a deictic element, which we may conjecture to be the same as *-ī* in the loc. sing. and pl., see § 256 p. 157, § 356 pp. 256 f. Compare too the Lith. masc. vocative in *-ai*, as *tėvai*, and the Skr. fem. voc. in *-ē*, as *áśvē* (§§ 201, 202 pp. 83 f.).

1. The stem *o-*. Skr. *ay(-ám)* Avest. *aēm* i. e. *ay(-em)* 'this', cp. Skr. *sva-y(-ám)* 'oneself' and *va-y(-ám)* 'we' § 441. To this stem probably belong O.Ir. *ē* 'he' for **e-ī* (but cp. § 416), and perhaps Gr. *ὁδεῖν* = *ὅδ' εἰ-ν* with the particle *-m* (*εἰ-ν*: Skr. *ay-ám* = Boeot. *ρού-ν* Hom. *ῥό-ν-η*: Skr. *tuv-ám* *tv-ám*), with which are connected *τουμεῖρος* etc., later analogical formations (cp. J. Baunack, Stud. auf dem Geb. des Gr. I 46 ff.).

The stem **qo-* (interrog. and indef.). Lat. *quī*, O.Lat. (Dvenos-inscr.) *qoi* Osc. *poi* 'qui'; but Umbr. *poei poi poe* is a dissyllable, and so doubtless a compound of **poi* with *-ei -i* (cp. nom. pl. *pur-i* *pur-e* etc.). O.Ir. *cia* (for **cē*) Mod.Cymr.

pwŷ 'who' for **kue-i*; cp. the frequent occurrence of "initial aspiration" (I § 658. 1 pp. 510 f.) in *cia chruth* 'how?' properly 'what (is) the kind?' and in Mod.Cymr. *pwŷ bynnac* 'whosoever (*pynnac*)'.

Lat. *hī-c* for **hoi-ce*, like *quī*.

O.Sax. A.S. *sē* 'this, that, the', identical with the indeclinable Goth. *sái*, which is an unaccented affix in O.H.G. *de-se* 'this' (gen. *des-se*) Norse Run. *sa-si* 'this' (fem. *su-si* neut. *pat-si*). O.Sax. O.H.G. *thē thie* A.S. *pē* instead of *sē* by association with the stem *to-* (cp. Lith. *tà-s* instead of Idg. **so* **so-s* and the like). Further, O.Sax. *hē hie* O.H.G. *hē*, cp. § 409 p. 327. O.H.G. *jenē-r* was made by adding to *-ē* = **-oi* the nom. sign *-r* = **-z* (cp. *i-r e-r* = Goth. *i-s*) — this explanation of *-ēr* makes it possible to see why it was not shortened to *-ēr*, cp. *muoter* for pr. Germ. **mōdēr* § 192 p. 71; — from this analogy came *blintēr*, see § 406 p. 321; as to *unsēr* gen. *unseres* beside *blintēr* gen. *blintes* see § 455. A different explanation of *jenēr* is given by Johansson in Bezz. Beitr. XVI 121 ff., where other older explanations are cited and criticised. O.H.G. *der*, *her* are not shortened forms of **dēr*, **hēr*. Two origins are possible. (1) To *de*, *he* = *thē*, *hē*, which arose in a position where they had no accent (though afterwards they could be used with the accent too) was added the nom. *-r* (cp. O.H.G. *de-se* as contrasted with A.S. *ðē-s* 'this'). (2) Or *der* took the place of **dar* = Lith. *tà-s*, taking *e* from the gen. *des* etc., as did the acc. *de-n*. The latter view is favoured by *hwer wer* (acc. *we-n*) beside Goth. *hwa-s*.

Lith. *tasai* 'this' is doubtless for *tas+sai*, not *tas+ai* (cp. Bezenberger, Beitr. zur Gesch. der lit. Spr., 174).

2. Feminine forms ending in Idg. **-ai*, as the nom. acc. pl. neuter (§ 428). Avest. *pwōi* 'tua' *xwae(-ca)* f. 'one's own' (Bartholomae, Ar. Forsch. II 173), which suggested noun forms like *ber'xāē* f. 'blessed' (§ 190 p. 67). Perhaps this *-ai* is the same as the Ar. ending for the voc. sing. of *a*-stems (Skr. *ásvē*), see § 202 p. 84. Lat. *hae-c*, *quae* beside

sī quā, *aliqua*, Osc. *paī pae*. Another form of this class is probably Pruss. *stai* beside *sta* f. 'the, this' (Lith. *tà tó-jī*) *quai* *quoi* f. 'which', whence we have substantival forms by analogy, *mensai* 'meat' (Lith. *mėsà*) *deiwtiskai* 'blessedness' among others (J. Schmidt has a different explanation, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 389 ff.).

§ 415. Forms with the particle *-u*, doubtless the same as appears in the loc. pl. *-s-u* (§ 356 p. 257). Idg. **so-u* in Skr. *sō* O.Pers. *hauw* Gr. *ὁ-τος*. Skr. *a-sāú* (for its *a-* see § 409 p. 327) and Avest. *hāu* are remarkable, being used for both masc. and fem.; conversely O.Pers. *hauw* is used for both genders; the obvious conclusion to draw is that in the first pair the Idg. fem. **sā-u* is used instead of **so-u*, and in the latter group **so-u* is used instead of **sā-u*, cp. O.Pers. fem. *iyam* = Skr. *iyám* used for the masc. However, the masc. *a-sāú* *hāu* along with Ved. masc. *sā* may be derived from an Idg. **sō* beside **so* (Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. IX 310, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 498, cp. also Wackernagel, E. Kuhn's Litteraturblatt, III 55, and Johansson in Bezz. Beitr. XVI 129), and O.Pers. *hauw* from an Idg. **sa-u* with the same grade of ablaut as is shown by the Idg. fem. **qa-i* (§ 414) (cp. Wackernagel, Das Dehnungsgesetz p. 65). Gr. *αῦ-τη* may be derived from either **sā-u* or **say-* (I § 611 p. 461), and *ὁ-τος* might also be connected with Avest. *hāu* and derived from **sō-u*.

Avest. masc. *avāu* beside *aom* i. e. *avem* 'that yonder' is like *hāu*, see Bartholomae, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 498.

Remark. With the relation between **so* : **sō* compare these other pairs of pronouns: nom. **eg(h)o* : **eg(h)ō* 'I' § 439, loc. **te* : **tē* 'there' etc. § 424, acc. **me*, **ye*, **sye* **se* : **mē*, **yē*, **sē* 'me, thee, himself' § 442, nom. dual **ue* : **yē* 'we two' **ju* : **jū* 'ye two' § 457, nom. **tu* : *tū* 'thou' § 440. The difference of quantity in these pairs of forms was of the same kind as that which is found in other final syllables and syllables which have some resemblance to finals; e. g. **ue* : *yē* 'or' (Gr. **fē* in *ἦ-ε* Lat. *-ve* : Skr. *vā*), **pro* : **prō* (Gr. *πρό* Skr. *prā* : Gr. *πρω-πίρωι* Skr. *prā-sāh-*), **nu* : *nū* (Skr. *nu* Gr. *νύ* : Skr. *nū* O.H.G. *nū*). On these forms we may now refer to Wackernagel, Das Dehnungsg. pp. 5 ff.

§ 416. The relation between Skr. nom. *vē-ś* and *vī-ś* 'avis' and like pairs (§ 195 p. 75) suggests that Lat. *eis* *īs*

and *eis-dem* (Bücheler-Windekilde, Grundr. p. 28), beside *i-s* = Goth. *i-s*, is to be derived from an original strong-grade nominative **eĭ-s*, which may also be the source of O.Ir. *ē* (cp. § 414 p. 335). But it is quite conceivable that *eis* is a contamination of **e-ĭ* (§ 414) and *i-s*, cp. O.H.G. *jenē-r* p. 336.

Remark. It seems to me a very dubious supposition that *eis*, which occurs three times in *C.I.* no. 198, is each time a blunder (Danielsson, Stud. Gram. p. 23). It is preferable to regard *eisdem* as a contamination of *idem* = **izdem*, and *isdem* (restored on the analogy of *is*). But this view is needless, if there was a form *eis is*.

Nominative and Accusative Singular Neuter.

§ 417. The mark of these cases is *-d*, answering to *-m* in nominal *o*-stems (as **jugo-m* 'iugum'), and to a suffixless stem in the other classes of nouns (as **peku* 'pecu'); e. g. **to-d* 'that' **go-d* **qi-d* 'what'. Skr. *tá-d* Avest. *ta-ḥ* O.Pers. *ai-ta* = Avest. *aē-taḥ*; Skr. *ci-d* Avest. *ci-ḥ* O.Pers. *ciy* 'any, at all'. Gr. *τὸ ποδ-από-ς* (II § 32 p. 56) Thess. *πόξι* for **πόδ xi*; the particle **foḍ* in Gr. *ὄρρι ὀπνως* and the like was probably the neuter of **syo-* 'suus' (the Author, Gr. Gr.² pp. 134, 231) and not the abl. sing. like Skr. *mád* (§ 474), cp. Avest. *ma-ḥ* 'meum'; *ῥί ῥι* = Skr. *ci-d*. Lat. *is-tud quo-d qui-d*, Umbr. *este* 'istud' for **es-to(d)* (cp. § 274 Rem. p. 174) *piṛ-i pirs-i* 'quid, quodecunque', Osc. *po-d* 'quod' *pí-d pi-d* 'quid'. O.Ir. *ce ci* 'quid' in *ced cid* 'what (is)' for *ce ed ci ed*; whether *ed* 'it' is connected with Lat. *i-d*, is doubtful, see § 409 pp. 331 f. Goth. *hva*, *ḥa-t-a i-t-a* with *-a* for *-ō*, as is shewn by *hvarjatō-h* 'each' and other similar forms, O.H.G. *da-z e-z*, cp. the Remark. Pruss. *s-ta*, *ka*, O.C.Sl. *to*, *je* = Skr. *yá-d* and *ēṭ-to* (*-to* is a particle), *ni-ēṭ-ēe* 'nihil'; in Lith. **tà* = **to-d* was driven out of the field by the neut. pl. *taĩ* (§ 428), see J. Schmidt, Plur. pp. 228 f.; but the *d*-ending remained in adjectives like *gēra*, to which it had spread before this happened (§ 227 p. 110).

Remark. Hitherto the final vowel of Goth. *ḥata* etc. has been explained as an affixed particle, like that in acc. masc. *ḥana* = Skr. *tá-m*. But Johansson (Bez. Beitr. XVI 129, 161) sees in Goth. *-ta* a fuller form

of the suffix *-d* (ablaut **-dāx*:**-d'*), and equates *ḡata* with Skr. *tadā* Lith. *tadd*, *ita* with Skr. *idā* and the like. He sees another grade (*-de*) of the same suffix in Gr. *ἰ-δε* *το-δε* Lat. *ide-m*. But he will not allow that Goth. *ḡana* is an acc. with *-m*; he makes it the same as *ḡana-* in *ḡana-māis* 'further, still', and derives it from **tonē*. This last derivation does not convince me in the slightest degree; for the form in question is masculine, and there is nothing in its use to suggest a derivation from any such adverb. The accepted explanation of *ḡan-a* has in my opinion no difficulties at all. O.H.G. *den*, with *e* instead of *a* taken from the other cases, may be the unextended form, which keeps the nasal like the preposition *in* = Gr. *ἐν* and the particle Goth. *an* = Gr. *ἄν* Lat. *an*. Johansson's explanation of *ḡata* is less objectionable in itself. But *ḡata* cannot be separated from *ḡana*; and unless *ḡana* is merely a re-formate moulded after *ḡata* when *ḡata* had come to be regarded as a simple uncompounded word — which there is nothing to shew — we must adhere to the old explanation of *ḡata*. O.H.G. *dag* is doubtless the unextended form, which kept the final dental, as it should do, before a vowel initial in the following word, just as *den* kept its *-n*.

Re-formations in the separate languages with the *-m* of noun-stems in *-o-*. Skr. *kī-m* (cp. Gaedicke, Acc. in Veda pp. 6, 16) Pali *taṃ* Avest. *ke-m* *yi-m* *aom*. Gr. *ταῦτόν* instead of *ταῦτό*. Lat. *ipsu-m* Umbr. *esom-e* 'in hoc'. Another is doubtless O.Ir. (*s*)*a n-*, neuter of the article and relative pronoun.

Genitive Singular.

§ 418. In the Masc. Neut. there are two endings, which passed very early into the noun-system: **-sjo* and **-so*, see § 228 pp. 113 f., § 239 pp. 130 f.

**sjo-*. Skr. *tá-sya* Avest. *aē-tahe*; Skr. *a-syá* Avest. *ahē añhe* (*ñh* taken from the fem. *añhā* = Skr. *asyās*, cp. § 420); Gāthīc *ahyā áxya* (I § 558. 3 p. 415); O.Pers. *ava-hyā* Avest. *avanhe* (*ñh* as in *añhe*); Skr. *amúṣya*. Armen. *oroy* from *or* 'which'; but cp. § 239 p. 131. Gr. Hom. *τοῖο* Att. *τοῦ* = **to-sjo*; Hom. *τέο* Att. *τοῦ* = Avest. *cahya*, common ground-form **qe-sjo*. O.Ir. *ai ae*, unaccented *ā a* (with "aspiration" of the following initial) 'eius', I would suggest for **e-sjo*, cp. Skr. *a-syá* Goth. *i-s* O.H.G. *e-s*.¹⁾ Lastly **-sjo* is probably the suffix of

1) To avoid separating things which are really closely connected, I may add here a few general remarks upon Irish possessives of the third person. These will be based upon Stokes's Celtic Declension

Pruss. *s-te-ssei s-tei-sei s-te-sse s-tei-se s-tei-si* (*stei-* has been taken from the gen. pl. *stei-son*) 'of this, of the', *aine-ssa aina-ssei* 'of one, of a', although the uncertainty of the spelling makes it impossible to draw a certain conclusion (cp. Leskien, Decl. 113 f.).

*-so. Goth. *þi-s* O.H.G. *de-s* = **té-so*, A.S. *ðae-s* (beside *ðe-s*) = **tó-so* (cp. Gr. *τέο* beside *πῶ*); Goth. *i-s* O.H.G. neut. *e-s*. Compare § 239 p. 131. O.C.Sl. *če-so* = Goth. *hvi-s* O.H.G. *hwe-s*, *čr-so* (beside *čr-to* 'quid'). There is no need that I can see to assume that Greek had *-so (as well as *-sjo), Johansson notwithstanding (De der. verb. contr., p. 215).

In the separate languages there were frequent levellings between pronominal forms of the gen. sing. and the gen. pl.: O.Ir. *ai* 'eorum' = **esjōm* following *ai* 'eius' = **esjo*; Lat. *cuium* following *cuius*, see footnote on preceding page; Pruss. *steisei* instead of *stessei* following *steison*, see above; Goth. *þizē* instead of **þáizē* (cp. A.S. *ðara* O.Icel. *þeira*) following *þis*; Avest. *aētanhqm* instead of *aētaēsqm* following *aētahe*, § 429. This suggests a conjecture that *-so in Goth.

(pp. 104 f.), and upon communications which I have received from Thurneysen. The above named forms *ai ae ā a* can be used for the feminine ('*αὐτῆς*'), but then *ā a* do not cause aspiration, and so they are doubtless connected with Skr. *asyās*. Further, *ai ae* are the accented gen. pl. (and dual) 'eorum, earum' the unaccented being *ā n-*, *a n-*. In explaining these forms we have to consider (1) the sing. masc. fem. Mid.Cymr. Corn. *y* Bret. *e* (pl. Mid.Cymr. *eu* Bret. *ho* = pr. Brit. **ou*? § 438); (2) the Irish substantival word for 'that which belongs to him, or them' (all genders): *ai ae*, acc. pl. masc. *aíi*, dat. pl. *aíib*, with which is doubtless connected Mid.Cymr. *eidaw* 'that which is his', *eidi* 'that poss. which is hers', *eidunt* 'that which is theirs'; also used along with the pronoun: *ā-aii* 'suos' Cymr. *y eidaw* 'his own' (masc.). A conjecture may be offered that **esjo* and **esjās*, in protoethnic insular Celtic, when in pre-tonic position became **asjo* **asjās* (cp. Ir. *as-* beside *es-* 'ex' I § 86 p. 55), and the *a-* passed from these to the accented forms. The gen. pl. which grew out of these forms, **asjōm* = O.Ir. *ai ae*, *ā n-*, *a n-*, may be compared with Lat. *cuium* (Charisius) following *cuius*, which took the place of *quōrum* or *quium* (Cato) (compare Hom. *ἡμῶν* beside *ἐμῶν* § 454), but the subst. *ai ae* is naturally compared with Lat. *cuiu-s* 'belonging to whom' which comes from the gen. *cuius* (§ 419). The substantival acc. pl. *aíi* shows that this stem had *i*-flexion.

pi-s O.C.Sl. *če-so* etc. has been transformed from **-sjo* on the analogy of the gen. pl. **-sǫm* (§ 429). Similarly in the feminine there is **-sās* (Goth. *þizōs*) for **-sijās* (Skr. *tāsyaś*).

§ 419. Some of the Armenian pronouns have *r* as the genitive suffix, which is certainly to be connected with the genitive *r-* in the personal pronouns *me-r* 'nostrī' *je-r* 'vestrī' *iu-r* 'sui' (§ 455): *oir* from *o* 'who'; *nor-in* from *no-in* 'the same', and others. Compare further O.Icel. *vār* O.H.G. *unsēr* § 455.

The much-discussed Italic forms¹⁾ contain a locative in *-e-i*; and this formation may be suggested as an explanation of the gen. sing. of noun stems in *o* (§ 239 pp. 131 f.). The loc. in *-e-i* was used in pr. Ital. for loc., dat., or gen., as the form **me-i* **mo-i* in the personal pronoun had been used right on from the parent language (§ 447); we may suggest that **te-i* when used for the genitive had at first only the possessive meaning, and did not come till later to be quite coextensive with this case. Compare Thess. loc. *roī* and *χρόνοι* used as gen. A desire to mark off the genitive from the other cases led to different results in different dialects of Italic. In Latin an association with the gen. in *-us* (*homin-us*) produced such forms as *isti-us*, *eius eius* i. e. *eei+us* (cp. loc. dat. *eei ei*); but the gen. suffix *-s* was added in Umbr. *erer irer* Osc. *eiseis eizeis* 'eius' and the like (cp. subst. Umbr. *popler* Osc. *sakarakleis*), the latter of which are exactly parallel to O.Lat. gen. *mī-s tī-s* instead of *mī tī* (§ 447). The re-formates *istius eius* were used for the feminine as well, but *istae utrae* and like forms are also found, as in Umbr. *erar* 'eius'. The older *-ei* (**istei*) survived in composition beside *-ei-us* (*istius*), as *istimodī* (cp. *quoi-quoi-modī*, below); but *neutrī*, in *neutrī generis* etc., has doubtless borrowed *-ī* from the nouns (similarly Lith. masc. *tō* fem. *tōs*).

1) In addition to the references given by Stolz, Lat. Gr.² 348, see Merguet, Die Entwickel. der lat. Formenb. 83 ff., 92 f.; Danielsson, Studia gramm. 1879 pp. 1 sqq.; Bersu, Die Gutturalen p. 136; W. Meyer, Zeitschr. für rom. Philol. X 174; Henry, Précis de grammaire comp., p. 248; Luchs, Studemund's Stud., I 316 ff.

The genitives *quoius hoius*, *cuius huius* must be discussed in connexion with *quoiei quoi hoi-ce*, *cui hui-c* and Osc. *pieis-um* 'cuiuspiam' *piei* 'cui', not forgetting Osc. *poizad* abl. 'qua' *púllad* adv. 'qua' Umbr. *pōra* abl. 'qua'. As far back as protoethnic Italic a fossil case of the stem **qo-*, say **kʷō* or **kʷoi*, was used instead of the inflected pronoun as an interrogative or relative particle, the case which it was intended to represent being made clear by an inflected demonstrative pronoun which was used with it; cp. Lith. dial. *tàs cėcorius*, *kūr iszválnino jó dūkterī* 'the prince, where he has freed his daughter' = 'whose daughter he has freed' (the Author, Lit. Volksl. p. 305).¹⁾ Thus Lat. *quoiei* = *qō + eei*, to which was later added *quoius* as a distinctly marked genitive (though *quoi-quoi-modī cui-cui-modī* remain unchanged), Osc. *poizad* = *pō + eizād* (*eizo-* 'is'), *púllad* = *pō + ollād* (cp. Lat. *olle*), Umbr. *pōra* doubtless = *pō + orā* (*orer* 'illius') rather than *pō + ērā* (*erer* 'eius' = Osc. *eizeis*).²⁾ Osc. *piei* (gen. *pieis-* in the comp. *pieis-um* 'cuiuspiam') is doubtless derived from a combination of the adverb **pī* = Lat. *quī* from the stem **qi-* (§ 421) with *e(ĭ)eĭ*, although it might possibly have come into existence by attraction of *pi-* to the *o*-class. On the analogy of *quoi quoius* the Lat. *hoi-ce hoi-us* were made, like the nom. pl. *hēs* following *quēs* (§ 427); the similarity once existing between these stems in the nom. sing. (*quī* and *hī-c(e)*, § 414 p. 336) may have helped in this result.

Remark. The Lat. adj. *quoiu-s cuiu-s* 'belonging to whom', to judge from its meaning, seems to have arisen from the possessive genitive *quoius*, which looked like an adjective; if so, it has an exact parallel in Avest. *na-* 'noster', formed from the genitive *nō* = Skr. *nas*; see the end of § 454.

1) The same idiom is found in Modern Greek, as *αὐτὸς εἶναι ὁ ἄνθρωπος ποῦ τὸν εἶδα*, beside *ποῦ εἶδα*, 'that is the man whom I saw'; in Celtic; and in High German.

2) Osc. *púiiu*, in Zvetaieff, Inscr. It. inf. no. 103, seems to be one of this group of forms (I would derive it from **pō + eĭo-*); but the meaning of the passage in which it occurs is obscure.

Old Irish has also *-ī as in nouns, *ind athar* 'of a father' for **sen-tī*, like Lat. *istī-modī* Gr. Thess. *roī*.

Lithuanian. With noun flexion, *tō*, *jō* etc. Old Church Slavonic *to-go je-go*, etc., a re-formation which has not yet been satisfactorily explained, see Leskien, Decl. 109 ff.

§ 420. Feminines belonging to *o*-stems had in the parent language the masculine stem with the ending *-*sīās* for the genitive singular. Ar. -*asyās*: Skr. *tāsyās asyās*, Avest. *aē-taṇhā aṇhā*. O.Pers. *ahyāya* instead of **ahyā*, following *taumāya* (§ 229 p. 114), just as Pali *assa* = Skr. *asyās* was extended to *assāya* on the analogy of *kaṇhāya*; ending exactly as a noun, Avest. *aētayā* (following *haēnayā*) beside *aētaṇhā*. Skr. *amú-śyās* like *amú-śya*. O.Ir. *ai ae* for **e-sīās*, see p. 339 footnote. Pruss. *s-tessias stessies stesses steises* (*ei* on the analogy of masc. *steisei*, § 418 p. 340). Germanic *-*sīās* and *-*sās*. A.S. *ðære* = pr. Germ. **þaizjōz*, Goth. *þizōs* and *blindāizōs* (§ 406 p. 321), O.H.G. *dera*, O.Icel. *þeirar* = pr. Germ. **þaizjōz*. This *āi* has come from the gen. pl., where it spread from the masc. to the fem. (§ 429). But the loss of *j* in Goth. *þizōs* etc. is to be explained like the same loss in the masc., see § 418 p. 340. As regards -*s-* becoming -*z-*, see Kluge, Paul's Grundr. I 347.

This Idg. feminine formation in *-*sīās* was produced under the influence of the masc. in *-*sīo*. Either there was once a fem. **tās* like **ekyās*, which was transformed to **tesīās* by association with **tesīo*; or else **tesīo* at first served for all genders, and afterwards the feminine was distinguished by the transformation **tesīās*. From the gen. in *-*sīās*, *sī* (*s*) spread to the dative and locative in the protoethnic period; see § 425.

O.C.Sl. *toję* contains the -*ę* of *dušę*, standing for *-*ans* or *-*ons*. See § 229 pp. 117 f. Since the dat. loc. *toji* borrowed the sounds -*oj-* from the instr. *tojā* = Skr. *tāyā* (§ 425), *toję* itself may have followed the same analogy.

Endings the same as those of nouns. Greek *τῆς*. Latin *illae* beside *illius* etc., Umbr. *erar* 'eius'. Old Irish

inna for **sen-tās*, *cacha cecha*, *nacha*, cp. *mnā* § 229 p. 114. Lith. *tōs*.

Instrumental Singular.

§ 421. A suffix proper to pronouns was *-na*, the same (we may suggest) as the ending of certain adverbs; for instance, Skr. *caná* Goth. *-hun* O.H.G. *-gin* 'any', Skr. *hiná* 'then', Lat. *pōne superne*, Goth. *þan* 'then' Lith. *tēn* 'there'. Examples: Avest. *ka-na* O.Pers. *tya-nā aniya-nā*, Skr. *kē-na tē-na ē-na*; the latter, like Skr. *sanē-mi* O.C.Sl. *tě-mī* (see below), have doubtless the same diphthong which is seen in the nom. sing. Lat. *go-i quī* etc. (see § 422 Rem.), and they also remind one of Skr. *ē-vá* Ved. *ē-vá ē-vá* 'so' Goth. *hvái-va* 'how'. With Skr. *kēna*: Avest. *kana* cp. Lith. gen. *kēnō* : *kenō* (*kanō*) § 451 pp. 391 f. *-ēna* was borrowed by the nouns, whence *vfkēna* etc., see § 275 p. 177. Gr. *ī-va*, cp. § 409 p. 331. A lost form **ci-na* (nom. *ci-š*) seems to have suggested the making of the Avestic acc. *cinem*.

Forms from *o*-stems ending in **-oi-mi*. Skr. *sanē-mi* 'from of yore'. A.S. *ðæ-m* O.Icel. *þei-m* beside subst. A.S. *miolcum* (as in the pl., Goth. *þái-m* beside subst. *vulfa-m*). O.C.Sl. *tě-mī ji-mī*. Compare the Pruss. *sen maim* 'cum meo' = 'mecum' (see §§ 449, 452), which is doubtless not to be derived from Idg. **moi-mi* (cp. Avest. *ma-Gr. ἐμός* 'meus'), but belongs to the stem *maia-*, and has undergone a contraction like the gen. *maisei* (beside *stessei steisei ainassei*), and the nom. *mais* = O.C.Sl. *moǝ*; however, I leave it undecided whether **maiai-m(i)* became *maim* in the natural course of things, or by association with *maia-smu maia-n* became first **maia-m(i)*, and then *maim* (cp. *twaismu* beside *twaiasmu*). Compare § 282 pp. 187 f. Armenian: with *-v* for **-bhi oro-v*, from *or* 'which', following the subst., *gailo-v*; similarly *i-v* 'with or through what?' from *i* 'what?' like subst. *srti-v*, see § 281 p. 186.

There also seem to have been in the parent language, and to have come down from it, an instrumental series from *o*-

and *i*-stems made noun-fashion, ending in *-ō* *-ē* and *-ī*. Avest. *tā yā ana*. Gr. *πὼ* (*ōv-πω*), Lac. *πῆ-ποκα*. Lat. *quō-modo*, *quō* 'whither', Umbr. *sei-podruh-pei* 'utroque'; Lat. *quī* 'how' from *qui-s*. O.Ir. *cāch* (gen. *cāich*) O.Cymr. *pau-p* 'quivis, each' no doubt = **qō-qos*, properly 'where who, how who, somewhere or somehow someone' as Thurneysen conjectures; *neuch neoch* for **ne-qō*, *cossind* 'with that' for **con sen-tu*. A.S. *hwō* 'how' O.H.G. *diu*, *hiu-tu* 'to-day' (§ 409 p. 330), Goth. *hvē* 'with which' *þē* 'by so much': *hī* (beside Goth. *hi-mma*) in O.H.G. *hī-naht* 'this night'. Lith. *tū* 'with that, at once' *jū* 'by that, by so much': the suffix *-mi* was added to this series, and produced *tū-mi* *kū-mi*, just as in nouns *-u-mi* (*vilkumī*) was produced in some dialects, see § 275 p. 178; Pruss. *s-tu ku*. Mod.Slov. *ěi* 'if' Czech *ěi* 'whether' = Lat. *quī*, and with *-mī* added O.C.Sl. *ěi-mī* used as instr. to *ěi-to*. According to this analogy, the particle **ī*, Ved. *ī* (also seen in *ī-dfś-* 'such as this') Gr. *-ī* in *οἷος-ī* Umbr. *pors-ei* nom. pl. 'qui', may be the instr. to Lat. *i-s*; if so, the nasal in Ved. *īm* Gr. *οἷος-ίῃ* is the particle *-m*.

§ 422. *a*-stems had *-aiā*. Skr. *tāya* Avest. *aē-taya*, Skr. *ayā* Avest. *ayā āya*. O.C.Sl. *toja* (with the particle *-m*), compare O.Lith. *taja*, in modern dialects *taī* (J. Schmidt, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 386 f.); for a different explanation of *taī* see Brückner, Arch. slav. Phil. VI 272.

In Aryan, this ending spread into the noun-system: Skr. *āśvaya* instead of *āśva*, Avest. *haēnaya* instead of *haēna*: similarly O.C.Sl. *raķoja* instead of *raķa*. In Lithuanian we find, *vice versa*, the pronoun assimilated to the noun, *tā* following *rankā*; and similarly Gr. *ῆ* Dor. *ταυτῆ* and doubtless Lat. *hā-c* etc. See § 276 pp. 178 ff. It is uncertain whether Ved. *tyā* instead of *tyāya* and Avest. *yā kā* beside *aētaya* have followed the noun type, or whether *tyā* and *yā* are due to syllabic dissimilation, and *kā* to the analogy of *yā* (compare similar changes in § 247 p. 147, § 307 Rem. p. 205).

Skr. *amūya* beside *amūśyas* follows the lead of *-ayā*.

Remark. Schmidt (Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 386) analyses Skr. *ayā* thus — *ay-ā*, and derives it from the stem *i-*; he then assumes that *ayā*: *asyās* first suggested the formation of *táyā*. This commends itself to me as little as his view (*ibid.*, p. 292) that *ē-na* also comes from *i-*, and that it was the relation of *ēna*: *asyā* that produced *tēna* beside *tāsya*. There is a much safer way of regarding these. Schmidt himself tells us (Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXV 5 f.), and I believe it to be true, that *-i-* in certain plural forms (Goth. *pá-i-m* O.C.Sl. *tě-mi* Skr. *tě-bhiḥ*, Gr. *ro-i-a* O.C.Sl. *tě-chū* Skr. *tě-ṣu*) is the same as *-i* in the nom. plural (Gr. *ro-i* Skr. *tě* etc.); and further, we have concluded that the *i*-diphthongs in oblique cases of the dual, as O.C.Sl. *tě-ma* Skr. *táy-ōḥ*, contain the same *-i* as the nom. acc. dual neuter and feminine (Idg. **to-i* and **ta-i*); see § 297 pp. 201 f., § 311 pp. 209 f. If these assumptions are correct, we can hardly go wrong in connecting the diphthong of Skr. *ē-na* *tě-na* and *sanē-mi* O.C.Sl. *tě-mī* with that in the nom. sing. masc., e. g. Skr. *ay(-ām)* Lat. *go-i quī* Osc. *poi* etc., and similarly the *i* of Skr. *ayā* *táyā* O.C.Sl. *tojā* with that of the nom. sing. fem., as Avest. *pwōi* Lat. *quae* (§ 414 p. 336). It is true that Skr. *ayā* might be derived from the stem **eīā-* (Lat. *eā-* Goth. *ijō-*); but there is no reason to separate it from *táyā* etc.

Ablative, Dative, and Locative Singular.

§ 423. In the masc.-neut., the stem is often extended by *-sm-*; the same particle which appears, without any inflexional ending, in the acc. Avest. *ahma* Lesb. *ἄμμε* (§§ 436, 443).

Skr. *tásmād tásmāi tásmín*, *asmād asmāi asmín*, Avest. *aē-tahmāp aē-tahmāi aē-tahmi*, *cahmāi* with **qe-* like O.C.Sl. loc. *če-mī*. Skr. re-formates, *amúṣmād amúṣmāi amúṣmín*. Armen. abl. *y umē* dat. loc. *um* from *o* 'who', *y ormē*, *orum* from *or* 'which'; *-um-* for *-osm-* I § 561 p. 417. Gr. Gortyn. loc. *ὄ-τιμ* i. e. doubtless *-τιμ* for **τι-σμι*. (On the dative *τέμμαι* 'cui', assumed by some, see Solmsen Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 79). Umbr. *e-smi-k* 'ei' *esmei esme* 'huic', *pu-sme* 'cui'. Goth. *pā-mma hwa-mma i-mma*. Pruss. dat. *s-te-smu* (*steismu*, cp. gen. *steisei* § 418) *ka-smu*, *antersmu* (stem *antera-*), *schi-smu* (*schi-s* 'this').

In Germanic and Balto-Slavonic there is another series which has *-m-* instead of *-sm-*. O.H.G. *demu huemu*. Lith. dat. *támui tám* loc. *tamim-pi tami tamè tañ*, O.C.Sl. dat. *tomu* loc. *tomī*; Lith. *szimè* beside *sziamè* from *szi-s*. These forms

have certainly dropped *s* on the analogy of the cases whose suffix began with *m*: cp. O.H.G. pl. *dē-m*, sing. pl. A.S. *ḡe-m* O.Icel. *þei-m*, Lith. pl. *tē-ms* dual *tēm-dvēm* *tēm-dvēm* O.C.Sl. sing. *tē-mi* pl. *tē-mū* *tē-mi* dual *tē-ma*. For a different explanation of O.H.G. *-m-*, see Kluge, Paul's Grundr. I 347.

As regards the case suffixes, that of the locative was a special pronominal ending. This case had the endings **-smin* and **-smi*, cp. Gr. *ἄμιν ὅμιν* and *ἄμυ ὅμυ* § 448. **-smin*: Skr. *tāsmīn*, Lith. *tamīn* in *tamim-pi*, although it is true that *-mpi* may have come from the gen. pl., in which case we must analyse the word *tami-mpi* (see Brückner, Arch. Slav. Phil., III 279 f.; Osthoff, Morph. Unt. II 9).¹⁾ **-smi* in Avest. *-tahmi* Gr. *ὅ-τιμι*. Lith. *tami* O.C.Sl. *tomī* may be explained as having either **(s)min* or **(s)mi*; if the former, Lith. *tami* should be written *tamī*. O.Lith. *jamije* like *diewiје*. O.Lith. Mod.Lith. *tamė*, whence *tam̃*, has the same ending as loc. *vilkė*; a conjecture as to the origin of *tamė* is given in § 424, pp. 349 f.

The ablative and dative, on the other hand, originally had the same suffix as the nouns. Skr. *tāsmād tāsmāi* Avest. *-tahmāp -tahmāi* like *vřkad vėhrkāp vėhrkāi*. Armen. *y umē* like *y akanē*, cp. § 244 p. 142; what may have been the ending of *um* we can hardly now hope to ascertain. Umbr. *esmi-k esmei esme* like Tefri *Tefrei Tefre* 'Tefro deo', cp. § 246 pp. 145 f.; in *pusme* it is a question whether the particle *-e -ei* (cp. *puř-e* 'quid') has not become attached to the ending. Goth. *hvamma*; here *-a*, to judge from *hvammē-h* 'to each', came first from **-ē*, but it may represent the abl. **-ēd* or the dat. **-ē(i)*; O.H.G. *hvemu* seems to be an abl. in **-ōd*, cp. § 241 pp. 137 f., § 246 p. 146.

1) The form *tami-pi* does not prevent our explaining *taminpi* as *tamin + pi*. Both forms, *tami* and **tamin*, may originally have existed side by side. Or **tamin* may have become *tami*, and after the uncompounded word had thus changed, *-pi* may have been added again. This can be paralleled by *tam-pi*, which does not come from *tame-pi*, but after *tamė* had become *tam̃*, *-pi* was added again to the new word.

Lith. *támui* (shortened to *tám*) O.C.Sl. *tomu* like *vil̃kui vl̃uku*; Pruss. *stesmu* like *waldniku* 'regi'.

§ 424. Side by side with the forms cited in the last section is a series without *-sm-*.

Ablative. Skr. *ád tád yád* Avest. *ap̄*, all adverbs. Gr. *ᾠ* 'eo'. Lith. *tō*. The s correctly, to be the Gr. *φρετ-ρω* Lat. *fer-tō* eda 225; Thurneysen, n Italic re-formate is (Bücheler-Windekilde, 19. beside *istī* etc. A late *-jui* = High Lith. lie' (Geitler, Beitr. lit.

ē-aeī. Lat. *hei-c hī-c*, Goth. *pei* O.Icel. *pī* = ee Bechtel, Zeitschr. the stem *o-* may be in Heracleon etc., see *ē-ša- ē-la-* Osc. *ei-20-*,

are really locatives of i 'cui', Lat. *istei istī*, *eieis* beside *eeis eis*, *quoi* + *eei* (see § 419 te following *quoi cui*. § 419, once had the g. **mo-i* loc. dat. gen. ded in Latin by *-us*, by analogical trans-eminine was doubtless i *-i* and that of *mī mihī* dative of *i*-stems; the ave the same character.

A comparison of the forms cited in this section with those containing *-sm-* (§ 423) makes it probable that it was only the locative which had two original formations. In the locative there will have been parallel endings *-smin -smi* (Skr. *tásmin* Avest. *-tahmi*) and *-i* (Gr. *πο-ι*); later on, but before the end of the proethnic period, *-sm-* spread to the ablative and dative, which hitherto had had the same endings as nouns. Ablative adverbs like Skr. *tád* are older than this change; and being adverbs they were not affected by intrusion of *-sm-*. But such forms as Lat. *istō(d)* and Greek *τῷ* may or may not be original; it is possible that they were produced by some tendency of a later date which brought them again under the influence of the noun system.

This *-sm-* is usually identified (and doubtless rightly so) with the particle Skr. *sma*, which follows pronouns by way of emphasising them: e. g. *tásya sma*. Now it will be seen anon (§ 443.2) that Gr. Lesb. *ἄμμε* Avest. *ahma* probably consist of **us + sme*, i. e. the ground-form of Goth. *uns* with a particle **sme* added; and that from this combination were produced the forms for which it is usual to assume the stem **usme- *usmo-* (Gr. *ἄμμο-* Skr. *asma-*). Thus this particle must have originally been added to a fully formed case of the pronouns which distinguish genders as well as to those already cited; this case will be the locative. And there is nothing to bar our starting from **te + sme*, and calling the first of these a locative. Compare Lith. *tē* 'there!' O.C.Sl. *te* 'and' beside **te-i* (**to-i*); Lat. *ce* in *ce-do* Osc. *ce* in *ce-bnust* (*-bnust* 'venerit') Lith. *szē* 'hence' (but cp. § 409 p. 330) beside Gr. *ἐ-κεῖ κεῖ-vo-ς*; Lith. *nē* Goth. *ni* Skr. *ná* 'not' beside **ne-i* in Lith. *neĩ nē-ka-s* Avest. *naē-ciš* Lat. *nei nī*; Lith. *be-*, a particle which denotes duration of an action, beside *beĩ* 'and'; O.C.Sl. *kūde* beside *kūdě* 'where'; and the like.¹⁾ **te*

1) Beside **te*, **ke*, **ne* the parent language had also **tē*, **kē*, **nē* (Gr. *τῇ* 'there!' Dor. *τῇ-vo-ς* 'iste, ille'; Dor. *πῇ-vo-ς* 'ille'; Skr. *nā* O.Ir. *nī*); the variation in quantity has parallels, **mē : me* 'me' etc. See on this matter see § 415 Rem. p. 337.

and **te-i* were parallel locatives like Gr. *δό-μεν* and *ποι-μείν-ι*, see §§ 256 ff. pp. 156 ff. The ending of **tesme* meets us still in Baltic, in Lith. *tamè* (*geramè*), which has taken the place of **tesme*, because, by association with case-suffixes whose first sound was *m-*, *s* was dropped, and *-e-* gave place to *-a-*; cp. Pruss. *ste-smu* as contrasted with Lith. *támui*, § 423 p. 346. On the analogy of *támui*:*tamè* the form *vilké*, as I believe, was produced beside *vilkui*, and the same principle acting in the opposite way produced O.Lith. *jamije* on the analogy of *diewiye*; cp. § 263 p. 166. Idg. had **tesmi(n)* = Skr. *tásmin* etc. beside **tesme*, as it had **yssmi(n)* = Lesb. *ἄμυρ ἄμυ* beside **yssme*. Perhaps there were originally two variants **sm-i* and **sm-e*, both extensions of **sem-*, which would make it unnecessary to assume that **tesmi(n)* was formed from **tesme*.

Remark. The above comparisons are based on the belief that those scholars who hold that Lith. *tamè* and *vilké* come from **tamen* and **vilken* have not proved their case. In such forms as *geramen-je* (Arch. slav. Phil. IV 592, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 385, Bezz. Beitr. X 312, and elsewhere), which are made the chief ground for assuming *-en*, it is strange above all things that the second part has not the pronominal form, as would have been expected (*-jame -jam*), but a noun ending, like *jamiye amszinameje* etc. (Bezz., Zur Gesch. lit. Spr. 154, 168). Hence Leskien suggests that an earlier **geramejem(e)* was shortened to **geramem*, and to this was added *-je*, which was regarded as the locative ending in the nouns; when *-je* was added *-m* became *n*. No argument can be based upon the spelling of these words with *-jé* instead of *-je*; it might be a re-formation following noun-locatives in *-i*. Nor is the alleged *-en* proved by East Lith. forms in *-i*, as *miszkī* 'in the wood'. It is possible phonetically to derive *-i* from *-en*, but there is no need for this; rather the reverse, since there has hitherto been found no such form as an E.Lith. *-im-p(i)* for *-em-p(i)* *-en-p(i)*; no **dėvim-p(i)*, but only *dėvė-p(i)*. See Leskien, Ber. sächs. Ges. Wiss., 1884 pp. 96 f. Besides the explanation suggested by Leskien, that *miszkī* comes from *miszkē*, there is another which should be considered — that *miszkī* followed the analogy of *tami* (with Idg. **smi*), as *miszkē* that of *tamè*.

But suppose the supporters of the theory here criticised were really to make out a decent case for their **tamen* **geramen* and **vilken*,¹⁾ there would be little to change in the general principle. I would all the same

1) Is Pruss. *schisman*, Ench. 89, anything more than a piece of carelessness?

derive Lith. *tam̃* (as these scholars write it) from Lith. **tesme*, and explain -*u* as the same postposition which makes the difference between Lith. *tamim-pi* Skr. *tāsmīn* and Gr. *ὁ-τεμι*, and which is doubtless contained in Lith. *iž-n iž, szēn szē* (extended to *ižnai ižnais* etc.) beside *iž szē* (= Lett. *ie sche*).

§ 425. In *ā*-stems we find sometimes complete agreement with nouns, sometimes the genitive -*si-* or -*s-* before the case ending (§ 420). We begin with the latter kind.

1. The Ablative and Genitive had the same form from the Idg. period onwards, e. g. Skr. gen. abl. *tāsyās*, see § 420. Re-formations: Avest. *añhāp avañhāp yēñhād-a* (beside gen. *añhā* etc.), like *barentyāp haēnayaāp*, see § 242 p. 138.

Dative. Skr. *kāsyāi asyāi* Avest. *kahyāi añhāi āxyāi*, cp. Ved. *suṇapatyāi* § 247 p. 147. Goth. *þizāi izāi* like *gibāi*, but O.H.G. *deru dero iru iro* following *gebu gebo* with instr. ending, see § 276 pp. 178 f. Pruss. *stessiei stessiei* and (with -*ei-* from the gen. pl. *steison*) *steisiei steisei*, cp. gen. *steises* § 420 p. 343, O.Icel. dat. *þeiri* beside gen. *þeirar*.

Locative. Skr. *kāsyām asyām*, cp. *āśvāyām*; Avest. *kañhē añhē* with -*ē* = pr. Ar. -*īā* (I § 125 p. 115) and *ñh* from the gen.-abl. (*kañhā*), cp. Avest. *haēnaya* O.Pers. *arbirāyā* § 264 pp. 166 f. These pronoun cases were influenced by such forms as Skr. *bṛhatyām* Avest. *barentya : kāsyām kañhē : kāsyās kañhā* and *kāsyāi kahyāi = bṛhatyām barentya : bṛhatyās barentyā* and *bṛhatyāi barentyāi*. Goth. *þizāi* like *gibāi*.

Sanskrit. Re-formates: *amúṣyās amúṣyāi amúṣyām*.

2. Forms without -*si-* or -*s-*.

Ablative like the genitive, Gr. *τῆς* etc. In Italic, a re-formation in -*ād*: Lat. *istā(d) hā-c*, Umbr. *era-k* 'ea' Osc. *ekad* 'hac' *eiza-c* *eísa-k* 'ea', like Lat. *equā(d)* § 243 p. 139.

Dative. Gr. *τῇ* Dor. *τῃ* like *χωρά*. Lat. *istae illae* (beside *istī illī*) like *equae*; Umbr. -*e* Osc. -*aí* are not found. O.Ir. -*ind* for **sen-ti* like *tuath*. Lith. *taĩ* like *raĩkai*; Slav. *toji* beside *smiji rācé* has taken -*oj-* from the instr. *tojā*,

just as gen. *toje* is probably **ty* transformed in the same way (§ 420 p. 343).

the dative. Gr. Boeot. *taē*
at, see § 247 pp. 146 ff.,
viaí 'in via'. O.Ir. *issind*
 i. Lith. *toj-è* like *rañkoj-e*,
 ke dat. *toji*, see above. —
 was really, as our view
 with the masc.-neut. gen.
 the gen.-abl. to the dat.
**tesjāi* following **ekjāi*:
 ar way were made Lith.
mīnē in connexion with
mene (§ 445).

Dual.

culiar to the Dual were
 be, the same in Pronouns

n. *taí* was turned into a
 d was used the masc. *taí*;
 so Lith. dial. *dū* used for

ference of stem in masc.
 -m *vilka-m* and O.C.Sl.
 p. 201 f.; on the difference
ma, see § 298 p. 202.
 of stem in O.C.Sl. *toj-u*:
 ff.
 as well as masc., like *taí*,

ne and Feminine.

against -*ōs* in the nouns.
 ere, see § 186 pp. 60 f.
 .Pers. *imaiy*. Gr. *taí oi*.

Lat. *istī hī quī*. O.Ir. *ind* = **sen-ti*. Goth. *þái*, O.H.G. *dē dia die*; Norse Run. *þai-r* O.Icel. *þei-r* took their -*r* (= pr. Germ. -*z*) from the nouns. Lith. *tē* Pruss. *stai quai quoi* (see J. Schmidt, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 391), O.C.Sl. *tī*. In five branches of the Indo-Germanic parent stock, as we have seen in § 314 p. 214, this pronominal -*oī* has passed over to the noun system.

On the other hand, -*ōs* sometimes passed from nouns to pronouns. Osc. *pūs* Umbr. *pur-e pur-i* 'qui', Osc. *pútúrús-píd* 'utrique', Umbr. *eur-ont* 'iidem'. Also in Armen., *orē* 'which' *noē-a* 'they' *no-inē* 'the same', if Bugge is right in explaining the -*ē* as -*s*+*u* (see § 313 p. 212).

Remark. As regards Ir. *ē* (Cymr. -*wy* in *hwynt-wy*, Corn. Bret. *y*) Thurneysen holds it to be possible that the word is the masc. sing. *ē* (§ 414 pp. 335 f.), and that its use for the plural was due to the analogy of the interrogative. However, it must be considered whether there was not in Idg. a form **e-i* used for the plural. Seeing that -*o-i* and -*e-i* are both found in the nom. sing. (§ 414 p. 335), the same variation may be expected in the plural (compare **ue-i* 'we' § 441). Moreover, Pruss. gen. pl. *stei-son* seems to pre-suppose a nom. **stei*, for we are not justified in deriving its *ei* from an Idg. *oi* (see Braune, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr., VIII 95). As to the Irish plural variants *iat eat* and *siat seat*: in Old Irish these are found only in *olseat-som* 'say they' beside the singular *olse-som* 'says he', and similarly, we may conjecture, *cateet coteet* 'what are' beside sing. *cate cote* 'what is'. These have the ending of the 3rd. pl. of the verb (cp. Ital. *eglino*); later on, *iat siat* were detached and began an independent existence. See Zeuss-Ebel Gramm. Celt.* p. 372; Schuchardt, Zeitschr. rom. Phil., IV 153.

Nom. pl. *quēs* from *qui-s*, like *ovē-s*. Hence also *hēs heis* beside *hī*, which in their turn produced such plurals as *magistrēs*. See § 314 p. 214.

An obscure form is Skr. *amī*. Its -*ī* passed into the other cases of the plural, all except the accusative (*amūn*): thus *amī-śām -ṣu -bhyas -bhiṣ*.

ā-stems had -*ās*, like the nouns. Skr. *tās* Avest. *tā*. Osc. *pas pas* 'quae'. O.Ir. *inna* = **sen-tas*. Goth. *þōs*, O.H.G. *deo dio* (= Skr. *tyds*). Lith. *tōs*. O.C.Sl. *ty* acc. like *raky*. As regards Gr. *taī* Lat. *istae*, see § 315 p. 215.

Skr. *amāś*, following *imās*.

Nominative and Accusative Plural Neuter.

§ 428. *o*-stems have two endings, *-ā* and *-ai*, corresponding to *-ā* and *-ai* in the nom. sing. of *a*-stems (§ 414 p. 336). Examples of *-ā* (which is also found in nouns) are: Skr. Ved. *tā* Avest. *tā* (Skr. *tāni* Avest. *yān yān* and *yā* see § 338 p. 238), Gr. *tā* in *ἐνι-τῆδε-ς* (*τᾶ*, see p. 238), Lat. *ista*, *sī quā* Umbr. eu 'ea', O.Ir. *inna* for **sen-tā* (*-ā* possibly borrowed from *na* = **sna*, see p. 355 footnote), Goth. *þō* O.H.G. *dīu* (= Skr. Ved. *tyā*), O.C.Sl. *ta*. The following are examples of *-ai*: Lat. *quai quae*, *hai-ce hae-c*, *istae-c*. A.S. *ðā* O.Icel. *þē* and O.H.G. Up. G. *dei*, which is perhaps a shortened form of **dei-u*, itself a re-formate which has taken *-u* from *dīu* (but compare the dual *zwei* beside A.S. *twā* O.Sax. *twē* for **duōi*, § 293 p. 198). Lith. *tai* 'the, that' which has taken the place of the singular neuter **tā* = **to-d* (§ 417 p. 338), Pruss. *kai* 'what'. Others of the same kind would seem to be the adverbs Lith. *kai kai-p* 'how' Pruss. *kai-gi kai-gi* 'how' (this spelling does not justify our deriving the ending from orig. *-āi*, cp. *māim* instead of *maim* and like forms), and further Gr. *xai* and O.C.Sl. *čē*, which also meant originally 'how, as' (the Author, Gr. Gr.² § 35 Anm. p. 54, § 201 p. 223); also Lith. *szei-p* 'so' = *sziāi-p*, following which the language coined *teip* in place of *tai-p*.

This formation in *-ai* has not been proved for Aryan. (On the supposed Avestic nom. acc. pl. neut. *vāstrāi* in J. Schmidt's Pluralb. pp. 232 f., see Bartholomae, Stud. zur idg. Spr., I 75). Thus it would be possible to start from Idg. *-āi*; this being shortened to *-āi* in the European languages. But it is hardly permissible to separate this formation from the similar one in the nom. sing. fem.; and since for the latter *-āi* is proved by Aryan to be original, we must assume Idg. *-āi* for the other as well.

The *i*-stem **qi-* went along with the nouns. Avest. *cf.* Greek Meg. *σα* 'quae?' and enclitic Ion. *σαα* Att. *ττα* (see

I § 654 Rem. p. 501). Lat. adv. *quia* beside *quae quā* like masc. *quēs* beside *quī*. See § 339 p. 239.

Genitive Plural.

§ 429. The *o*-stem ending was pr. Idg. **-oi-sōm*, with a variant, as we may suggest, **-ei-sōm* (cp. Pruss. *steison* § 427 Rem. p. 353); on the quantity of the vowel in the final syllable, cp. § 344 pp. 244 f. *-oi* and *ei*, which precede the ending *-sōm*, were the endings of the nom. pl. masc. Skr. *tēśām* *ēśām* Avest. *aē-taēśām* *aēśām*, Avest. *avaēśām* O.Pers. *avaīśām*; with the isolated Avest. *aē-tarəhām*, influenced by the gen. sing. *aē-tahe*, as Goth. *þizē* instead of **þāizē* has been influenced by *þis*. A.S. *ðara* O.Icel. *þeira*; Goth. gives *þizē*, but the diphthong remains in *blindāizē* which was modelled on the now lost **þāizē* (§ 406 p. 321), O.H.G. *dero*. Pruss. *steison*, O.C.Sl. *těchŭ*; Lithuanian once had this formation, as we may assume from *mūsū jūsū*, see § 456.

On O.Ir. *ai ae* and *ā n- a n-* see p. 339 footnote.

With the noun ending. Avest. *kām*. Gr. *τῶν*. Lat. *eum*, Umbr. *erom* *ero* 'eorum' from the stem *ero-*: and Lat. *eōrum* *istōrum* etc. must be placed in the same class, because the ending *-ōrum* (common to nouns and pronouns) was coined to match with *-ārum* at a time when *-ārum* was the ending of nouns and pronouns alike, see § 345 p. 247. O.Ir. *inna n-* doubtless for **sen-tān* = **tōm*, beside *fer n-*.¹⁾ Lith. *tū*.

The Idg. *a*-stem ending was **-ā-sōm*. Skr. *tāsām* *āsām* Avest. *dāhām*; on this analogy, Skr. *amāśām*.

1) Thurneysen writes: "I should prefer to derive the gen. pl. maso. and neut. *inna n-* from **dān* for **tōm*, cp. acc. pl. maso. *inna* from **dās* for **tōs*. For the pronouns it is necessary to assume that accented and unaccented forms have become confused; and I imagine that in the pre-tonic **sen-do-*, the rather strong secondary accent was conditioned by the ending which the word once had. If the ending consisted of long vowel + consonant, it was rather more strongly accented; otherwise the stronger accent fell upon the first element of the word; cp. the Spanish article, sing. *el*, but pl. *los*. It is also possible that the neut. pl. comes from *na* (= **sna*) by analogy".

Gr. Hom. *τᾶων* Att. *τῶν* Dor. *τᾶν*. Lat. *istārum*, Osc. *eizazun-c* 'earum'. In Germanic and Slavonic the forms have been influenced by the masc.-neut.: A.S. *ðara* O.Icel. *þeira*; Goth. *þizō* first for **þáizō* following *þizōs* (but *blindðizō* has not been changed) like masc. *þizē* following *þis* (but *blindáizē*), similarly O.H.G. *dero* like sing. *dera*; O.C.Sl. *těchŭ*; cp. Att. *τῶντων* fem. as well as masc., but Dor. *ταυτᾶν*, § 346 p. 248.

We see that in the classical languages nouns have borrowed the pronominal ending (§ 346 p. 248). The reverse process gives us pronouns with the noun ending in Avestic *kaṃ* like *vanam*, Old Irish *inna n-* like masc. *inna n-* (of course the fem. form might also be explained as coming from **-asōm*), and Lithuanian *tū* like *rañkū*.

The *i*-stem **qi-*: Lat. *quium*, like *ovium*, beside *quōrum*.

Locative, Dative-Ablative, and Instrumental Plural.

§ 430. The Suffixes were the same as in the Nouns.

The ending *-o-i* in the nom. plural masc. of pronouns seems to shew that the ending of the Locative of *o*-stems, *-oi-s* (*-su -si*), Skr. *těṣu* etc., was once in the parent language confined to pronouns, whence it passed into the noun system; see § 186 pp. 60 f., § 357 p. 260. Armen. *oro-ç no-ç-a*, with *-o-* instead of *-oi-*, following *gailo-ç*, see *l. c.*

Skr. *tā-su* from fem. **tā-* like *āśvā-su* etc. But in Slavonic the form of the masc.-neut., *těchŭ*, did duty for the fem. as well, just as happened in the gen. pl. (§ 429).

Gr. *τι-σι* is either related to *τι-ς* as *ὅφι-σι* to *ὅφι-ς*, or else it was coined in connexion with *τίν-τις* to pair with *τέκτον-ες*: *τέκτο-σι* etc. (cp. § 361 p. 263, on *καί*).

§ 431. In the Dative-Ablative there seems to have been a difference between noun stems and pronouns before the first separation of the Indo-Germanic peoples. The *o*-stems if pronouns had *-oi-* (Pruss. shows *-ei-*, as in *stei-son*, § 429), and if nouns, had *-o-*. This distinction was kept in Balto-Slavonic, and possibly in Germanic (that is to say, if Germ. *-m*

is something more than a mere instrumental suffix, see § 367 pp. 267 f.). Skr. *tē-bhyas* Avest. *taēibyō*, whence *vfkē-bhyas* *vehrkaēibyō*. Lat. *hī-bus*, *ī-bus* = Skr. *ē-bhyās*. On the above supposition, we should add Goth. *þái-m* O.H.G. *dē-m*, beside *vulfa-m* *wolfum*. Lith. *tē-ms* O.C.Sl. *tē-mū*, beside *vilká-ms* *vlūko-mū*, Pruss. *s-tei-mans* beside *waika-mmans* 'to the boys, or retainers'. Compare § 368 p. 269.

Skr. *tā-bhyas* Avest. *avā-byō*, Lat. *ea-bus*, Lith. *tó-ms* like Skr. *āśvā-bhyas* Avest. *haēnā-byō* Lat. *equā-bus*, Lith. *rañko-ms*. But the masc.-neut. Goth. *þái-m* O.H.G. *dē-m* and O.C.Sl. *tē-mū* were used for the fem. as well.

Lat. *quī-bus* like *ovī-bus*, Goth. O.H.G. *i-m* like *ansti-m* *ensti-m*.

§ 432. In the Instrumental of *o*-stems there are two distinct suffixes, as was the case with nouns.

1. The ending *-ōis* in exact agreement with the nouns: Skr. *taīṣ* Avest. *taīš*, Gr. *roīs*, Lat. *hīs* *eīs* *oloēs* ('illis') Umbr. *esis-co* 'cum eis' Osc. *eizois* 'eis', Lith. *taīs*. Compare § 380 p. 275.

2. The Suffixes *-bhī(s)* *-mū(s)*, originally preceded, as in the dat.-abl., by *-oi-* in pronouns and *-o-* in nouns. The distinction was kept in Germanic. Skr. Ved. *tē-bhiṣ* Ved. class. *ē-bhīṣ*, Avest. *aēibiṣ*, whence Skr. Ved. *vfkē-bhiṣ* Avest. *vehrkaēibiṣ* O.Pers. *martiyai-biṣ*. Goth. *þái-m* O.H.G. *dē-m* A.S. *ðē-m* beside Goth. *vulfa-m* etc., just as in the instr. sing. A.S. *ðēm* O.Icel. *þeim* beside A.S. *miolcum* O.Icel. at *hofdum* (§ 282 p. 188, § 421 p. 344). O.C.Sl. *tē-mi*. *-oi-* has given place to the *-o-* of the nouns in Armen. *oro-vk* cp. *gailo-vk* (as in the instr. sing. *orov* : *gailo-v*, § 281 p. 186, § 421 p. 344), Gr. *avró-qi* cp. *θεό-qi*, O.Ir. *cosnaib* 'with the, or those' i. e. **con sen-tobis*, cp. *feraiḃ*.¹⁾ — *ā*-stems: Skr. *tā-bhiṣ* *ā-bhīṣ*, Avest. *ā-bīṣ*,

1) The form *ib ib*, given by Stokes in the paradigm of *ē* (Celt. Decl. 105), does not exist. Stokes has taken the ending of Mid.Ir. *donafib* *dona hīb* to be an independent word. The origin of this, as Thurneysen informs me, is as follows. In Middle Irish, the component parts of O.Ir. *donaib-(h)i* — *-(h)i* is a particle — became so completely one, that the

O.Ir. *cosnaib*, Lith. *to-mis* as with nouns. Masc. form used for fem.: Goth. *þái-m* O.H.G. *dē-m*, O.C.Sl. *tě-mi*. — Goth. O.H.G. *i-m* like *ansti-m ensti-m*.

[Tables of Pronoun Declension to illustrate §§ 412–432 are given below, pp. 360–363.]

Personal Pronouns which do not distinguish Gender,
with their Possessives.¹⁾

§ 433. As in the Pronouns which distinguish masculine and feminine, so here, a single paradigm includes forms from

dative ending could be added to its final *-i*: hence *donafi-b*, or by the usual substitution of *dona h-* for O.Ir. *donaiþ*, *dona hīb*. Thus *ib* has about as much right to an independent existence as *dean* in Greek *τοιαδεαν*.

1) To the references given in the footnote to page 322 add the following:

Schasler, De origine et formatione pronominum personalium etc. 1846. Scherer, Zur Gesch. d. deutsch. Spr.² 333 ff. L. Ceci, Il pronome personale senza distinzione di genere nel sanscrito, nel greco e nel latino, Giornale di filol. e ling., 1886, pp. 3 ff., 83 ff., 164 ff., 193 ff. J. Baunack, Remarques sur les formes du pron. personel dans les langues ar., en grec et en latin, Mém. Soc. ling. V 1 ff. Torp, Beiträge zur Lehre von den geschlechtlosen Pron. in den idg. Spr., Christiania 1888. Wackernagel, Über einige enklit. Nebenformen der Personalpron. Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIV 592 ff. The Author, Zur Bildung des gen. sing. der Personalpron., *ibid.* XXVII 397 ff.

Fr. Müller, Das Personalpron. in den modernen eran. Spr., 1864.

Dronke, Beiträge zur Lehre vom griech. Pronomen aus Apoll. Dysk., Rhein. Mus. IX 107 ff. Cauer, Quaestiones de pronominum personalium formis et usu Homericis, Curtius' Stud. VII 101 ff. Schmolling, Über den Gebrauch einiger Pronomina auf att. Inschriften, 1882 and 1885. Wackernagel, Zum [griech.] Pronomen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVIII 138 ff. J. Baunack, De Graecis pronominebus possessivis eorumque ablativo genetivi loco usurpato, Curtius' Stud. X 63 ff. Miklosich, Über den reflexiven Gebrauch des Pronomens *οἱ* und der damit zusammenhängenden Formen für alle Personen, Sitzungsber. d. Wien. Ak. 1848, pp. 119 ff. The Author, Ein Problem der hom. Textkritik und der vergleich. Sprachwissenschaft (Reflexivpronomina), 1876. Rappold, Das Reflexivpron. bei Aesch., Soph. und Eur., 1873. Wackernagel, Zum att. Reflexivpronomen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 279 ff.

Curtius, [Lat.] *med*, *ted*, *seil*, Stud. VI 417 ff. Buchholtz, Zum lat. Possessivpronomen, Philologus XXXVII 318 ff. F. d'Ovidio, Sui pronomi personali e possessivi neolatini, Archivio glottolog. IX 25 ff.

stems etymologically distinct; e. g. Skr. nom. *vayám* 'we' acc. *asmán* 'us'.

With this class of personal pronouns, far more commonly than elsewhere, we find forms having no recognisable case-suffix used with the meaning of some special case, e. g. Gr. *ἐμέ* *μέ* used as an accusative; and forms which combine the meanings of more than one case, as **mo-ĭ* **me-ĭ* (Skr. *mē mē*, and so forth), which can express the meaning of locative, dative, or genitive. This poverty of inflexions shows that this class of pronouns keeps up the usage of a high antiquity. But when the languages had started each on its separate course, all manner of inflexional distinctions were made anew in this group of pronouns, and it was more closely assimilated to the other pronouns and the nouns. Thus the form of these pronouns was run into the mould sometimes of a masculine case-form, sometimes of a feminine, but at the same time no special gender was implied in the re-modelled words.¹⁾ Examples are (1) where the case-ending is masculine: Skr. acc. *asmán* following *tán*, *áśvān* (§ 443.2), Gr. gen. *ἐμε-ῖο* following *το-ῖο* *ἱππο-ῖο* (§ 450); (2) where it is feminine: Skr. loc. *asmā-su* following *tā-su*, *áśvā-su* (§ 448), O.C.Sl. instr. *mŭnoja* following *toja*, *raċoja* (§ 449).

It is certain that in several cases the pronouns *we* and *you* had a singular ending (not, however, as we may conjecture, without expressing the plural by some sign; see § 436, with Rem. 2). But in the end their collective meaning, and their frequent use in apposition or predication with forms having a plural inflexion, caused them to take a plural ending themselves;

Gaidoz, Des pronoms infixes, *Revue Celt.* VI 86 ff., VII 81.

Bugge, Die Formen der geschlechtslosen persönlichen Pronomina in den germ. Spr., *Kuhn's Zeitschr.* IV 241 ff.

Brückner, *Arch. für slav. Phil.* IV 1 ff.

1) No confidence can be placed in the unique Skr. Ved. fem. *yuṣmāḥ* instead of *yuṣmán* in Vāj.-Śaḥ. 1. 13 and 11. 47. See Delbrück, *Synt. Forsch.* V 204.

a noun system in one of the separate branches of the language. For want of room these tables do not include the cases (cf. § 426 p. 352).

1. o-Stems.

Appendix 2

	Pr. Idg.	Sanskrit	Avestic	Armenian	Greek	Latin
Sing. nom.	*so *sō: *qo-s: *qo-i *qe-i:	sá sã ká-s ay (-ám)	aē-ša hāu kō aem = ay(-em)	} or	ὁ ὁ-ς ὁδ-εῖν (?)	ip-se ip-su-s quī
acc.	*to-m: n. *to-d:	tā-m tā-d	aē-te-m ta-ḥ	[z or]	τόν τό	is-tu-m is-tu-d
gen.	*to-siō *te-siō (and *te-so ?): *to-i *te-i:	tā-sya ep. mē	aē-tahe ca- hyā ep. mē	oroy	τοιο τοῦ, τίο Thess. τοῖ	istī-modī is- tūs
instr.	*qe-na *qo-na: *toi-mi: *tē *tō:	kēna sanē-mi	kana tā	†oro-v	(ep. ἱ-ρα) πῶ, πῆ-ποκα	quō
abl.	*tōd: *tesmōd *te- smēd:	tād tāsmād	āḥ aē-tahmāḥ	y ormē	ὦ 'unde'	is-tō
dat.	*tesmōi *te- smē(i): *tōi ?:	tāsmāi	aē-tahmāi	orum	τοῖ τῷ	is-tī is-tō
loc.	*tesmi *tesmin, *tesme: *te *tē ?: *toi *teī	tāsmīn	aē-tahmi	orum	(ep. δ-τιμ) τῇ adv. ποῖ πῆ	ce in ce-do hī-c
Plur. nom.	*toi, and *-e-i ?:	tē	tē tōi	†orē	τοί	is-tī
acc.	*to-nš (*tōns ?): n. *tā: n. *tai:	tāṣ tān tā, tāni	tan ta, yaṇ	z ors	τόνς τοῦς τά ep. καί	is-tōs is-ta quā quae
gen.	*toi-sōm (*teī- sōm):	tē-šām	aē-taēšām, †kām	†oroç	†τοῖν	†eum, istōrns
loc.	*toi-s -su -si:	tē-ṣu	aē-taēšū	†oroç	τοῖς τοῖσι	is-tīs (?)
dat.-abl.	*toi-bh- -m- (*teī-bh- -m-):	tē-bhyas	taēibyō	†dat. oroç, abl. y oroç	[toi; τοῖσι]	hī-bus ī-bus, [is'is]
instr.	*tōis: *toi-bhī(s)-mī(s):	tāiṣ tē-bhiṣ	tāiṣ aēibiṣ	†oro-vē	τοῖς [τοῖσι] †αὐτό-φι	is-tīs

Forms later than the protoethnic period, which have only their use to justify the place which they fill in the paradigm, are enclosed in square brackets []. Spaced type denotes that the form contains an ending which may be considered as directly representing the idg. form. A dagger † is prefixed to such forms as have passed from the pronomia

Umbr.-Samn.	Irish	Gothic	O.H.G.	Lith.	Pruss.	O.C.Sl.
Umbr. <i>e-re</i>	<i>ne-ch</i>	<i>sa</i>				
Osc. <i>poi</i>	<i>cia, ē</i> (?)	<i>hva-s</i> <i>sdi</i>	<i>hwe-r</i> <i>ihē A. S. sē</i>	<i>kā-s</i>	<i>ka-s</i>	[<i>kū-to</i>]
Osc. <i>ion-c</i>	<i>in n-</i>	<i>pan-a</i>	<i>dē-n</i>	<i>tā</i>	<i>s-ta-n</i>	<i>tū</i>
Osc. <i>po-d</i> Umbr. <i>es-te</i>		<i>pat-a</i>	<i>da-z</i>	<i>qēra</i> [<i>taī</i>]	<i>s-ta</i>	<i>to</i>
	<i>ai ae</i>	<i>pis</i>	<i>des</i>	[<i>tō</i>]	<i>s-te-ssei</i>	<i>togo, če-so</i>
Osc. <i>eizeis</i>	<i>ind</i>					op. <i>mi</i>
Umbr. <i>sei-po-</i> <i>druh-pei</i>	<i>neuch</i>	<i>pē</i>	A. S. <i>ðæ-m</i> <i>diu</i>	<i>tū</i>	<i>maim</i> (?) <i>s-tu</i>	<i>tē-mī</i>
Osc. <i>eīsúd</i>		<i>pamma</i>	<i>demu</i>	<i>tō</i>		<i>togo</i>
Umbr. <i>e-smei</i> , Osc. <i>altrei</i>		<i>pamma</i>	[<i>demu</i>]	<i>ámui</i>	<i>s-te smu</i>	<i>tomu</i>
	[<i>neuch</i>]					
Osc. <i>ce(-bnust)</i> Osc. <i>efsef</i>		<i>pei</i>		<i>tamim-pi ta-</i> <i>mi, tamē</i> <i>tē</i>		<i>tomī</i> <i>te</i>
Osc. <i>†pús</i>	<i>ind, ē</i>	<i>pái</i>	<i>dē dia</i>	<i>tē</i>	<i>s-tai</i>	<i>ti</i>
Umbr. <i>eo</i>	<i>inna</i>	<i>pans</i>	[<i>dē dia</i>]	<i>tūs tūs</i>	<i>s-tans</i>	<i>ty</i>
Umbr. <i>eu</i>	<i>inna</i>	<i>pō</i>	<i>diu</i> A. S. <i>ðā</i>	<i>taī</i>	<i>kai</i>	<i>ta</i> op. <i>cē</i>
Umbr. <i>ferom</i>	<i>ai ae, a n-</i> <i>†inna n-</i>	<i>pizē</i>	<i>dero</i> , op. A. S. <i>ðāra</i>	<i>†tū</i>	<i>s-teison</i>	<i>tē-chū</i>
Osc. <i>eizois</i> (?)		[<i>páim</i>]	[<i>dēm</i> A. S. <i>ðēm</i>]	<i>ūsū tūsē</i>		<i>tē-chū</i>
		<i>pái-m</i> (?)	<i>dē-m</i> A. S. <i>ðē-</i> <i>-m</i> (?)	<i>tē-ms</i>	<i>s-teimans</i>	<i>tē-mū</i>
Osc. <i>eizois</i>	<i>†cosnaib</i>	<i>pái-m</i>	<i>dē-m</i> A. S. <i>ðē-m</i>	<i>taīs</i>		<i>tē-mi</i>

to the noun system in one of the separate branches of the language. For want of room these tables do not include the Dual cases (cf. § 426 p. 352).

2. *a*-Stems.

	Pr. Idg.	Sanskrit	Avestic	Greek	Latin
Sing. nom.	* <i>sā</i> * <i>qai̯</i> :	<i>sā</i>	<i>hā</i> <i>ḥwōi xwae-</i>	<i>ῥ</i> , Dor. <i>ā</i>	<i>ip-sa</i> <i>quae</i>
acc.	* <i>tā-m</i> :	<i>tā-m</i>	<i>tqm</i>	<i>τῖ-v</i> , Dor. <i>τα-v</i>	<i>ista-m</i>
gen.	* <i>toi̯ās</i> * <i>tesīās</i> :	<i>tās yās</i>	<i>aεtañhā</i>	† <i>τῆς</i> , Dor. <i>τᾶς</i>	<i>istius</i> , † <i>istae</i>
abl.	* <i>toi̯ās</i> * <i>tesīās</i> :	<i>tās yās</i>	<i>añhāḥ</i>	† <i>τῆς</i> , Dor. <i>τᾶς</i>	† <i>istā(d)</i>
dat.	* <i>toi̯āi̯</i> * <i>tesīāi̯</i> : Also * <i>tāi̯?</i> :	<i>tās yāi</i>	<i>kahyāi</i>	<i>τῇ</i> , Dor. <i>τῇ</i>	<i>istae</i>
loc.	* <i>toi̯āi̯</i> * <i>tesīāi̯</i> : Also * <i>tāi̯?</i> :	<i>tās yām</i>	<i>kañhe</i>	Boeot. <i>ταῖ τῇ</i>	
instr.	* <i>tai̯ā</i> : Also * <i>tā?</i> :	<i>tā yā</i> <i>tyā (?)</i>	<i>aε-taya</i> <i>yā (?)</i>	<i>ῥ</i> , Dor. <i>ταυτᾶ</i>	<i>hā-c</i>
Plur. nom.	* <i>tās</i> :	<i>tās</i>	<i>tā</i>	[<i>ταί</i>]	[<i>istae</i>]
acc.	* <i>tās</i> :	<i>tās</i>	<i>tā</i>	<i>ταῖς</i> <i>ταῖς</i>	<i>is-tās</i>
gen.	* <i>tā-sōm</i> :	<i>tā-sām</i>	<i>ān hqm</i> , † <i>tkqm</i>	<i>τᾶων</i> <i>τῶν</i> <i>τᾶν</i>	<i>is-tārum</i>
loc.	* <i>tā-s -su -si</i> :	<i>tā-su</i>	<i>ā-hū</i>	<i>τῇσι</i> , <i>ταῖσι</i> , <i>ταῖς</i>	[<i>ēā-bus</i>]
dat.-abl.	* <i>tā-bh- -m</i> :	<i>tā-bhyas</i>	<i>arā-byō</i>	[<i>τῇσι</i> , <i>ταῖσι</i> , <i>ταῖς</i>]	<i>ēā-bus</i>
instr.	* <i>tā-bhī(s) -mī(s)</i> :	<i>tā-bhīś</i>	<i>ā-bīś</i>	<i>ταῖς</i> [<i>τῇσι</i> , <i>ταῖσι</i>]	[<i>ēābus</i>]

Umbr.-Samn.	Irish	Gothic	O.H.G.	Lith.	O.C.S.
Osc. <i>io-c</i> Osc. <i>pae paf</i>	<i>ind</i>	<i>sō</i>	<i>diu</i>	<i>tā</i> Pruss. <i>quai</i>	<i>ta</i>
Osc. <i>paam</i>	<i>in n-</i>	<i>pō</i>	<i>deu dia</i>	<i>tā</i>	<i>tq</i>
	<i>ai ei, tinnu</i>	<i>pizōs</i>	<i>dera, A.S. ðære</i>	<i>tōs, cp. Pruss. s-tessias</i>	<i>toje</i>
Osc. <i>teiza-c</i>				<i>tōs</i>	<i>toje</i>
	<i>-ind</i>	<i>pizdi</i>	<i>deru dero</i>	Pruss. <i>s-tessiei</i> Lith. <i>taĩ</i>	<i>toji</i>
Osc. <i>e]isaf</i>	<i>issind</i>	<i>pizdi</i>	<i>deru dero</i>	<i>toj-ē</i>	<i>toji</i>
		<i>[pizdi]</i>	<i>deru dero</i>	O.Lith. <i>taja</i> <i>tā</i>	<i>toja</i>
Osc. <i>pas</i>	<i>inna</i>	<i>pōs</i>	<i>deo dio</i>	<i>tōs</i>	<i>[ty]</i>
Osc. <i>ekass</i>	<i>inna</i>	<i>pōs</i>	<i>deo dio</i>	<i>tās tās</i>	<i>ty</i>
Osc. <i>eizazun-c</i>	<i>tinna -n</i>	<i>pizō</i>	<i>dero</i>	<i>tā</i>	<i>tē-chū</i>
		<i>[pāim]</i>	<i>[dēm]</i>	<i>tō-su -sē</i>	<i>tē-chū</i>
		<i>pāi-m (p)</i>	<i>dē-m (p)</i>	<i>tō-ms</i>	<i>tē-mū</i>
	<i>cosn aib</i>	<i>pāi-m</i>	<i>dē-m</i>	<i>tō-m̃s</i>	<i>tē-mi</i>

e. g. in Ion.-Att. *ἡμέας* takes the place of **ἡμε* = Lesb. *ἄμμε* (cp. *ἱμε*).

By the pluralised ending, the forms of *we* and *you* were carried away from those of *I* and *thou*; but the two pairs were brought in touch again by the action of analogy. For example, **tā* 'thou', has influenced *duḵ* 'you' in Armenian, and *tumhe* 'you' in Pali (compare Ved. *yuṣmē*). See § 437.

In the parent language, these pronouns had few points of contact with the other pronouns or the nouns, and formed a little world by themselves. Thus their history is more instructive than that of other classes of words, if we wish to observe the working of association, and the kaleidoscopic changes which its influence produces. This will be clear even in spite of the cut and dried form of presentment made necessary by the plan of the present work, in which the historical method, that is, the true scientific method, has to give place to lists and catalogues with little more than hints to explain them.

1. Etymology of the Pronouns; the Formation of the Stem.

§ 434. The pronoun *I* shows the following forms.

1. Nom. **egh-* and **eġ-* (for the variants *ġh* : *ġ* see I § 469. 8 pp. 346 f.). Skr. *ahám* Avest. *azem*. Armen. *es* is obscure; we cannot say whether it should be derived from **egh-* or **eġ-*.¹⁾

1) From **egh-* one would have expected **ez*, cp. *lizum*: Skr. *lēhmi* I § 410 p. 301. **ez* may have become *es* before a breathed initial in the following word; but certainly we have to face the question why this sandhi-form has become universal in this particular word, and not in *Rez*, for example. Idg. **eġ-* one would expect to become **ec* to begin with (I § 409 p. 301). But there may have been *s* as well as *c* in Armenian, as we find *z* beside *j* = *ġh*, a point which needs closer investigation (cp. Von Fierlinger, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 479). Anyhow the laws of Armenian which touch this matter must be more exactly worked out before it is safe to venture on taking the step which Bartholomae takes. He derives *es* from an Idg. **ek*, which he believes to be the form assumed by **eġ* at the end of a sentence (Bezz. Beitr. XIII 54). I do not believe

Gr. *ἐγώ*. Lat. *ego*. Goth. *ik* O.H.G. *ihha* from **eġ-*, but Norse Run. *'ga* (*'za*) beside *'ka* from **eġh-*; in West-Germ. also **ik* (A.S. *ic* Mod.H.G. Frank. *aich*), which is incomprehensible unless it be a mere lengthening on the analogy of **pā*. O.Lith. *esz* Mod.Lith. *asz* Lett. *es* Pruss. *es as*, with the sibilant changed from voiced to breathed at the end of a sentence and before a breathed initial in the following word (it must be mentioned in this connexion that Pruss. *s* represents the sounds *s* and *z* both); the reason why *e-* became *a-* in Mod.Lith. *asz* Pruss. *as* is obscure. O.C.Sl. *azŭ jazŭ* Mod.Slov. *ja* point to an older **ězŭ* (I § 76 p. 66): here *e* has been lengthened on the analogy of *y* in *ty*, as the vowel of West-Germ. **ik* was lengthened by association with **pā*.

The consonant of **eġh-* is found again in the dat. Skr. *māhyam*, Lat. *mihi* Umbr. *mehe*, Armen. *inj* (for **emeġh-*). The forms appear to have been made up thus: *e*+*ġh-* and *me*+*ġh-* (*eme*+*ġh-*). But perhaps the dative once began with **eġh-*, and its initial was afterwards changed on the analogy of the other oblique cases.

2. **eme-* **emo-*, **me-* **mo-*. It cannot be determined whether **eme-* was the original form, and **me-* is an ablaut weakening of it (cp. **teye-* **teyo-*: **tye-* **tyo-*, § 435); or whether **eme-* is a combination of the pronominal stems *e-* and *me-* (cp. Gr. *ἐ-κεῖ* Lat. *e-quidem* and the like, § 409 pp. 327 ff., and what is said on **eġh-* above, subdivision 1). Skr. *mē* Avest. *mē* O.Pers. *maiy*; gen. Skr. *māma* perhaps instead of **ama*, see § 450. Armen. gen. *im* for **eme*; **me-* in *mek* 'we' (§ 437.1, a). Gr. *ἐμοί* and *μοί*. Lat. *mī*. O.Ir. *mē*. Goth. *mi-k* O.H.G. *mi-h*. Lith. *manž*, O.C.Sl. *mę*.

§ 435. The pronoun *thou* shows the following stems, all closely connected together:

that any such form for the nominative of this pronoun, without any vowel following the palatal stop, can be proved for the parent language; see § 439.

1. **teye- *teyo-*. Skr. *tāva* Avest. *tava*. Gr. *τεῖν τεό-ς*. Lat. *toro-s tuo-s*. O.Ir. *do-* Mid.Cym. *teu*. Lith. *tapè tāva-s*.

2. **tye- *tyo-*. Skr. *tvām* Avest. *ṭwam* O.Pers. *ṭwām*. Armen. *Rez Ro* (I § 360 p. 276). Gr. *σέ σοί*. Pruss. *twais* O.C.Sl. *twojŕ*.

3. **te- *to-*. Skr. *tē* Avest. *tē* O.Pers. *taiy*. Gr. *τοί*. Lat. *tē tibi*. O.Ir. *uait* 'from thee' for **ua ti* (or for **ua tui?*). Goth. *þeina*, O.H.G. *di-h*. O.Lith. *ti* Pruss. *tebbei*, O.C.Sl. *ti tebě*.

4. **tu *tū*, nom. and acc., Skr. *tuv(-ām)* Gr. *σύ* etc., see §§ 440, 442.

Similar variants are found of the reflexive stem, § 438: **seye-*, **sye-*, **se-*, but there is no **sā-* among the cases to be parallel to **tā* (Torp, Beitr. zur Lehre von den geschl. Pr. 14, conjectures that this grade of the stem is the prefix Skr. *su-* etc. 'good', but it is more likely that *su-* contains the suffix *-u-* of *ῥδ-ύ-* and the like). There is an ablaut-connexion between **teye- *seye- : *tye- *sye- : *tā*. But the relation of **te- *se-* to these forms is doubtful.

Remark. In view of doublets like *fεξ fē* = **afεξ* and Latin *ser* (§ 170 p. 16, above), it might be assumed that *ε* was dropped by **tye- *sye-* in the parent language when these stems were used in the neighbourhood of some particular sound or sounds in a sentence. Whether this happened to them when used as enclitics, as I have followed Wackernagel in assuming above (vol. I § 187 p. 162) is doubtful. Torp's objection (*op. cit.*, p. 10) that there is no *ε* in Avest. *taibya*, which is accented, but that *ε* is found in Skr. *tvā* *ε*, which is not, is easily met by assuming that the original relations were upset by analogy; besides, it is possible that the form Skr. *tvā* came to be used without the accent at some period when the law under which *ε* dropped was no longer effective. Torp (pp. 5, 9, 12) and Johansson (Bezz. Beitr. XV 313 f., XVI 163) think that **teue* and **seye*, which were weakened by some ablaut process to **tye sye *tu *su*, were compounds consisting of **te *se* + **ye* (Torp identifies **ye* with the stem of Skr. *vas* Lat. *vās*, just as he connects **-ne* in the gen. O.C.Sl. *me-ne* Avest. *ma-na* with Skr. *nas* Lat. *nās*); and that these unextended ground-forms are still forthcoming in Skr. *tē* Prākṛ. *sē* etc., as representing **te- *to- *se- *so-*. This view would be supported by Gr. *σ-γι'*, if it could be proved that its *σ-* is an ablaut-grade of the *se-* in O.C.Sl. *se-bē* Lat. *si-bī* etc.; but this is hardly likely ever to be proved.

§ 436. The pronoun *we* shows the following stems:

1. **ye-* **yo-*. Skr. *vay-ám*, Avest. *vaem*. Goth. *veis* O.H.G. *wir*. Also in the dual: Goth. *vi-t*, Lith. *vè-du*, O.C.Sl. *vě*.

2. **ne-* **no-*, **ne-s-* **no-s-*; the *s* is probably the same as the sign of the plural found in nouns, since it only appears in the plural of the pronoun (and of **ye-s-* **yo-s-* 'you') and never in the dual. Skr. *nas*, Avest. *nō*. Lat. *nōs*. O.Ir. *ní*; on *sni* see Rem. 2, below. Goth. *uns* = **ps*. O.C.Sl. *nasŭ*. Also in the dual: Skr. *nāu*, Gr. *νῶι*, O.Ir. *nāthar*, Goth. *ugk* = **q-ke* (cp. *mi-k*), O.C.Sl. *na*; the *a-* of Skr. *avám* may come from **q̄*, and its *-vam* may have been borrowed from *yuvám* = *yū + am*, see § 457.

Further, we have **ps-me*, or rather **ps-sme* (cp. Rem. 2), which contains the same particle which we noticed in Skr. *tá-smād* etc., § 424 p. 349. Skr. *asmdn* Avest. *ahma*, Gr. Lesb. *ἄμμε* Att. *ἡμᾶς*.

The pronoun *you* shows the following stems:

1. **ju-*. Skr. *yūyám*, Avest. *yūš*. Armen. *jez* with *e* on the analogy of *mez* 'nobis'. Goth. *jūs*. Lith. *jūs*. Also in the dual: Skr. *yuvám*, Goth. **ju-t* (§ 457 p. 397), Lith. *jū-du*.

2. **ye-* **yo-* and **ye-s-* **yo-s-* (cp. **ne-s-* **no-s-* above). Skr. *vas*, Avest. *vō*. Lat. *vōs*. Pruss. *wans*, O.C.Sl. *vy vasŭ*. Also in the dual: Skr. *vām*, O.C.Sl. *va*.

Thurneysen is doubtless right in assuming **usme*, **us-sme* (cp. Rem. 2) parallel to **psme*, **ps-sme* in the first person (Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 175). Hence come Lesb. *ῥμμε* Att. *ῥμᾶς*, also Skr. *yūšmdn* Avest. *yūšmai-bya*, which have taken *y-* from being associated with the nom. Skr. *yūyám* Avest. *yūš* (cp. O.Dan. *vos(s)* beside *os(s)* 'us' following the nom. *vī* 'we').

Remark 1. Since Avest. *yūšma-* is always written with *ū*, perhaps more weight should be given to the fact that the vowel is written long here than in other instances: *ū* was borrowed from the nom. *yūš yūžem*. The relation of the variant *xšma-* to *yūšma* is obscure (cp. Bartholomae, Ar. Forsch. III 19 f.).

Remark 2. There is more to be said for taking **ps-sme* and **us-sme* than for taking **q-sme* and **u-sme* to be the ground-forms; for

Skr. *tásmín* and the like (§§ 423 f. pp. 346 ff.) prove that *-sme* implied no particular number, and the forms of **ne-* and **ye-* which are not compounded with it seem to have once had *-s*, the plural sign, added to them in all other instances when they were not dual but plural. It is therefore incorrect to say that forms like Avest. *ahma* Lesb. *ἄμμε* had no plural sign; they did have one, but it came before *-sme*, and the acc. **usme* was simply **us* = Goth. acc. *uns* + a particle **sme*. Compare what is said above on deriving Lith. *tamė* from an Idg. loc. **te-sme* (§ 424 p. 350).

3. There may have been a close connexion in origin between Gr. dual *σ-φῶ* 'you two', O.Ir. *si* (*-b* in old enclitic position) = Cymr. *chwi* for **s-yes*, and Goth. *iz-vis*. They all have *s*, which seems to represent another distinct stem.

Remark 3. In O.Icel. *yðr yðvar*, *ð* has taken the place of *z* (*ʀ*): one of the two *ʀ*'s in **iʀvik* **iʀvaʀ* became *ð* by dissimilation, as in *fredinn* instead of *frerinn* and the like (see Bugge, Kuhn's Ztschr. IV 252). From these words we get a Goth.-Norse **izyi-*, which may have been a transformation of **s-yi-* **s-ye-* on the analogy of **iyi-*, which is found in West-Germanic, and forms a constant variant of **iu-* (Lith. *jūs*). But another view is far more probable. Protoethnic Germanic had the doublets **ye(s)* and **s-ye(s)*. To both was prefixed the particle *e*, seen in Gr. *ἡ-ραϊ*, Skr. *a-dyd* 'to-day' *a-sāu* 'that yonder', Lat. *e-guidem* Umbr. *e-tantu* 'tanta' and like words (§ 409 pp. 322 ff.), and perhaps in Lat. *e-nōs* in the Song of the Arval Brethren (cp. § 437. 1, α). Then the relation between **e-ye-* (West-Germ., O.H.G. *iu* A.S. *eow* etc.) and **e-s-ye-* (Goth.-Norse) was the same as that between Umbr. *e-tantu* and *e-s-tu* 'istum' (compare Lat. *istum*).

On this view, the parts of the words preceding **ye(s)* had nothing to do with expressing the meaning of the 2nd person; and this would make it not far-fetched to connect *σ-φῶ* with *σ-φῶν*, (cp. Wackernagel, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXVIII 139 f.).

Torp's theory (*op. cit.*, 35) that **isyi-* is **ius + ye-*, is quite as mistaken on phonetic grounds as his assumption that in West-Germanic the *z* of Goth. *izv*, becoming *r*, disappeared first in the gen. O.H.G. *iuuēr* O.Sax. *iuar* by dissimilation, and then the acc. O.H.G. **irwih* became **iuwih* on their analogy.

As regards the Keltic form, it would certainly be possible to hold that *s-* in pr. Keltic was detached from the ending of the 2nd. person plural of the verb, and then was tacked on to the pronoun (Torp, p. 40); the only thing is that we do not know whether this personal ending was **-tes* in Keltic at all (cp. Lat. *legitis*). The *s-* of Ir. *s-ni* has not been found in the British dialects of Keltic. It may come from the frequent combination of the word with *is*, *issni* being supposed by the speakers to consist of *is + sni*, just as in Mid.Ir. the nom. *sē* instead of *ē* grew out of *issē isē* 'est is' = *is ē*, and perhaps at the same time out of *olse* 'inquit'

(Thurneysen). But it may have been due to the analogy of **s-ye-* 'vos', and this may have happened in the period before insular Keltic split up into its several dialects (cp. § 437). The student should however compare O.Ir. forms without *s*, *nāthar nār* 'of us two'.

§ 437. In the various languages, the stems of these pronouns suffered many changes by assimilation of one to the other. Some of these have been already touched upon. We subjoin a conspectus of the whole.

1. *We* assimilated to *I*, *you* to *thou*.

a. *We* assimilated to *I*. Pali *mayam* instead of Skr. *vayām*. Armen. *meĕ*; from this nominative, *m-* passed into the other cases, driving out *n-*, e. g. instr. *me-vĕ*, just as in Lith. e. g. dat. **nu-mus* became *mu-mus* on the analogy of *mēs* (see below). Mod. Gr. *ἐμεῖς* instead of *ἡμεῖς*. Lat. *enōs* (Arval Song), instead of *nōs*, follows *ego* (Stolz Lat. Gr.² p. 346), unless *e-* is a prefixed particle (like *e-quidem* etc.). Lith. *mēs* O.C.Sl. *my* (whence Lith. has *m-* in the dual too, *mū-du*). In Baltic the *m-* passed first from nom. to acc.: Lith. *mūs* Pruss. *mans* (but O.C.Sl. *ny* unchanged); then *m-* spread to the other cases in Lithuanian, *mūsū mūms mumis mūsyjė*, but Pruss. *nouson noumans* are unchanged (O.C.Sl. *nasū namū nami*).

Remark 1. *m-* in O.Icel. *mēr* instead of *vēr*, and in H.G. dial. *mir mer* instead of *wir*, comes from the final consonant of the verb which preceded. The dental of O.Icel. *þēr đēr* and H.G. *dir der* 'vos' has the same origin.

b. *You* assimilated to *thou*. Pali *tumhe* instead of Ved. *yuṣmē*. Armen. *duĕ* (but *j-* remained in the other cases; in the 1st person, on the other hand, *n-* was displaced by the *m-* of the nom.). Mod. Gr. *ἐσεῖς* following *ἐσύ* (with *ἐ-* on the analogy of *ἐγώ*).

Remark 2. The reverse change — *I* and *thou* following *we* and *you* — can only be found in the case endings: e. g. Pali gen. *mamaṃ tavaṃ* instead of *mama tava* following *amhākaṃ tumhākaṃ*, Avest. dat. *taibyō* following *yūšmaoyō* (§ 445), Mid.H.G. gen. *miner dīner* instead of *mīn dīn* following *unser iuwer*.

2. *I* assimilated to *thou*, *we* to *you*, and vice versa.

a. *I* assimilated to *thou*. O.Ir. gen. (poss.) *mo mu* Mid.Cymr. *meu* following *do du* Mid.Cymr. *teu*. Lith. gen.

manēs doubtless has *a* instead of *e* (cp. O.C.Sl. *mene*) on the analogy of *tavēs* (a different explanation is offered by Brückner, Archiv IV 17). West-Germ. **ik* 'I' O.C.Sl. (*j*)*azū* with long vowel on the analogy of **tū*, see § 434 p. 365.

b. *Thou* assimilated to *I*. Mod. Gr. *ἐὶ* following *ἐγώ*. Perhaps Umbr. *tiom* follows **miom* (*vice versa*, we have French *mon* following *ton*), see § 442. Cymr. *dy* follows *my* (*n*-).

c. *We* assimilated to *you*. Skr. dual *ādm* may have taken *-vam* from *yuv-ām*, as we would conjecture; see § 436 p. 367. Gr. Dor. *ἄμεις* Att. *ἡμεῖς* has taken the rough breathing from *ἑμείς* *ἑμεῖς*. O.Ir. *s-ni* beside *ní* perhaps follows **s-ye*-, see § 436 pp. 368 f. In Baltic, the *ā* of *jā-* was borrowed: Pruss. *nou-son nou-mans* (*ou* = *ū*) following *iou-son iou-mans* (cp. O.C.Sl. *na-sū na-mū*), Lith. *mū-sū mū-ms* etc. (with *m-* instead of *n-*, see under 1. *a* above), following *jū-sū jū-ms* etc. Lith. *mēs* instead of **mēs* doubtless follows *jūs*.

d. *You* assimilated to *we*. Skr. *yūy-ām* takes its *-y-* from *vay-ām*. Armen. *jez jer* etc. take *e* from *mez mer* etc., in place of *u*. O.H.G. *ir* A.S. *zē* O.Icel. *ēr* following *wir wē vēr* (Goth. *jūs*), and similarly in the dual A.S. *zīt* O.Icel. *it* following *wit vit* (Goth. **ju-t*). Again, Goth. *iggis* O.Icel. *ykkir* H.G. *ink enk* A.S. *inc* follow Goth. *ugkis* O.Icel. *okkr* A.S. *unc*: parallel to the acc. *ugk* = **g-ke* (§ 436 p. 367) there may once have been **u-k(e)*, in which *u-* is the weak grade of **ye*-; this would become **ink-* **inky-*, because the relation of *uns-* : *izv-* (West-Germ. *iu-*) suggested that *i-* was the characteristic of the second person (cp. Torp, *op. cit.*, p. 49; Johansson, Bezz. Beitr. XVI 144).

§ 438. The Reflexive Stems were **seye-* **sye-* **se-*, connected in the same way as **teye-* **tye-* **te-*, see § 435 p. 366.

1. **seye-* **seyo-*. Avest. *hava-* 'own'. Armen. gen. *iu-r*, cp. vol. I § 560 p. 416. Gr. *ἐέ ἐί*, *ἐό-ς*. Lat. *sovo-s suo-s*, Osc. *suveis* gen. 'sui'. It is not certain whether we ought to add Mid.Cymr. *eu* Bret. *ho* 'you', plural of *y e* 'eius' (footnote

on pp. 339 f.), Kelt. **soyo-* for **seyo-* according to I § 66 p. 56, thus the stems which represent the singular and the other numbers would be just the reverse of what is seen in the French representatives of *suus* and *illorum*; it would be also possible to connect *en* and *ho* with Ar. *ava-* O.C.Sl. *ovŭ* (§ 409 p. 329); or again, to regard them as dual genitives of *y e* answering to Skr. *ayōṣ* (cp. Bavar. dual *ez* and *enk* used for the plural as equivalent to Mod.H.G. *ihr* and *euch*). Lith. *savė sŭva-s*.

2. **syē-* **syo-*. Skr. *svā-s* Avest. Gāthic *hva-* O.Pers. *uva-* 'own' (I § 558.3 p. 414). Armen. *in-kn* 'ipse', gen. *in-kean*. Gr. ξ, ὄ-ς. Umbr. *svesu* 'suum'. O.Ir. *fēin fodēin* 'self'. Goth. *svēs* (gen. *svēsis*) 'own'. Pruss. *swais* O.C.Sl. *svojŭ* 'suus, own'.

3. **se-*. Prakr. *sē*, Avest. *hē šē* O.Pers. *šaiy*; the variation *h-* *š-* in Iranian depended upon the final sound of the word preceding (cp. I § 556.1 p. 410), but by 'levelling' one or other form came to be used generally, the Gāthā dialect discarding the forms with *š-*, and Old Persian those with *h-*. Gr. ξ οἱ for **σε* **σοι* beside *fé Foī?* Lat. *sē sibi*, Umbr. *se-so* 'sibi' Osc. *sífeí* 'sibi'. Goth. *si-k* O.H.G. *si-h*. Pruss. *sebbei* O.C.Sl. *sebě* 'sibi'.

No sufficient explanation has been given of the etymology of Gr. *σφοῦ σφί(ν)* etc. This stem seems to have started from *σ-φί(ν)* (with the case-suffix *-φι -φιν*); *σ-φί(ν)* being associated with *ἐμίν ἄμιν* and the like, produced *σφέ σφοῦ*, etc. to match *ἐμέ ἐμέ*, *ἐμοῦ* etc. See the Author, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 399 f., Gr. Gr.² p. 134; Wackernagel, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVIII 139 ff.; and in the present volume, § 435 Rem. p. 366, § 436 Rem. 3 p. 368.

The Reflexive shared in the analogical changes described in § 437. Sometimes it affected other stems; for example, the reflexive and the pronoun of the 2nd person together caused changes in the forms of the 1st person, as Lith. *manė*, which took *a* from *tavė* and *savė*. Or again, it was itself subject to change on the analogy of the other pronouns; e. g. Gr. Lesb.

ἄσφι ἄσφι (if indeed these forms are to be allowed at all, on which matter see Wackernagel as cited above, p. 141), which took ἄ- from ἄμμι ἄμμε.

2. Personal Pronouns: their Cases.¹⁾

a. *I* and *thou*, the plurals *we* and *ye*, the Reflexive, and their Possessives.

Nominative.

§ 439. *I*. The proethnic form may be conjecturally restored **eġ(h)o* and **eġ(h)ō* (cp. **so* and **sō*, § 415 p. 337), sometimes extended by the particle *-m*.

1. **eġ(h)o*. Pr. Germ. **eku*, which, after undergoing certain modifications due to varying accent and varying position in its clause, becomes Goth. *ik*, O.H.G. *ihha ih 'h*, Norse Run. *'ka 'k 'ga ek ik* O.Icel. *ek* O.Swed. *iak*; cp. Noreen Arch. Nord. Phil. I 175 ff., and Paul's Grundr. I 498; Brate, Bezz. Beitr. XI 174 f.; Burg, Die ält. nord. Runeninschr. 20 f., 51; Kluge, Paul's Grundr. I 347, 359 f., 394; Bremer, Zeitschr. deutsch. Phil. XXII 249; Johansson, Bezz. Beitr. XVI 166, 169 f. Lith. *esz às* Pruss. *es as* Lett. *es*. Perhaps Armen. *es*. — **eġ(h)om*. Skr. *ahám* Avest. *azem* O.Pers. *adam*. O.C.Sl. *azŭ*; as to the *ja* of the modern dialects see Solmsen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 79.

2. *eġhō*. Gr. *ἐγώ*. Lat. *ego*. Perhaps Armen. *es*. — **eġ(h)ōm*. Gr. *ἐγών* Boeot. *ἰών ἰών* (cp. the Author, Gr. Gr.² p. 132).

In Old Irish the acc. form does duty for the nom. in singular and plural; sing. *mē me-sse 'I* (§ 442), cp. pl. *ní* and *sí-sí sí-ō*, which have driven out the old Idg. nominatives **uei* and **iūs* (§§ 441, 443). Be it observed that in the second person *tū tu- *tu* stand for both nom. and acc. (§ 440, below).

1) In this chapter the forms belonging to the separate languages, and those which are probably to be assumed for the parent language, are less easily taken in at a glance than has been the case in the two previous (chapters pp. 66 ff., 334 ff.). We therefore call special attention to the reference tables at the end.

§ 440. *Thou*. Pr. Idg. **tu* and **tū* (cp. § 415 Rem. p. 337), also with the particle *-m*.

1. **tu*. Skr. *tú* (which, like *tū*, has become a mere particle, see Osthoff, *Morph. Unt.* IV 268). Gr. Dor. *τú*, Att. *σύ* (*σ-* from the other cases, where it comes from *tu-*, I § 166 p. 147). O.Ir. *tu-ssu tu-sso*.¹⁾ O.Icel. *ðu ðo* O.H.G. *du* (Goth. *þu-k* acc., see § 442).

2. **tū*. Skr. *tū* (like *tú*, see under 1). Lat. *tū*. O.H.G. *dū* O.Icel. *þū*. Pruss. *tou* (*ou = ū*), O.C.Sl. *ty*.

In the following instances, the original quantity cannot be determined. Avest. *tū*. Armen. *du* (*d-* doubtless when *-n* and *-r* preceded, then fixed as the type, see Bartholomae *Lit. Centr.* 1890 col. 321, and cp. *-d* 'the' § 409 p. 327). O.Ir. *tū*, which might be orig. **tū*, because monosyllables bearing the accent, if they ended in a short vowel, lengthened it (Thurneysen, *Kuhn's Zeitschr.* XXXI 91), cp. *mē* for **me* § 442. Goth. *þu* (cp. *þu-s þu-k* with *ū*). Lith. *tū*.

With the *m*-particle: Skr. *tuvām* = *tā+am*, *tvām* = *tu+am*, Avest. Gāthic *tvēm* later Avest. *tūm* O.Pers. *tūvam* (read *tuvam*) all three = Ved. *tuvām*; Gr. Hom. *τῶν-η* Boeot. *ροῦν* Lac. *ροῦν-η* (quantity of *ov* in the last two is uncertain). The ending of the particle has obvious resemblance to the ending of the 1st person (cp. Skr. *ahām* and Gr. *ἐγών*), and thus J. Schmidt, perhaps correctly, explains Skr. *tuvām* Hom. *τῶν-η* etc. as later formations following the analogy of the first person; this is supported by the fact that the Aryan

1) *-su -so* (after palatal vowels *-siu -seo*) is the "particula augens" of the 2nd person, as *-sa* (after palatal vowels *-se*) is that of the 1st person, in *me-ssa* 'I'. Both particles are suffixed to these persons of the verb, but they are not found in verbs and pronouns only. They were certainly cases of pronouns or adverbs, and connected with *-sin* and *-som*, cp. Gall. *sozin* 'of this'. As regards the relation of *-sa -se* and *-su -siu* to the various persons, Thurneysen writes: "It seems to me quite possible that *-su* in verbs was originally the pronoun *-tu* (this is supported by the British dialects), e. g. *do-bir-siu* for **do-beres-tu* **do-beressu*, and that *-tu* then became confused with the deictic particle *-su*. The result of this may have been that *-sa -se* were appropriated to the 1st person, as in Italian *vi* = *ibi* and *vos* caused the use of *ci* for 'us'."

forms for 'you' which have *-am* took this element only on the analogy of *vay-ám* (§ 441).

The form **tū* is also used for the accusative in three branches of Indo-Germanic, see § 442.

On Osc. *tiium tiú* 'tu', see § 442.

§ 441. *We* and *you*.

Idg. **ue-i* 'we'; the kindred of this form is doubtful. As with **iū-s* 'you', so with **ue-i*, it is uncertain whether we should compare it with singular or plural forms. Is **ue-i* to be classed with **e-i* 'he' **go-i* 'who' (§ 414 pp. 335 f.), or with plural forms like **to-i* 'those' (§ 427 pp. 352 f.); does **iū-s* contain the *-s* of the nom. sing. (cp. e. g. Gr. ὁ ποῦς-ς) or the plural sign *s*? Skr. *vay-ám* Avest. *vaem* i. e. *vayem* O.Pers. *vayam*. Goth. *veis* Norse Run. *vīk* O.Swed. *vī(r)* for **uei-s* with *-s* on the analogy of (Goth.) *jūs*. Evidence for a ground-form **ue-s* (cp. dual Goth. *vi-t*), perhaps also a re-formate following the 2nd person, (*vice versa*, Skr. *yū-y-ám* follows *va-y-ám*), is found in O.H.G. *wir* O.Icel. *vēr*, and further in Armen. *meḵ* Lith. *mēs* (see below).

Idg. **iū-s* 'you' (is this the singular or plural *-s*? see above). Avest. *yūš*, also *yūš-em* with *-em* following *vaem* i. e. *vayem* (why *-em* was added to just this sentence-doublet **yūš*, I § 646.3 p. 491, and not to *yūš*, is obscure); Skr. *yūyám* follows *vayám*. Goth. *jūs*; beside this, A.S. *ge gē*, O.Sax. *gi ge*, O.H.G. *ir*, O.Icel. *ēr* following *we wē*, *wi we*, *wir*, *vēr* (as in the dual A.S. *gi-t* O.Icel. *i-t* follow *wi-t vi-t*, § 457): first **iū-z* became **ie-z*, and afterwards in O.H.G. and Norse, the initial *i-* itself was changed, perhaps by the influence of *iuwēr* and *yāvar* etc. Lith. *jūs* Pruss. *iouš*.

Armen. *meḵ* and *duḵ*, whose initial is borrowed from the pronouns *I* and *thou* (§ 437.1 p. 369), doubtless took the place of **veḵ* or **geḵ* (I § 162 p. 145), and **juḵ*. On the *-ḵ*, see § 313 p. 212. **veḵ* would answer to O.H.G. *wir*.

Greek. Lesb. *ἄμμε-ς ἔμμε-ς* Dor. *ἄμέ-ς ἐμέ-ς* are re-formatives following the other cases, acc. Lesb. *ἄμμε ἔμμε*

etc. In Ion.-Att., *ἡμεῖς *ὅμις became ἡμεῖς ὅμις on the analogy of such forms as σαρφεῖς, because of the resemblance between ἡμίων ὁμίων: σαρφέων; so also σφεῖς beside σφέων.

Lat. *nōs vōs* (Pelign. *vus* 'vos' is dubious, see Bugge, Altital. Stud. 75) are the acc. form = Avest. *nā vā*. So also O.Ir. *ni si-ssi*, = Skr. *nas vas*. See § 443.

Lith. *mēs* Pruss. *mes* (beside *jūs ious*) doubtless stands for **mes* (§ 437. 1, a. p. 369, and 2, c. p. 370) = O.H.G. *wir*. O.C.Sl. *my vy* are probably the acc. *ny vy* (*my* has *m*-through being confused with a formation answering to the Baltic), and were used for the nom. because *raḳy* was so used (§ 315 p. 216, *ny vy*: *namū vamū nami vami* = *raḳy*: *raḳamū raḳami*). At least this is more probable than that there was a nom. **jūs* = Lith. *jūs*, which on the analogy of the other cases became **ūs* = the *vy* of our texts, and then this became *my* (cp. Lith. *mū-ms*, Pruss. *nou-mans* following *jū-ms iou-mans*, § 437. 2, c. p. 370).

Accusative.

§ 442. *I* and *thou* and the Reflexive. Pr.Idg. **eme* **me*, **tye* **te*, **sye* **se*, and **mē*, **tyē* **tē*, **sē* (cp. § 415 Rem. p. 337), the last four also with the *m*-particle.

1. **eme* **me*, **tye* **te*, **sye* **se* and perhaps **seye*. Armen. *z is*, *z řez* probably for **eme-ḡhe* **tye-ḡhe*, see below. Gr. *ἐμέ μέ*, Cret. *τφέ* (in Hesychius, where it is incorrectly written *τρε*) Ion. Att. *σέ* Dor. *τέ*, *φέ* *έ*, Hom. *τέ* (= Idg. **seye*?); Cypr. *μέ-ν*, and *ἐμέν* on a late metrical inscription (214 A. D.), which doubtless has not the particle *-m* of Skr. *mām* etc., but the sign of the accusative. O.Ir. *me-sse* (on *-sse* see p. 373 footnote 1) and *mē*, with non-original lengthening of *e* (cp. what it is said of *tū* § 440 p. 373), which were also used for the nominative (§ 439 p. 372); unaccented **me* e. g. in *fri-m* 'contra me'; unaccented **te* cannot be inferred with any certainty from *fri-t* (beside *friut*) and the like, see the Remark on page 377. Goth. *mi-k si-k*, O.H.G. *mi-h di-h si-h*,

O.Icel. *mi-k þi-k si-k, -k* = Gr. *-ye* in *ἐμέ-ye* and the like; on Goth. *þu-k*, see page 377.

Armenian. *is* doubtless for **ims* (I § 202 p. 169) instead of **inj*, the form which might have been expected, as we have in the dat. *inj* beside *kez*. Since nom. and acc. ran together in nouns and in pronouns which distinguish gender, it is not too bold to conjecture that *-s* has come from the nom. *es* (cp. § 434 p. 364). Then the **-j -z* of the acc. is doubtless the particle **ghe* = Skr. *ha* (cp. I § 410 p. 301), so *z is* is like Gr. *ἐμέ-ye* and *z kez* like Gr. *σέ ye* O.Icel. *þi-k*. The *-j -z* of the dative I compare with the endings of Lat. *mi-hi* Skr. *má-hyam* (§ 446).

2. **mē, *tē *tē, *sē*. Skr. *mā tvā*, Avest. *mā þwā*. Lat. *mē tē sē*; the old Lat. acc. *mēd tēd sēd* are doubtless really ablatives (§ 444); these must first have been used for the accusative because *-d* dropped before consonants (cp. *sē-grego* beside *sēd-itio*), and thus the forms in the accusative and ablative became to some extent identical (abl. *mē* and acc. *mē*), whilst the instinct of the speaker could not distinguish between them; see Osthoff, *Perf.* 127 f., and Stolz, *Lat. Gr.* 2 pp. 345 f. A less probable theory is supported by M. Müller (Fleckeisen's *Jahrb.* cxiii 702 f.) and Torp (*op. cit.*, 10). These scholars hold that the acc. *mēd* etc. belong to a period when the ablative suffix *-d* of the personal pronouns was less restricted in its use than it afterwards came to be, and that the acc. *mēd* is therefore a very old form.

With the *m*-particle, Idg. **mēm* etc. Skr. *mām tvām*, Avest. *mām þwām* O.Pers. *mām þuvām* (i. e. *þvām*, I § 473. 2 p. 349). O.C.Sl. *mę tę sę*, Pruss. *mien tien sien sin* (*ie* and *i* represent a closed *ē*). But Lith. has *manę tavę savę* instead of **mę *tę *sę* (the vowel shortened according to I § 664.3 p. 523) following the genitive (see § 450), for such original accusatives as **teyēm *seyēm* are hardly to be thought of; the dialectic *manį tavį savį* (Kurschat, *Gramm.* pp. 234 f.; Bezz. in his *Beiträge* X 310) follow the *i*-declension on the analogy of *manyjė manimį* etc. (§ 448).

**tū* as an accusative: Gr. Dor. *tv*, O.Ir. *tū tu-ssu* (on the particle *-su* see p. 373 footnote) *friut* 'contra te' for **fri(th)-tu*, Goth. *þu-k* (= Gr. nom. *σύ γε*).

Remark. One observation may be made in connexion with *friut*. There has been in Irish a vast deal of levelling in phrases consisting of a preposition with a personal pronoun. The different pronouns, the different cases (acc. and dat.), and the different prepositions have influenced each other. Thus, *u* in *liumm* beside *lemm limm* 'through me' (*le-* is the preposition as accented, pre-tonic it is *la-*) and in *friumm* beside *frimm* 'against me' (*fri-*) seems to have been taken from the 2nd person; perhaps before the law which affects final vowels had come in, these had formed an ending *-*mu* following *-*tu* (cp. gen. *mo mu* following *do du* § 450). Now since the acc. and dat. of the pronoun *I* (originally *-*me* and *-*moǵ* *-*meǵ*) had early run into the same form, and since in the pronouns *ice* and *you* the forms *-n* and *-b* (for *-*nes* and *-*nea*) were from the very first acc. and dat. both, it can hardly cause surprise that we find *dom dam* = *-*do-mu* instead of *-*doim* = *-*do mi* 'to me' (*do* with the dat.), which would have been expected. In producing *liumm friumm* and the like, however, another word may have had some influence — *ocum* 'with me' (the preposition is *oc(u)-*), cp. *ocut* : *friut* *torut* (*tar* 'trans') *immut* (*imb* 'circa'), and others. (This is Thurneysen's suggestion.)

Umbro-Samnitic. Umbr. *tium teio tio tiu* 'te' and Osc. *sium* 'se' are doubtless nom. acc. neut. of the possessive. This would be quite certain if Bücheler should prove to be right in regarding Osc. *tiium* and *tiú* as nom. (*tu*); his theory is attacked by Bugge, *Altitt. Stud.* 32 f. We shall meet again with possessives representing personal pronouns, in other languages (see below, § 452). It remains a question whether *tium sium* are to be regarded as ad-formates of *-*miom* = Lat. *meu-m* (the Author, Kuhn's *Ztschr.* XXVII 403 f.), or whether beside Ital. *-*mejo-* there were original stems *-*tejo-* *-*sejo-*, which the Umbro-Samnitic branch preserved along with *tovo-sovo-* (Torp, *op. cit.* p. 28).

§ 443. *We* and *you*, and the plural forms of the Reflexive. Two distinct expressions for 'nos' 'vos' may claim to be considered original:

1. Forms from *-*ne-* *-*no-* and from *-*ye-* *-*yo-* ending in *-s* (§ 436 p. 367), in three different grades of ablaut. These

forms had at first no special accusative meaning, as their wider use in different branches of Indo-Germanic clearly shews. Their use for the nominative, however, is doubtless later than the break-up of the parent speech, and belongs to the special Latin and Keltic periods, see § 441 p. 375.

a. Avest. *nā vā* = pr. Ar. **nās *vās*. Lat. *nōs vōs*, also nom.; this nom. use may have begun in proethnic Latin, when the nom. pl. of noun *o*-stems still ended in **-ōs* and their accusative ending **-ons* had become **-ōs* too. Cp. also O.C.Sl. gen. loc. *nasŭ vasŭ* for **nās-sŭ *vās-sŭ* (§ 448).

b. Skr. *nas vas*, Avest. *nō vō*, also used as dat. and gen. O.Ir. *ni s-ni* 'nos', *si-ssi* 'vos' (when originally enclitic, these have become *-n* and *-b*), Cymr. Corn. Bret. *ni ny* 'nos', Cymr. *chwi* Corn. *why* Mid.Bret. *hui* 'vos' doubtless for pr. Kelt. **nes* and **s-yes*, cp. § 436. 3 with Rem. 3, pp. 368 f.; these forms are also used as nom. Goth. *izvis* O.Icel. *yār* 'vos' pr. Germ. **i-z-uz* = **e-s-yes*, cp. *ibid.* These forms are also used as dative, like O.H.G. *iu* A.S. *eow* for **i-uz* = **e-yes*. The last syllable of Goth. *izvis* retained *i* under the influence of *mis sis* or perhaps because of an accentuation *izvis*.

c. Goth. *uns*, O.Swed. *ōs ūs* for **us*; these forms are also used for the dative, like the corresponding O.H.G. *uns* A.S. *ūs*. On the analogy of *izvis yār* and also of the dative *mis* etc., were produced the acc.-dat. Goth. *unsis* O.Icel. *ess*, whilst the acc. O.H.G. *unsih* A.S. *ūsic* (like *iuwih eōwic*) followed the analogy of *mih mec* etc. (cp. Armen. *z jez* 'vos' following *z Rez* 'te').

The Balto-Slavonic accusatives come from the forms **nōs *uōs*, which followed the analogy of the acc. plural of nouns and of pronouns with gender. That **nōs *uōs* were proethnic in the Balto-Slavonic branch is proved by O.C.Sl. *nasŭ vasŭ* etc. (§ 448). Prussian *mans* 'nos', for **nans* at the first step backwards (it follows the nom. *mes*), and *wans* 'vos'. Similarly, Old Church Slavonic *ny vy*, like

raķy vliķy (§ 326 p. 226, § 327 p. 229); like *raķy*, these forms (with a change of *ny* to *my*) are also used for the nom., see § 441 p. 375; they were also used for the dative, because of the acc. dat. dual *na* and *va* (§ 457). Lithuanian *jūs* 'vos' beside nom. *jūs* following *súnūs*: *súnus*, also dial. gen. *jus-dvijus* following *súnus*; on the analogy of *jūs*, a form for 'us' answering to the Pruss. *mans* was transformed into *mūs* (§ 437. 2, c p. 370).

2. Pr. Idg. **us-sme* **us-sme*, differing from the formation described under 1. c. only in having a particle **sme* added to it. See § 436 with Rem. 2 pp. 367 f. Gr. Lesb. ἄμμε ὅμμε Boeot. Dor. ἄμέ Boeot. οὐμέ Dor. ὅμέ; with the ending pluralised Ion. Att. ἡμέας ἡμᾶς, ὅμέας ὅμᾶς (cp. nom. ἡμεῖς ὅμεῖς) and ἡμας ὅμας (cp. nom. Dor. ἄμές ὅμεις). Avest. *ahma*; Skr. *asmān yuṣmān* following the acc. plural of *o*-stems. Since Avest. *ahma* can be derived, if need be, from pr. Ar. **asmā*, the question arises whether there was not an assimilation to *mā tvā* in pr. Aryan (cp. abl. Skr. *asmād*: *mād*); or there may even have been pr. Idg. doublets **u(s)sme* **u(s)sme*, **u(s)sme* **u(s)sme*.

Distinct from all accusative forms hitherto cited are Armen. *z mez* 'nos' *z jez* 'vos'. These are modelled after **z in-j* (*z is*) 'me' and *z Re-z* 'te', like as O.H.G. *unsih iuwih* after *mih di-h*.

Reflexive. Gr. *σφέας σφᾶς* beside *σφέ* like *ἡμέας* beside *ἡμέ*. Armen. *iureans*.

Ablative.

§ 444. Ablative Forms with *-d* in Aryan and Italic.

Skr. *mād tvād*, Avest. *maḥ pwaḥ*, O.Pers. *ma* and reflexive *ša* (§ 438. 3 p. 371). Lat. *mē(d) tē(d) sē(d)*; Umbr. *sei-podruhpei* 'separatim utroque' *se-pse* 'singillatim' (cp. Lat. acc. *sē-pse* 'sese, semet'). Lat. *sē-d* conjunction, = O.Pers. *ša*. It is doubtful whether there were Idg. doublets **med* and **mēd* etc., or whether in pr. Italic **mē-d* etc. lengthened the vowel (*ē*) on

the analogy of the accusative, impelled also by the other ablative forms which had a long vowel followed by *-d* (*-ēd*, *-ād*, *-īd*): Lat. *sēd* kept clear of these influences by its isolation in point of meaning. There is the same doubt in Avest. *maībyā* : *na-vya* § 445 p. 381.

Skr. *asmād* *yušmād*, Avest. *ahmaḥ* *yūšmaḥ* *xšmaḥ*. These might be considered Idg. if it were certain that the post-Homeric *ἡμεδαπό-ς* *ὑμεδαπό-ς* 'born in our or your land' are anything more than mere adformates of *ἀλλοδ-από-ς* and the like (II § 32 p. 56).

We seem to be justified in inferring from Skr. *mad-īya-s* 'my' *asmad-īya-s* 'our' *māt-sakhi-ṣ* 'my comrade' and the like (Whitney, Skr. Gr. §§ 494, 1098) that the *d*-formation had originally a wider signification. The *-d* has often been identified with *-d* in the nom. acc. sing. neut. of pronouns with gender (Lat. *quo-d* *qui-d*).

The following are obscure: Armen. abl. *y inēn* (perhaps *inēn* and instr. *inev* instead of **imēn* **imer* following *inj*, as Lat. *vēnī* Osc. *kúm-bened* have *n* instead of *m* because of *-ventu-s* *venio*, cp. I §§ 207, 208 pp. 174 f.) *i kēn* and *i mēnj* *i jēnj* (for *-j*, cp. the loc. *i telvoj* abl. *i telvojē* gen. dat. *knoj* abl. *i knojē*). Compare Torp, *op. cit.*, 27.

Forms with adverbial suffixes (cp. § 244 pp. 141 ff.). Skr. *mat-tās* *tvat-tās* *asmat-tās* *yušmat-tās*, compare above, *mad-īya-s* etc. Gr. *ἐμέ-θεν* *σέ-θεν* *ἐ-θεν*, used also for the gen., because there was a confusion of gen. and abl. elsewhere (§ 244 Rem. 2 p. 143).

Dative.

§ 445. Skr. *māhyam*, Ved. this and *māhya*, Armen. *inj* for **imj* = **emeḡh-* and Lat. *mihī* Umbr. *mehe* point to an Idg. ground-form with **(e)meḡh-*, where *ḡh* (the same as *gh* in the nom., Skr. *ahám* etc.) took the place which *bh* held in the *bh*-suffix of 'tibi'. The case-ending of the Idg. form cannot be made out, because assimilation has taken place with

the ending of the *bh*-suffixes. Avest. *maībyā māvya* (for the *a* of this form, see below) *maībyō* show a still more thorough-going assimilation to the 2nd person.

Skr. *tú-bhyam*, *asmá-bhyam*, *yuṣmá-bhyam*, in Vedic also forms with *-bhya*. Avest. *taībyā taībyō*, *ahmaībyā*, *yūšmaībyā* *xšmaībyā* *xšmā-vya* *yūšmaoyō* (= **a-vyō*, I § 160 p. 144), *hvā-vya*. First as regards the stem: Avest. *taībyā* seems to be more ancient than Skr. *tú-bhya(m)*, cp. Umbr. *te-fe* O.C.Sl. *te-bě*; *túbhya(m)* may have got *u* from *tuvám tuvdm tuvā*, cp. Goth. *þus* following *þu-k* (*þu*). The *a* of *hvā-vya* *xšmā-vya*, and *mā-vya* mentioned above, is uncertain. It may be an Iranian re-formation instead of *a* (cp. acc. *mām mā*, and possibly *ahma* = pr. Ar. **asmā* § 443. 2 p. 379, *ahmakem*); or there may have been doublets for 'mihi', 'tibi', 'sibi' in pr. Idg., one with *e* and the other with *ē*, and these may have occasioned a variation in quantity in the forms of *ahma-yūšma-*; but which, can no longer be made out. The same doubt meets us in Lat. *se-d se-(d)*, § 444 pp. 379 f. The suffixes Ved. *-bhya* Avest. *-byā* are to be compared with Gall. *-bo* § 367 p. 267. Skr. *-bhyam* has the *m*-particle. Avest. *-byō* was first produced in **ahmaoyō* and **yūšmaoyō*, to mark these cases as plural (it is true that these particular forms are not found in the Gāthā dialect), and on this analogy *maībyō* *taībyō* (cp. § 437 Rem. 2 p. 369).

Very closely connected are Lat. *ti-bei ti-bī si-bei si-bī* (it is simplest to explain *i* in the first syllable as due to the use of the word without an accent, cp. *plicō igitur* and the like I § 65 Rem. 2 p. 53, § 679 p. 546), Umbr. *tefe tefe* 'tibi' Osc. *sifei* Pelign. *sefei* and Pruss. *te-bbei se-bbei*; Lith. *távei sávei* (Schleicher in Kuhn-Schl. Beitr. I 238, *mánei* Leskien-Brugmann Lit. Volksl. p. 49 n. 83) with *-av-* instead of *-eb-* following the gen. *tavè savè*. These forms show after *-bh-* the ending of the Idg. loc. dat. gen. **meḡ* **t(u)eḡ* **s(u)eḡ* (§ 447), and that of the Ital. loc. dat. of pronominal *o*-stems with gender, as Osc. *alttrei* 'in altero' *altrei* 'alteri' (§ 424 p. 348). Difficulties are suggested by the variety

of the forms found in Lithuanian dialects: we have not only *-ei*, but *manė tavė savė* (cp. Bezzenberger, in his Beitr. XV 301) like *namė* (§ 263 p. 166), *máni távi sávi* like *mi ti si* (§ 447, but compare Bezzenberger as cited), and further *mán mą, táv táu, sáv sáu*. Even in the oldest Lithuanian these datives, which were originally locative as well, underwent certain changes due to their locative use on the analogy of the locative of substantives. O.Lith. *tawie* like *diuweie*, modern *tavyjė* like *naktyjė* etc. (cp. § 263 p. 166, § 448). O.C.Sl. dat. loc. *te-bě se-bě*, where *-bě* cannot be derived from **bhej*, may be of the same class as **moj* **t(y)oj* **s(y)oj*, the doublets of **mej* etc. (see § 447), cp. loc. *vláčě* = **ulqoj* § 263 p. 166; on their relation to the instrumental, *toboją soboją*, see § 449. We might therefore call **tebhej* and **telhoj* a compromise between a form like the Avestic *taibyā* and those shorter loc. dat. forms in *-ej* and *-oj*. It is also quite possible that the parent language had at the same time **meghej* **meghoj* (Lat. *mihi*) and **te-bjo* **se-bjo* or like forms (Avest. *taibyā hvā-vya*), and that these were assimilated in different directions by the various languages: Skr. *māhyam* instead of **mahē* following *tūbhyam*, Lat. *tibi* instead of **tebie*, or the like, following *mihi* etc.

Lat. *nōbīs vōbīs*¹⁾ cannot be derived from such ground-forms as **nōz-bh-* **uōz-bh-*, since *-zbh-* would have become *-sp-*. In any case *-bīs* was coined as plural complement to *-bī* on the analogy of the endings of *istī* : *istīs*. Either the forms were new-cast to match with the plural *nōs vōs*, or they are dual forms (orig. *nō-b-* *vō-b-*) which have received the mark of the plural in the suffix only (cp. § 458).

Pruss. *mennei* Lith. *mānei* (*māni* etc.) O.C.Sl. *mīnē* with *-n-* following the gen. Lith. *manė* O.C.Sl. *mene* (§ 450). Pruss. *nou-mans nou-mas iou-mans iou-mas* Lith. *mū-ms jū-ms*, O.C.Sl. *na-mū va-mū* with the noun-suffix of the

1) Pelign. *vus* 'vobis' for **vō-fs* is doubtful; Bugge, Altlt. Stud. 75, 77.

dative plural (§ 367 pp. 267 f.). One reason why these forms, like the instr. O.C.Sl. *nami vami*, had no *s* before the case-suffix, while there was one in the gen. and loc. pr. Balt.-Slav. **nōs-sōm* **uōs-sōm* and **nōs-su* **uōs-su* (§ 448), was that the corresponding dual cases had none (Lith. *mum jum* O.C.Sl. *nama vama*, § 458), and they influenced the form of these; *-s-* in *-sm-* could not properly have been dropped (I § 585.2 p. 301). In Baltic, **iū-* came from the nom. and drove out **uō-*, and then in Lithuanian the analogy of the *u*-stems came in, as with *jūs* and *jumis*; for the other changes in the stem see § 437. 1, *a* and 2, *c*, pp. 369 f. Lith. *mū-ms*, *mu-mis* served as the foundation for the dialectic locative *mumyse* instr. *mumim(s)* acc. *mumis*, cp. dual gen. *mumu* etc. § 458.

§ 446. Armen. *inj* is to be connected with Skr. *máhyam* Lat. *mihī*, as we saw in § 445 p. 380. Its ending spread to the other pronouns, whence *Rez* 'tibi' *mez* 'nobis' *jez* 'vobis' (for the interchange of *-j* : *-z* see I § 410 p. 301), the reverse of what took place with Avest. *maibyā*, which follows *taibyā*. Reflexive: sing. *iu-r* plur. *iureanç*, like the gen., see § 455.

The Germanic forms with *-s* Goth. *mis þus* (doubtless for **þis* following *þuk*, cp. Skr. *tú-bhyam* § 445 p. 381) *sis*, O.H.G. *mir dir*, A.S. *mē mē ðe ðe* (for the phonetics, see Sievers *Ags. Gr.*² § 121, Behaghel *Germania* XXXI 381), O.Icel. *mēr þēr sēr*, are all doubtless ad-formates of **nes* 'nobis' **yes* 'vobis'; outside of the Germanic dialects these are represented only by Skr. *nas vas*, Avest. *nō vō*, and by O.Ir. *-n -b* for **nes* **s-yes* (e. g. *uain* 'a nobis' *uaib* 'a vobis'), and the latter, **yes*, is contained in other Germanic words, Goth. *izvis* O.H.G. *iu* A.S. *eów*, while **nes* is only represented by Goth. *uns*, which comes from **ys*, an Idg. doublet of **nes* (§ 443 p. 378). Perhaps the form first produced was *sis* (plural and singular), which was followed by *mis* and **þis*. Compare Gr. *ἐμίν* following *ἄμυν* § 448.

The Possessive used for the Personal Pronoun: Avest.

ahmāi, related to Gr. loc. ἄμυν as Skr. *tāsmāi* to *tāsmīn*; see §§ 448, 452.

Locative.

§ 447. Forms in *-i*, which had at the same time the function of the dative and of the possessive genitive: **mei* **t(y)ei* **s(y)ei*, **moi* **t(y)oi* **s(y)oi*. These are very closely connected with pr. Ital. **alt(e)rei*, which was loc., dat., and gen. all at once (see § 419 pp. 341 f., § 424 p. 348). They may be fairly derived from the possessive stems **mo-* etc. (cp. § 452).

Skr. loc. Ved. *mē tvē*, dat. gen. *mē tē* Prākr. *sē* (*sē* in Vedic also? a very questionable point, see Bartholomae, Stud. zur idg. Spr. I 114), Avest. loc. *ḫwōi*, dat. gen. *mē mōi*, *tē tōi*, *hē hōi* *šē* (§ 438.3 p. 371), O.Pers. dat. gen. *mai*y dat. *tai*y. Skr. *mē tē* in Vedic are probably used for the accusative also (Delbrück, Synt. Forsch. V 205 f.); this wider use may be due to the wider use of *nas vas* and *nāu vām*; compare Lith. *mi ti* (p. 385), and Gr. *τίν ἐίν* (p. 387), all used for the accusative.

Gr. loc. dat. *ἐμοί μοι*, *σοί* for **τφοι* beside pr. Gr. *τοί* (now a particle), *φοῖ οἷ οἱ* (we may conjecture, for pr. Gr. **σφοι* and **σοι*, although there are no certain grounds for believing in the latter, cp. the Author, Gr. Gr.² p. 134), Hom. has these and also *ἐοῖ* i. e. **σεφοι*. These datives are found often in the poets with the sense of a possessive genitive, as β 50 *μητέρι μοι* 'matri meae' like Skr. *mē gīrah* 'hymni mei', σ 68 *φάνεν δέ οἱ εὐρέως ὦμοι*.

Lat. *mī* dat. beside *mihī*, used as a possessive genitive in *mī fili*, *anime mī*, *mī domina*, *mī hospitēs* and the like; the so-called vocative *mī* is always derived from **me(i)e* (the latest supporter of this is Thurneysen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXX 500), but this cannot be supported by what is known of the phonetic laws. The gen. *mī* and **tī* served as bases for the O.Lat. gen. *mīs tīs*, which were formed by adding *-s* or *-es* on on to them (cp. *istīus* = **istei* + *os* § 419 p. 341,

and Dor. *ἐμέος* instead of *ἐμέο* (§ 450). To the same group belongs *sei sī*, now a conjunction. Umbrian gives us *se-so* 'sibi', since its final portion must surely be an affixed particle (cp. the Irish "particulæ augentes" or intensive particles, *-su -sa -som*). And further, two other forms from the same dialect, *sve-su* and *sve-so*, in which *sve-* is certainly a poss. gen., may contain the same particle *-so* as *se-so* 'sibi' does, or we may assume for them an inflected stem *sve-so-*, with Bücheler (Bücheler takes *sve-su* in I *b* 45, II *a* 44 as 'suum', and *sveso* in VII *b* 1 as abl. 'suo'); if the latter be correct, we have a combination of the poss. gen. with *so-* 'suus' (O.Lat. *su-m sa-m sōs*), cp. Lat. *suo sibi gladio hunc iugulo*, O.C.Sl. *pisachą svoją si rěčī scribebant suam linguam* and the like (the Author, *Ein Problem der hom. Textkr.*, 132 ff.).

O.Ir. *-m -t*, e. g. *uaim* 'a me' *uait* 'a te'.

Lith. dat. and acc. unaccented *mi ti si* (in the first instance for **mē* etc., according to I § 664.3 p. 523), e. g. *saugók-mi* 'preserve me' *sūka-si sūka-s* 'se' and 'sibi torquet'; and compare Pruss. *-si*, e. g. (*sien*) *grīki-si* 'they fall into sin' (reflexive), beside *-sin* = *sien* (*-si* = **-sē?*). Its use for the accusative is secondary, cp. Ved. acc. *mē tē* on page 384, and Gr. acc. *τίν ἑίν* on pages 386—7. (It is not permissible to assume that the acc. Lith. *mi* comes from **me* = Gr. *μῆ*). O.C.Sl. unaccented *mi ti si*, dat. and possessive (the so-called "possessive dative"), as *drugŭ mi* 'φίλος μου'.

Other locative forms in *-i*:

Skr. Ved. *asmē yuṣmē*, also used for dat. and gen. (cp. Delbrück, *Synt. Forsch.* V 206 f.), doubtless represent the Idg. ground-forms. Further, Skr. *máyi tváyi* beside Ved. *mē tvē*, which are due to a desire to mark the forms more distinctly as locative, and so to distinguish them from the dat. gen. (acc.) *mē tē*; *máy-i*: instr. *máyā* following *dhiy-i*: *dhiy-d*, and the like (Wackernagel, *Kuhn's Zeitschr.* XXVIII 138).

O.C.Sl. *mīnē tebé sebé*, see § 445 p. 382.

§ 443. Lith. *manyjė tavyjė savyjė* like instr. *maniml* etc. following the *i*-class.¹⁾ Compare § 445 p. 382.

Skr. *asmāsu yuṣmāsu*, instead of *asmē yuṣmē*, were made in connexion with the instr. *asmā-bhiṣ yuṣmā-bhiṣ* on the analogy of *āśva-su : āśva-bhiṣ*. Instead of these, Pali and Prakrit have *amhesu tumhesu* on the analogy of pronouns with gender and of noun-stems in *-o-*.

O.C.Sl. *nasū vasū*, O.Lith. and modern dialects *mūsū jūsū* (as to *mū- jū-* instead of pr. Balt.-Slav. **nō- *uō-*, see § 437. 1, *a* and 2. *c*, pp. 369 f.), come from pr. Balt.-Slav. **nōs-su *uōs-su*, as the gen. O.C.Sl. *nasū vasū* Pruss. *nouson iouson* Lith. *mūsū jūsū* from **nōs-sōm *uōs-sōm*. We may conjecture that **nōs *uōs* in pr. Balt.-Slav., besides being acc. (§ 443. 1, *a* p. 378), were also gen. (cp. Skr. acc. gen. *nas vas*), and then on the analogy of Pruss. *stei-son* O.C.Sl. *tě-chū* added the ending **-sōm*, in the same way as Gr. *ἐμε*, used for the genitive, was extended to **ἐμε-σιο ἐμεϊο* (§ 450), Skr. *mē*, once locative, to *māy-i* (§ 447), and Lat. **istei* in its genitive use to **istei-os istiūs* (§ 449 p. 388); there are others of the same kind. The new genitive formation then produced a locative on the analogy of O.C.Sl. *tě-chū*. The Lithuanian locative forms suffered many changes, since as the case-system developed they lost their distinctness, and by that time the locative of nouns helped them no whit: O.Lith. *musuie iusuie* (cp. *sūnūjė*), later *mūsyjė jūsyjė* (cp. *manyjė* etc.), *mūsimė jūsimė* (cp. *szimė*), *mūsūsė jūsūsė* (: *mūsū = vilkūsė : vilkū*).

Greek, with its endings *-iv -i* and *-iv*, stands quite by itself. Dor. *ἐμὶν ἐμὶν τὶν τὶν*, Tarent. *ἐμὶν-η τὶν-η* (cp. *ἐγών-η*), Hom. *τεῖν* for **τεφiv*, Gort. *φiv*, Boeot. *ἐiv* for **αiv*.

1) This re-formation is not, as is often stated, due to any assimilation of *mānei* to *ākei*; for the latter is *ākiai*, op. § 249 p. 152. But O.Lith. *manėje tavėje*, if ever there were such forms (Leskien Deol. 141, Bezzenger Beitr. zur Gesch. der lit. Spr. 161) may have been made alongside of *mānei* on the analogy of *žmėje : žmei*; cp. Brückner, Arch.

Lesb. ἄμμιν ὕμμιν, Dor. ἄμιν ἄμιν ἄμιν ὕμιν ὕμιν, Ion. Att. ἡμιν ἡμιν ὕμιν ὕμιν, Hom. also ἡμιν ὕμιν; the retrograde accent in these forms (except the Lesbian) is a substitute for enclisis (I § 676 pp. 544 ff.). Without -ν, Lesb. Hom. ἄμμι ὕμμι. It is natural to suppose that there is a connexion with the forms examined in §§ 423 f. pp. 346 ff., as Skr. *tásmin* Avest. *aetahmi* Gr. ὁ-τῖμι. The relation of **us(s)mi* **us(s)min* **us(s)mi* **us(s)min* = ἄμμι ἄμμιν ὕμμι ὕμμιν to **us(s)me* **us(s)me* = ἄμμε ὕμμε is the same as that of **tesmi* **tesmin* = Avest. *aetahmi* Skr. *tásmin* to **tesme* = Lith. *tamè* (instead of **tesmè*); and further, ἄμμιν is to Avest. *ahmāi* as Skr. *tásmin* to *tásmāi*. Since it is only in -*smin* that proof has so far been shown for -*in* as an Idg. locative suffix,¹⁾ I hold ἄμμιν ὕμμιν to be older than ἐμιν τίν *Flv*. The analogy of ἄμμιν : ἄμμι suggested ἐμιν beside ἐμέ, and so with the others. Perhaps σ-φίν, used for both sing. and pl., helped in this; viewed in conjunction with ἄμμιν it would be analysed as σφ-ίν (§ 438 p. 371, § 449), that is to say if its association with ἄμμιν ὕμμιν was earlier than the existence of ἐμιν τίν *Flv*; cp. pr. Germ. **piz* 'tibi' on the analogy of **izviz* 'vobis' (§ 446 p. 383), and § 437 Rem. 2 p. 369. But this does not explain the *ι* of ἡμιν ἐμιν etc.

Remark. One possibility — not the only one — is that the deictic particle -*in* became attached to **asmí* (cp. οὗτος-*in* beside οὗτος-*ι*). Cp. Dor. ἰμε-*ι* τε-*ι*, and Cypr. *μ* 'me' (Meister, Gr. Dial. II 211) which may be regarded as *μ'ι*. Then the difference in the meaning of **asmín* and **asmín* **asmí* will have faded away afterwards.

The forms τίν and ἐίν are also found with the meaning of the acc., which seems to have come about from the analogy of μιν νιν (and cp. χάριν βάσιν etc.). Compare too Ved. *mē tē* and Lith. *mī ti si* as accusatives, § 447 pp. 384 f.

1) All that Bartholomae brings forward in Bezz. Beitr. XV 18 is extremely uncertain. On *πρην πρην* see II § 135 p. 430. Even Avest. *puwi*, cited by Bartholomae Ar. Forsch. III 28, does not obviously vitiate my view of the origin of τίν τείν.

With plural ending added: Lesb. ἄμμεσιν, similar to σφί-σι § 449.

The Instrumental.

§ 449. Skr. *māya tvāyā*, Ved. these and *tvā tvā*. The history of *māya tvāyā* is doubtful. They may have been formed in connexion with *mām tvām* on the analogy of *āśvaya* : *āśvām* (cp. *asmāsu* beside *asmābhiṣ* following *āśvāsu* : *āśvabhiṣ*, § 448 p. 386); or perhaps they come from the possessive stems **mejo-* **twejo-* (cp. Lat. *meu-s* O.C.Sl. *tojoŕ*). Ved. *yuṣmā-datta-* 'given by you' like *tvā-datta-*; by adding to **asmā yuṣmā* the instr. pl. suffix we have *asmā-bhiṣ yuṣmā-bhiṣ*. Skr. *tvā yuṣmā* may be derived from the possessive stems **tyo-* **(i)u(s)mo-*, like *tvē* etc., § 447 p. 384. In Avestic, personal pronouns dropped the instrumental case (Bartholomae, Ar. Forsch. II 127).

Armen. *ine-v* (instead of **ime-v* following *inj*? cp. § 444 p. 380). *ke-v*, *me-vē je-vē*. Reflexive sing. *iure-v*.

Gr. *σ-φί* and *σ-φί*. On the case-suffixes see § 281 pp. 186 f., on the stem, § 436 Rem. 3 p. 368. From *σφί* was formed a plural *σφί-σι*, as Skr. *yuṣmā-bhiṣ* from *yuṣmā*, and others.

Lith. *manim̃ tavim̃ savim̃* following the *i*-class, like the loc. *manyjė* etc., § 448 p. 386; in dialects also *mañ tavi saṽ* like *aki* (§ 278 pp. 181, 183). O.C.Sl. *mūnoja toboja soboja* were made beside the loc. dat. *mīnē tebē sebē* (§ 445 p. 382) to match with *raċoja* : *raċē*. Lith. *mu-m̃s mu-m̃i, ju-m̃s ju-m̃i* O.C.Sl. *na-mi va-mi* like dat. *mū-ms jū-ms na-mū va-mū*, § 445 pp. 382 f.

Pruss. *sen maim* 'mecum' is properly 'cum meo' (§ 421 p. 344), cp. gen. *maisei* § 452.

The Genitive, and the Possessive Adjectives.

§ 450. From the original language and onwards there has been a very close connexion between the genitive case of pronouns and their possessives. The possessives were for the most part built up on forms which were used with a genitive meaning; and here all will be treated together.

I. Idg. **eme* **teye* **seye*, the bare stem, like acc. sing. Gr. *ἐμέ* etc. Beside **eme* there was another stem **me-ne*, whose ending recalls Skr. *ca-ná* Avest. *ka-na* (§ 421 p. 344) and the like; compare Torp's hypothesis mentioned already, § 435 Rem. page 366.

Armen. *im*. Avest. *ma-na* O.Pers. *ma-nā*; Cymr. *my n-*; Lith. *manė* (instead of **me-nė* on the analogy of *tavė savė*) Pruss. **me-ne* (inferred from dat. *mennei*), O.C.Sl. *me-ne*.

Skr. *tāva* Avest. *tava* (the Avest. possessive *hava-* comes from pr. Ar. **sava*, § 451); Armen. *ko*, which doubtless began originally with *t-* (*d-*), but took *k-* = **ty-* from the other cases, — in other respects the word is treated like *nor* 'new' (II § 75 p. 192); Mid.Cymr. *teu* (pr. British **tou*), O.Ir. *do du* first from **tou* **tō* with accent (on the variants *do-* and *t-*, *do-māthir* and *co-t-māthir*, see vol. I p. 551); Lith. *tavė savė*, O.C.Sl. *tebe sebe* instead of **tove* **sove* on the combined analogy of *tebě sebě* and *mene*.

Sanskrit *māma* is either *ma* reduplicated (cp. *tvā-tvam* and the like, II § 54 p. 100), in which case we must assume Idg. **me* as well as **eme* (cp. Avest. *ma-*, § 451); or it was **ama* = Armen. *im* transformed by the analogy of *mā mé*. Compare the Author, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 401; Torp. *op. cit.* 20 f.; Wackernagel, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVIII 138.

In Greek the genitives were extended by *-σχο*, **ἐμε-σχο* etc., which served to keep them distinct from the accusative. *ἐμεῖο ἐμέο ἐμεῦ ἐμοῦ μεν μου, σεῖο σεό σεῦ σοῦ, εἶο ἐο εὔ οὔ*. Then again *-ς* was added, producing such genitives as Dor. *ἐμέος ἐμεῦς, τέος τεῦς*.

The formation of these Greek genitives seems to throw light on Armenian *ko-y*, gen. *ko-yoy*, 'tuus'. It is possible that the kernel of this is *ko*, explained above; this would be extended to **ko-y*, and from this would grow out the possessive *ko-y* in exactly the same way as the possessive *imo-* was made from *im* (§ 451). But it is also possible to regard the kernel of this word as being the gen. **tyo-sjo*, i. e. the gen. of the

possessive which had taken the place of the original substantival genitive (§ 452).

Latin *mei tui sui* and Lithuanian *māno tāvo sūvo* (also accented *māno tāvo sūvo*) are obscure. We cannot tell whether they are direct transformations of the pr. Idg. gen. of substantival personal pronouns, or whether they were originally gen. of the possessive pronouns (Lat. *meu-m* etc., Lith. *māna-s* etc.) which at a late period took the place of these; Lat. *nostrī vestrī* are undoubtedly possessives.

In Keltic the pronouns of the 1st and 2nd persons influenced each other's form. In Irish we see *mo mu* following *do du* (cp. O.Ir. *friumm* following *friut* § 442 Rem. p. 377), and similarly in Mid.Cymr. *meu* following *teu*. On the other hand it may be conjectured that Cymr. *dy* (pre-tonic) follows *my* (n-), cp. Bret. *da* and *ma* (but Corn. *de* and *ow*).

In Balto-Slavonic, genitives of this class were the foundation for re-modelled forms in the other cases: Lith. *manė manėjė manimì, tavė* etc., Pruss. dat. *mennei*, O.C.Sl. *mñě mñnoja*. Compare Prakr. acc. *mamam* loc. *mamammi* abl. *mamādō* from the gen. *māma*, O.C.Sl. dat. *česomu* loc. *česomì* (beside *čemì*) from the gen. *česo* 'cuius'.

§ 451. The genitives mentioned in § 450 were inflected as o-stems to form possessive pronouns.

**eme*- **me*- **mene*: Avest. *ma*-, Armen. *im* gen. *imoy*,¹⁾ Gr. *ἐμός*, Lith. *māna-s* (with *a* in the first syllable on the analogy of *tāva-s sūva-s*).

**teye*- **seye*: with the variants **tye*- **syē*-²⁾ **se*-. Avest. *hava*-; Skr. *tvā-s svā-s* Avest. *hwa- hva-* O.Pers. *uva-*.

1) Whether the nom. *im* is an unchanged *im* = Idg. **eme*, as in Old Saxon the gen. pl. *ūsa irā* were used unchanged for the nom. sing. of the possessive (§ 455), or whether *im* once had a nominative sign, is a question which cannot be decided.

2) **syē* doubtless in **syē-sor*- 'sister' and **syē-kuro*- 'father-in-law'. Are we justified, on the strength of Mid.H.G. *swā-ger*, in assuming **syē* as a variant of **syē* for Idg., like Skr. *mā* beside Gr. *μή* and the like?

Armen. *ko-* = **tyo-* in *koy* 'tuus', see § 452. Gr. *τέος* *ίός*; *σός* *φός* *ός*; pronominal flexion is clear in the adv. **foð* in *ὅττι ὄππω* etc. (§ 417 p. 338), cp. pron. flexion in Aryan, as Ved. *svá-smin* Avest. *ma-h* *hwa-hmī*. Lat. *tovo-s* *tuo-s* *sovo-s* *suo-s*, Umbr. *tover* 'tui' Osc. *tuvaī* dat. 'tuae' Osc. *soveis* 'sui'; O.Lat. *su-m* *sīs* *sa-m* and perhaps Umbr. *so-* in *sve-su* (§ 447 p. 385). Lith. *tāva-s* *sāva-s*.

Another class of possessives is formed with secondary suffixes, from genitives or from other forms:

Skr. *māma-ka-s* *māmaká-s* *tāvaká-s* (the two last are Vriddhi derivatives, cp. II § 60 pp. 112 f.) from *māma tāva*, see II § 86 p. 257. *mad-īya-s* *tvad-īya-s* from *mád tvád* (cp. § 444 p. 380), see II § 63 p. 133.

Two explanations are possible of Latin *meu-s* for **mejo-s* (on *miis* = *meis* and the like see Thurneysen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXX 500), Pruss. *mais*, acc. pl. *maia-us*, *twais* *swais*, O.C.Sl. *mojŕ* *vojŕ* *vojŕ*. They may contain the suffix *-jo-*, like O.C.Sl. *naši vaši* for **nās-jo-* **uās-jo-* (see II § 63 pp. 132 f.); or, as is assumed by Lidén (Ark. nord. fil. III 242) and Johansson (Bezz. Beitr. XIV 171, XVI 135), the possessives **mej* **moj* (§ 447 pp. 384 ff.) were attracted to the *o*-class and became **mejo-* **mojo-*. On the last view, compare O.H.G. Frank. *uns-a-* O.Sax. *ūs-a-* Pruss. *nous-a-* 'our' and the like, § 454. I leave the matter undecided.

O.Ir. *mui* 'mine' (all genders), **tui* (Mid.Ir. *tai*) 'thine' (all genders) are modelled upon *ai ae* 'his', used for all genders (p. 339, footnote). In this statement I follow Thurneysen.

As before, two origins are possible for Gothic *mein-s* *þein-s* *sein-s* O.H.G. *mīn dīn sīn*, and I leave the question open. They may have the Suffix *-ino-* (II § 68 p. 158), or, as Lidén assumes (*loc. cit.*), they may be the possessive **mej* etc. + the suffix *-no-* (cp. Skr. *pura-nā-* 'former' and the like II § 66 pp. 142 ff.). In favour of the former view might be adduced Lith. *kėnō* 'whose' from a form *kėna-* 'belonging to whom', which seems to contain *-ėna-*, a suffix very closely related to *-ino-* (II § 68 p. 160). But some dialects show

kenō (*kanō*) (the Author, Lit. Volksl. 304), which resembles the variation of Skr. *kēna* and Avest. *kana* (§ 421 p. 344); cp. Johansson, Bezz. Beitr. XVI 158.

§ 452. We have often noticed that instead of 'ego', 'tu', and so forth the equivalents of 'meum', 'tuum', etc. were used, substituting for the idea of personality the more concrete expression denoting what belongs to the person and makes up his environment. Thus we find Umbr. *tiom* 'te' § 442 p. 377, Pruss. *sen maim* 'mecum' § 449 p. 388, Avest. *ahmāi* 'nobis' § 446 pp. 383 f., and perhaps Gr. Lesb. *ἄμμι* 'nobis' § 448 p. 387. Such expressions as these came the more naturally because there were forms which could be regarded as either a subst. personal pronoun or a neuter possessive used as a subst.; for example, loc. Skr. *tvē* (cp. *svē* 'in suo').¹⁾

Thus it may be seen how the genitive of the possessive often came to be used instead of the gen. of the personal pronouns. Gr. *τεοῦ* *τεοῦ* *ἐοῦ* *ἐοῦ* from *τεό-ν* *ἐό-ν*, and with -ς added (cp. *ἐμέο-ς* § 450 p. 389) Dor. *τεοῦ-ς* *ἐμοῦ-ς* Boeot. *τεῶ-ς* *τιῶ-ς* (the Author, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 407 f., 414 ff.). Pruss. *maisi twaisei*. Possibly of this sort are Armen. **koy*, the kernel of *Roy* 'tuus', and Lat. *mei tui sui* Lith. *māno tāvo sāvo* (see § 450 pp. 389 f.). The suggested derivation of these Lith. forms from *māna-* 'meum' etc. is supported by *kēnō* 'whose', if it is derived from a poss. adj. *k-ēna-* (§ 451, above).

A case of the possessive may also be expected in Goth. *meina þeina seina* O.H.G. *mīn dīn sīn*. But which case is it?

Remark. Bezenberger's view is that *meina* is ablative (Unters. über die got. Adv., 7); its ground-form would then be **minōd* or **minēd*, and it would answer to Lith. *māno*, cp. § 228 p. 114, § 241 p. 135. Dr. K. Bojunga holds it to be the nom. acc. pl. neuter (cp. Skr. *asmāka-m*). Johansson, Bezz. Beitr. XVI 163 f., explains *meina* as **mei-nāz*, which

1) However, it is still unknown in what way the adj. Skr. *śra-* and Avest. *hra-* 'own, my, thy, his' came to be used for the subst. pronoun, whence we have *svā-s* *hūō* 'he himself' *svā* 'she herself'. This use must surely be a secondary development. We might believe that the Idg. reflexive pronoun subst. (Gr. *ἑ* Lat. *se* etc.) adopted the inflexion of the possessive, and in this way got a nominative case.

he calls "a loc.-instr. case with the meaning *by or with me*, or something of the kind; or, more precisely, a locative (*mei-moi-mī*), strengthened by an *n*-suffix (= *asmi* : *asmi-n*, or, vice versa, *jmán* : *jmán-i*)"; compare his view of *unsara*, in the volume cited above, pages 136 f.

§ 453. On Armen. *iur* 'sui', see § 455.

Lith. *manės tavės savės*, beside *manė tavė savė*, are still an unsolved problem; they recal O.C.Sl. *toję rąky dušę* (§ 229 pp. 117 f., § 420 p. 343). There is another group, *manės tavės savės*, which look like an extension of *manė* etc. by *-s* similar to Gr. *ἐμεό-ς* (§ 450 p. 389), or a kind of compromise between *manė* and *manės* etc.; another is *manės tavės savės*, coined for the benefit of *manimī manyjė* etc. Cp. Brückner, Arch. slav. Phil. IV 11 ff.

Lastly, the student must be reminded that forms like Skr. *mē*, locative in form, were originally possessives, and are still used as such in the separate languages; they may also be called possessive genitive. See § 447 pp. 384 ff.

§ 454. II. If the acc. **ḡsme* (= Gr. ἄμμε) was a combination of the acc. **ḡs* (= Goth. *uns*) with the particle **sme* (§ 443. 2 p. 379), we might expect **ḡsme* to be sometimes used for the genitive, considering that Skr. *nas* can be so used. Then the Greek **ἄμμε-το* **ἑμμε-το*, later with plural suffix *ἀμμείων* **ἑμμείων* (Hom. *ἡμείων ἐμείων ἡμέων ἐμέων*, Att. *ἡμῶν ἐμῶν*, Dor. *ἄμέων ἐμέων ἄμίων ἐμίων*) bear the same relation to Idg. gen. **ḡsme* as *ἐμε-το* to Idg. gen. **eme*. On the analogy of these genitives in *-είων* was formed *σφείων* *σφιῶν*. We add as further examples the possessives Avest. *ahma-* Lesb. ἄμμο-ς ἑμμο-ς Dor. ἄμό-ς ἐμό-ς, and Avest. *ma-* Gr. ἐμό-ς.

A certain amount of support for this view may be had from the Balto-Slavonic and some Germanic forms. As has already been said (§ 448 p. 386), O.C.Sl. *nasū vasū* Pruss. *nouson iouson* Lith. *mūsū jūsū* have doubtless been built up on **nōs* **mōs* used for the genitive. These passed into the *o*-class, and gave rise to the poss. adj. Pruss. *nous-a-iou-s-a-* (masc. dat. *nousesmu* acc. *iou-san*, fem. nom. *nousa iousa* etc.) and Lith. *mūsàs-is* *jūsàs-is* fem. *mūsó-ji* *jūsó-ji*,

whilst O.C.Sl. *naši vaši*, for **nas-jo- *vas-jo-*, have the suffix *-jo-*. Similarly we have poss. adj. W.Germ. *unsa-* 'our' from *uns* = **us*, e. g. Frank. gen. *unses*, and O.Sax. *ūsa* O.Fris. *use* gen. pl. (§ 345 p. 246) like Lat. *nostrum* beside *nostrī*, and again on this analogy *iwa-* 'your'; Germ. *uns-era-* beside *unsa-* like Gr. *ἡμέ-τερο-ς* beside *ἑμó-ς* (§ 455).

The origin of Avest. *na-* 'our' was as follows. The possessive genitive *nō* = Skr. *nas*, when dependent upon a nom. sing. masc., was regarded as the nom. of an adj. stem in *-o-* (such as *ma-* 'meus') and was then declined in other cases on this supposition. Cp. Lat. *cuiu-s* 'belonging to whom' from *cuius* § 419 p. 342.

§ 455. An *r*-suffix is seen in the gen. O.Icel. *vār* 'our' for **uēr*, beside Goth. *veis* 'we', and O.H.G. *unsēr iuwēr*. We may conjecture that this is the same element which is seen in Armenian pronouns with gender (§ 419 p. 341), and which we find here in personal pronouns: sing. *iur* 'sui', with plural inflexion added *iureanç*, and *mer* 'nostri' *jer* 'vestri'. Perhaps *r* in these is the same as in adverbs like Goth. *hēr* 'here' *þar* 'there' (cp. p. 71 footnote), so that the original meaning of **uēr* will be 'by, beside us' or something of the kind, and its use for the genitive might be compared with that of Skr. loc. *mē* and the like (see Johansson, Bezz. Beitr. XVI 123 ff., especially pp. 134 and 143). The reason why *-ēr* in O.H.G. *unsēr iuwēr* was never shortened (as it was in *fater* for pr. Germ. **faðēr*) is that these forms, which, like O.Sax. gen. pl. *ūsa iwa* (§ 454), were also used directly for the nom. sing. of the possessive adjective, fell under the influence of forms like *jenēr blintēr*, whose *-ēr* came from **-ai-z* (§ 414 p. 336); observe the different origin of the endings in *unsēr* and *unserēr*. Armen. *iur mer jer* are also poss. adj., gen. *iuroy meroy jeroy* (cp. § 450 p. 389), and O.Icel. *vār-r* 'noster' from the gen. *vār*.

With a comparative suffix Gr. *ἡμέ-τερο-ς* *ἐμέ-τερο-ς* and reflexive *σφε-τερο-ς* (used for both plural and singular) and Lat. *nos-ter* *ves-ter* (*voster* doubtless simply on the analogy of

noster), Umbr. *vestra* abl. 'vestra', cp. II § 75 pp. 193, 195, § 139 p. 450. And as ἡμετέρον can hardly be distinguished in sense from ἡμῶν (the Author, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 403, 410, cp. τείρο § 452 p. 392), so *nostrī vestrī* along with the pluralised *nostrum vestrum* (first doubtless in phrases like *multī nostrum*) became the gen. of *nōs vōs*. The same *-tero-* is seen in the O.Ir. dual *nā-thar* and other words, § 459.

Remark. The different vowel in *noster* and *vester* is doubtless original. (If Osc. *nistrus*, Zvet. no. 129. 2, is to be explained with Bugge as 'nostros' — not so according to Bücheler, see I § 65 p. 54 — it must come from **nestro-*, and that must be regarded as an adformate of *estro-*. Perhaps the difference in O.Ir. gen. 1st person *nā-thar* beside 2nd person *se-thar* (*se-* = **s-ye-*) is similar, compare § 457 on Skr. *nāu* : *vām*.)

These forms with *-(e)ro-* will serve to shew that the second comparative suffix *-(e)ro-* (II § 75 pp. 188 ff.) is to be seen in the following forms. O.Ir. gen. *ar n-* and *far n-* with the gen. pl. ending like Lat. *nostrum*, used for the possessive; *ar n-* probably (according to Torp, as cited, p. 41) for **ēsro-* = **ys-ro-* (with *-r-* for *-sr-* cp. *mīr* for **mēnsr-*, I § 574 p. 430) with the vowel of the first syllable weakened to *a* in proclitic position (explained differently by Thurneysen, see vol. II § 75 p. 196 footnote); and *far n-* similarly either for **s-yes-ro-* or for **s-ye-ro-*, — if the latter it must have been originally dual like *sethar* 'vester' (pl.), see § 459. Goth. *unsar izvar*, O.Icel. *yð(v)ar-r*, O.H.G. with strong ending *unserēr iuwerēr*, compare the gen. of the person. pron., Goth. *unsara izvara* O.Icel. *yð(v)ar*, like Goth. *meina* beside *mein-s*, O.Icel. *mīn* beside *min-n* (§ 452 with the Rem. pp. 392 f.); since *izvar iuwerēr* cannot be derived from **es-yes-ro-* **e-yes-ro-*, they were either dual at first, as O.Ir. *far n-* may have been, or else they are simply due to the analogy of *unsar unserēr*.

These forms with *-(e)ro-* and the subst. O.Icel. *vār* O.H.G. *unsēr* seem to be related in much the same way as Gr. ὑπεροχῆ Lat. *s-uperu-s* and ὑπὲρ *s-super*, or the like (II § 75 pp. 188 ff., III § 258 p. 159).

§ 456. A formative suffix *-aka-* is shown in the Aryan genitives: Skr. *asmākam yuṣmākam*, Ved. also *asmāka yuṣmāka* doubtless following *māma tāva* (conversely, Pali *mamaṃ tavaṃ* follow *amhakaṃ tumhakaṃ*); Avest. *ahmākem yuṣmākem xšmākem* O.Pers. *amāxam* (on this *-x-* see Bartholomae, Ar. Forsch. I 79). Connected with these are the possessives Skr. *asmāka-s yuṣmāka-s*, Avest. *ahmāka- yuṣmāka- xšmāka-*. The forms in *-akam* can hardly be anything but the nom. acc. sing. neuter, although the reason why this form was pitched upon is still unexplained; cp. *yuṣṍku*, used for the gen. dual, beside the adj. *yuṣṍku-š* (§§ 458, 459). Cp. II § 36 pp. 257 f., § 89 p. 272 f.; Benfey, Abh. der Gött. Ges. der Wiss. XIX 4, 46; the Author, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 400 ff.; Torp, *op. cit.* p. 31. A different view — but one which if I may say so, smacks too much of the old "glottogonic" school — is taken by Johansson, Bezz. Beitr. XVI 139 f.

Remark. It is quite possible that *asmākam* was originally adverbial, with some meaning like 'on our side, by us'. Then the attributive use with nouns, e. g. *asmāka gāyatrāḥ* 'our song', was the same as in *tā imē vidūrā ḍākāḥ* Çat. Brāh. 1. 4. 1. 23 'these are the far-sundered (lit. far apart, adv.) worlds', Gr. *ὁ ῥῦρ ἡρόνος* etc. (see Goedioke, Acc. in Veda 233; Delbrück, Synt. Forsch. V 72, 203; Paul, Princ.² 314). The use of *māma tāva* Avest. *mana tava* would also have had something to do with this idiom.

For the possessive, Sanskrit has also *asmad-īya-s yuṣmad-īya-s*, cp. *mad-īya-s tvad-īya-s* § 451 p. 391.

- b. The Dual of *we* and *you* and of the Reflexive, together with their several Possessives.

Nominative and Accusative.

§ 457. The main characteristic of the dual cases was the absence of the *s* of the forms used for the plural, Skr. *na-s va-s* etc.

Answering to the plural nom. **ye-i* 'we' the dual had **ye* **yē* (cp. **me* **mē* Gr. *μὲ* Skr. *mā* and the like, § 415 Rem. p. 337). **ye*: Goth. O.Icel. *vi-t* A.S. *wi-t*, Lith. dial. *vė-du* fem. *vė-dvi*, but in H.Lith. *mù-du -dvi* (*vė-du* was orig. only

nom., *mù-du* only acc.; in one set of dialects *mùdu* was entirely levelled out, and *vèdu* in the other); Lith. *-du* and Goth. *-t* must both have been connected with the numeral *two* (Goth. *tvái*), but the manner in which the Goth. form was shortened to *-t* is not clear. **uē*: O.C.Sl. *vě*, Skr. Ved. *vām* with the particle *-m*.

Answering to the plural nom. **iūs* 'you' the dual had **iū* **iū* (cp. **tu tā* 'thou' and the like, § 415 Rem. p. 337). **iū*: Lith. *jū-du* (also used as acc.), Goth. **ju-t* (by an accident, not actually found), instead of which in other dialects we find A.S. *git* O.Sax. *git* H.G. Bavar. *ez* O.Icel. *it* influenced by *vit vit* (cp. § 441 p. 374). **iū*: Skr. *yuvām* = *yū* + *am*.

In place of the plural acc. etc. Skr. *nas* Lat. *nōs* etc. the following forms appear in the dual: Skr. enclitic *nāu*, acc. gen. dat. like *nas*; Gr. *vo'* acc. nom., beside which in Homer is *vō-i* perhaps with the deictic *-i* (cp. the Author, Gr. Gr.² p. 132); O.C.Sl. *na* acc. dat. Thus there was in Idg. an enclitic **nō* (**nōu*), which in Greek, accented, took the place of the nom. as well, just as the plural Lat. *nōs* came to be used for the nominative too. And as the plural had **ps* (Goth. *uns*) beside **nōs*, so the dual had **p* beside **nō*, in acc. Goth. *ug-k* A.S. *un-c* with the particle *-k* like *mi-k*. Another form which must doubtless be added to the list is Skr. Ved. *āvām*; which may be derived from *a-* = **p*, by assuming that it was extended on the analogy of *yuvām*, cp. below.

In place of the plural acc. etc. Skr. *vas* Lat. *vōs* etc. the following forms appear: Skr. enclitic *vām* (with the *m*-particle) acc. gen. dat. like *vas*; O.C.Sl. *va* acc. dat. nom. (its use for the nom. is not original). Does the contrast between Skr. *nāu* : *vām* indicate that the ground-form of the 2nd person was **uē*, not **uō*? (cp. § 455 Rem. p. 395). Answering to **p* (Goth. *ug-k*) there may have been a **u* in Germanic, acc. **u-ke*, which could become A.S. *inc* etc. by analogical change, see § 437. 2, *d* p. 370.

Skr. Ved. 1st person nom. *āvām* acc. *āvām*, 2nd person nom. *yuvām* acc. *yuvām*; in later Sanskrit the acc. forms

ADJ 1.	* <i>smi(n) p</i>	<i>u s n</i>
2	* <i>usmi d p</i>	<i>yuš</i>
Dat. 1.	* <i>nes</i> * <i>ns</i> , * <i>qs</i> - <i>mei</i> - <i>oi p</i> , * <i>nsme-dh-p</i>	<i>n a</i>
2.	* <i>nes</i> * <i>usmei</i> - <i>oi p</i> , * <i>usmei</i> - <i>oi p</i>	<i>n</i>
Loc. 1.	* <i>nsmi(n) p</i> , * <i>ns</i> - <i>mei</i> - <i>oi p</i>	<i>as</i>
2.	* <i>usmi(n) p</i> , * <i>us</i> - <i>mei</i> - <i>oi p</i>	<i>yuš</i>
Instr. 1.	* <i>nsme</i> , * <i>nsmo p</i>	<i>asm</i>
2.	* <i>nsme</i> , * <i>nsmo p</i>	<i>yuš</i>
Gen. 1.	* <i>nes</i> * <i>ns</i> , * <i>ns</i> - <i>mei</i> - <i>oi p</i>	<i>n</i>
2.	* <i>nes</i> * <i>ns</i> , * <i>us</i> - <i>mei</i> - <i>oi p</i>	<i>m</i>
Du.		
Nom. 1.	* <i>ue</i> * <i>ue</i>	<i>vam</i>
2.	* <i>ku</i> * <i>ku</i>	<i>yur</i>
Acc. 1.	* <i>no(u)</i> , * <i>u</i> * <i>p</i> * <i>nā</i>	
2.	* <i>uo p</i> * <i>ue p</i>	<i>vān</i>
Abl. 1.	* <i>p</i>	<i>āvā</i>
2.	* <i>p</i>	<i>yur</i>
Dat. 1.	* <i>no(u)</i> , * <i>u</i> , * <i>p</i> * <i>nā</i>	<i>vān</i>
2.	* <i>uo p</i> * <i>ue p</i>	<i>y</i>
Loc. 1.	* <i>p</i>	<i>āvā</i>
2.	* <i>p</i>	<i>yur</i>
Instr. 1.	* <i>p</i>	<i>āvā</i>
2.	* <i>p</i>	<i>yur</i>
Gen. 1.	* <i>no(u)</i> , * <i>u</i> , * <i>p</i> * <i>nā</i>	<i>y</i>
2.	* <i>uo</i> * <i>ue p</i>	<i>vān</i>

1) Forms from the several languages which belong to the place where they stand only by right of usage, and in form belong to another, are enclosed in square brackets []. Spaced Type denotes that a form may be considered as regularly descended from the form of the parent language.

could be used for the nom. too. Avest. acc. *avā*. Probably the nom. *yuvām* had (in pr. Ar.) produced an acc. *yuvām* on the analogy of *tuvām tvām* : *tuvām tvām*. An acc. **yuvā*, following *tuvā tvā*, is indicated by Avest. *avā*. Cp. abl. *yuvād* following *tuvād tvād*. And then, apparently to get similar forms for the 1st person, there were formed *avām* Skr. *avām* Avest. *avā* (cp. abl. *avād*), the kernel for these being *a* = **ǵ*; *a* = **ǵ* : **ǵ* in Goth. *ug-k*, as **ǵū* : **ǵu*-. Similarly in the plural, but by the opposite attraction, Skr. *yū-yām* follows *vay-ām*, see § 458.

Distinct from all the forms hitherto mentioned is Gr. *σφρί* 'you two', Hom. *σφῶι* (like *πῶι* above). A conjecture on its origin is given in § 436 Rem. 3 page 368.

sc. *σφῶέ*, a kind of dualisation of *σφρί* *σφῶϊν* following *σφρίν*.

Cases, and the Possessives.

There is nothing of the dual in the following forms: Ablative Skr. Ved. Instrumental *yuvā* in Ved. *yuvā-datta-s* : *atta-s*. Genitive Avest. *yuvakem*, like Ved. *yuvāku yuvākuṣ* with the adj. and with *yuṣmdkam* with the adj. formation and the use of the adjective there may be some close connexion *vayū-ṣ yuvayū-ṣ tvāyū-s* and the like and the references there given). On inflexion is seen in gen. loc. *avāyōṣ* Vedic has *yuvōṣ*), to be explained as *ṣ* : *ṣnayōṣ* (§ 307 p. 205), or else as from **yū*, the form from which *yuvām* (*ōṣ*); and in dat.-abl. instr. *avā-bhyām* *vā-bhyām* (cp. J. Schmidt, Pluralb. 20). *iv* *σφῶϊν* Att. *νῶϊν σφῶϊν*. Cp. *τοῖν* *νῶϊν* come from **νῶ-σιν*? It is also

possible that *νῶιν* like *ἐμίν* was modelled upon *ἄμυν*, and being associated with *τοῖν ἱπποῦν* came to have the same functions.

Lat. *nō-bīs vō-bīs* may be regarded as old dual cases (cp. O.C.Sl. *na-ma va-ma*) whose suffix has been pluralised by association with the type of *istīs*, see § 445 p. 382. This is not the only instance of a form passing into the plural system when the dual has died out: a parallel is Bavar. *ez enk* used for the plural. Much the same thing is seen in Norse dialects; see Johansson, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXX 551. Compare the Latin dual *duae, equae* used for the plural, § 286 p. 194, § 315 p. 215.¹⁾

O.Ir. gen. *nāthar nār* Mid.Ir. *fathar sar*, see § 459.

Germanic. Round about the form **un-ke* = Goth. *ugk* (§ 457), whose *k* was regarded as parallel to the *s* of *uns* and so lumped together with the stem, were produced Goth. *ugkis ugkara* following *unsis unsara*, O.Sax. gen. *unkero* gen. pl. of the possessive like *ūsa*, dat. *unk* for **unkiz* like *iu* for **iuyiz*, O.H.G. gen. *unkēr* following *unsēr*. Similarly in the 2nd person Goth. *igqis igqara* (*-ky-* following *-zv-* in *izvis izvara*) O.Sax. *ink*. A.S. acc. *uncit incit*, beside dat. *unc inc*, with *-it* following the nom. *wit zit*.

Balto-Slavonic. O.C.Sl. *na-ma va-ma* like *raġa-ma*, but *na-ju va-ju* as contrasted with *raġu toju*. Lithuanian shows a multitude of forms distributed among the different dialects. Dat. instr. *mu-m ju-m* beside *mū-du jū-du* (§ 457 pp. 396 f.), as in the plural *mū-ms jū-ms* and *mu-mīs ju-mīs*; also *mum-dvēm jum-dvēm*. Then *mum* and *jum* served as a kernel for the gen. O.Lith. *mumu jumu* with the *-ū* of the gen. plural (cp. gen. dual *dvēmu*, Brückner, Arch. slav. Phil., III 310), and for the dat. *mumēm*; there are also gen. *mūma jūma* (used as the poss. gen.), which are found in districts where *māno tāvo* have regularly become *māna tāva*, and therefore are without doubt modelled after them. Elsewhere

1) So now Bartholomae, Stud. zur idg. Spr., I 7.

the case-system is filled up by a form made up of *ve-*, *mi-*, or *ni-* + *-du*, but not always in the same way. High Lith. gen. *mā-drēn* *jā-drēn* dat. instr. *mā-drēm* *jā-drēm* loc. *mā-drīn* *jā-drīn*. But in other parts the structure of *vē-du* and *jā-du* became so much obscured, that they came under the influence of *sānu* as though they were *vēd-u* etc.: hence gen. *vēdums* *mādums*, *jūdums* (cp. *sānu-ms* § 310 p. 207), dat. instr. *vēdum* *mādum*, *jūdum*; so too we find in the same neighbourhoods gen. *tēdums* dat. instr. *tēdum* from nom. *tū-du* (beside *tū-s* 'the, that').

§ 459. Possessives. Skr. Ved. *yuṣṭku-ṣ*. Gr. Hom. *voī-repos* *voī-repos*; cp. *hē-repos*. O.Ir. *nā-thar* and *nā-r* in *cechtar nāthar*, *cechtar nār* 'each of us two', which we may conjecture to be gen. pl. like *ar n-* (§ 455 p. 395); *nā-* for **nā-*. So too the O.Ir. *se-thar* — *sethar(-si)* Wb. 1^b is glossed 'restram', plural — which is connected with **s-ye-*, accentuated 'restram', plural — which is connected with **s-ye-*, must originally have been dual, as is still Mid.Ir. *nechthar* *fathar* 'one of you two' (*fathar* is doubtless a transformation of *sethar* on the analogy of *far*), and possibly Mid.Ir. *sar* in *indala-sar* 'one of you two' and the possessive genitive *far n-* (cp. loc. cit.). Gothic *iggar* (*ugkar* not found, but may be assumed from gen. *ugkara*), O.Icel. *okkar-r* *ykkar-r*, O.Sax. gen. pl. *unkero*.



the case-system is filled up by a form made up of *ve-*, *mū-*, or *ju-* + *-du*, but not always in the same way. High Lith. gen. *mū-dvėjū jū-dvėjū* dat. instr. *mū-dvēm jū-dvēm* loc. *mū-dvėse jū-dvėse*. But in other parts the structure of *vė-du mū-du* and *jū-du* became so much obscured, that they came under the influence of *sūnu* as though they were *vėd-u* etc.: hence gen. *vėdums mūdums, jūdums* (cp. *sūnu-ms* § 310 p. 207), dat. instr. *vėdum mūdum, jūdum*; so too we find in the same neighbourhoods gen. *tūdums* dat. instr. *tūdum* from nom. *tū-du* (beside *tā-s* 'the, that').

§ 459. Possessives. Skr. Ved. *yuvdku-ṣ*. Gr. Hom. *ῥωϊ-τερο-ς σρωϊ-τερο-ς*, cp. *ἡμέ-τερο-ς*. O.Ir. *nā-thar* and *nā-r* in *cechtar nāthar, cechtar nār* 'each of us two', which we may conjecture to be gen. pl. like *ar n-* (§ 455 p. 395); *nā-* for **nō-*. So too the O.Ir. *se-thar* — *sethar(-si)* Wb. 1^b is glossed accentuated 'vestram', plural — which is connected with **s-ye-*, must originally have been dual, as is still Mid.Ir. *nechthar fathar* 'one of you two' (*fathar* is doubtless a transformation of *sethar* on the analogy of *far*), and possibly Mid.Ir. *sar* in *indala-sar* 'one of you two' and the possessive genitive *far n-* (cp. loc. cit.). Gothic *iggar* (*ugkar* not found, but may be assumed from gen. *ugkara*), O.Icel. *okkar-r ykkar-r*, O.Sax. gen. pl. *unkero*.

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A
COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR
OF THE
INDO-GERMANIC LANGUAGES.

Da muss sich manches Rätsel lösen
Doch manches Rätsel knüpft sich auch.

Goethe, Faust.

A
COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR
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GREEK, LATIN, UMBRO-SAMNITIC, OLD IRISH, GOTHIC, OLD HIGH GERMAN,
LITHUANIAN AND OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC

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VOLUME IV.
MORPHOLOGY, PART III:
VERBS: FORMATION OF THE STEM, AND INFLEXION OR CONJUGATION.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

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JOHN PEILE,

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STUDY OF COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY IN CAMBRIDGE**

THIS TRANSLATION IS DEDICATED

IN TOKEN OF THEIR GRATITUDE AND AFFECTION

BY

HIS OLD PUPILS.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

When in 1889 I brought out the part of my work containing the account of Noun Morphology, I had in my mind, and partly on paper, a simpler plan for the remainder of the work than that which the reader has before him. I meant it to include the presentation of the forms of declension and conjugation, and little more. In view of the confusion and uncertainty that reigned in this department, where many questions of origin and history seemed utterly unsettled, I then thought it best to restrict the work to these limits; and I only hoped that perhaps after the lapse of years, if a second edition should be called for, the further developement of a science which had already made such rapid progress would have put me in a position to give a practical and useful history of Noun and Verb Inflection. But in the course of my work I was gradually converted from this pessimism; the difficulties no longer seemed insurmountable; and I at length decided to attempt a more complete account, not merely exhibiting the results of the different developements, but even now as far as possible tracing their course. Thus the work grew; and thus it comes about that the size of the latter part is so greatly out of proportion to that of the former.

In giving up my first plan, I was influenced not a little by my belief, that from a comprehensive work such as this,

a work in which it is sought to present the facts and problems of language in connected form, more might reasonably be expected than what I had at first proposed. A student might fairly ask that the many questions which await an answer should not be simply avoided, but that some honest attempt should be made to advance a step towards their answering. It must surely be useful that he should not only read that which can be called certain, not only be taught well established facts, but that he should at the same time find the various problems and puzzles, with which the study of Indo-Germanic inflexion abounds, at least briefly mentioned and conveniently arranged. So will the scholar guard best against the mistake which not the best scholar is wholly free from, the danger that in trying to bring order and light into his palace of knowledge, he may leave some dark riddle unattempted, and only move it from one corner to another. If amidst these shifting theories I have often taken a decided stand, and declared myself for one or other of them, adding therewithal other and many new views and explanations, I am yet far from believing that I have placed beyond all doubt the view which I have preferred. In these matters to indicate a path for future research or simply to establish a *prima facie* case is far harder than most people think; and many a theory which seemed to be fixt on the firmest foundation and to offer no point to attack, has been broken down in the end. I can only hope that the mistakes which these volumes must inevitably contain, may help to supply the means for their own correction.

A few of my readers perhaps may wonder why certain new and some very recent theories upon Ablaut, proethnic Accent, formation of Roots and Suffixes, and other such matters, have in these last volumes been either altogether disregarded or only just glanced at. A good deal of the most recent work I would indeed have included in this last volume

but that it had to be finished in 1891.¹⁾ In other cases I saw before me hypotheses, which attractive as they are, and fruitful as they may prove to be, at the time of their publication were too slightly worked out by their authors, and had been too little tested to allow of my making them the basis of my own account. In this volume I have practically not touched the newest theories of Ablaut; I confess that I approach the glib and symmetrical systems of Ablaut Series (cp. Bartholomae in Bezenberger's Beiträge, xvii 105) with very little confidence, and I must refer to what is said on this matter in Vol. I § 309. Even a question of Verb Morphology so important as the form of proethnic Roots (whether they were monosyllabic or not) I have left on one side; I believe neither the one thing nor the other, but only that in the present state of our knowledge we can know nothing about it. If in spite of this I have used hyphens freely, I would remind the reader that the hyphen means a real point of composition in such words as Διός-κουροι, τοῦ-το, ἀνα-βάλλω, ἔ-φερον, but in ἄγ-ο-μεν or γέρ-ο-μεν it only shows the etymological and morphological likeness of certain elements. And though I now as ever call -ο- in ἄγ-ο-μεν a suffix, I do not thereby commit myself to the statement that such elements were originally independent words. See I § 14 pp. 16 ff., II § 8 pp. 18 ff.

Whether in all these things I have been so happy as to hit the golden mean, scholars must decide. Bearing in mind

1) Since then I have had to do without any systematic examination and use of the new works which keep streaming in, or my book would never have come to an end. Only now and then have even the more important works been used, such as those of Bartholomae, Bechtel, Buck, Johansson, G. Meyer, Per Persson, von Planta, W. Schulze, Streitberg, and others; Streitberg's work Zur Germanischen Sprachgeschichte first reached me (in proof sheets) after my book was in print as far as the Additions and Corrections; in these I was able to make reference to it. However, I was glad to observe that I am in agreement with many others in matters not a few.

the paramount object of this work, I would rather be blamed for giving too little space to the newest speculations than give any reason for the reproach that I have allowed them too much.

A word is necessary as to the principle on which the labours of my fellow-workers have been cited or not cited in the text. Complaints have not been wanting that in giving various theories and views I have not always given the name of him who first suggested them, or mentioned others who before me had thought of much the same thing. My principle has been as a rule not to mention the originator of each view, or all those who *ante me mea scripsere*, except in such cases as Verner's Law, which I mention under his name. My book does not in the least aspire to be a compendious history of the new school of philology, or to display the part each of us has taken in the gathering of the spoil. Where reference is made in the text to the works of other scholars, this is done for practical ends and no other.

In these last two volumes I have had from Thurneysen the same generous and ready help as before in all that refers to Keltic. Here, as before, the reference to his advice in a few special paragraphs does not in any degree express my obligation to his aid. If the treatment of Irish questions (for I have rarely touched on the British dialects) is at all on a level with recent research, and sometimes even carried beyond it, this is due to Thurneysen. But I must again beg that he be not held responsible for any errors I may have made in using his communications, or for anything but the paragraphs in which his own words are given. I have also to thank Hübschmann for a number of communications on Armenian.

In the text a number of corrections (mostly in unimportant details) have been silently made, which I have received from

reviews and from private letters of fellow-scholars,¹⁾ among whom I would specially name Messrs. Conway, Holthausen, Leskien, Leumann, Osthoff, and Rouse. More detailed additions which should bring the first parts of the work up to date, I am obliged to forego, since thanks to the rapid progress of our science, whole paragraphs and pages would have to be remodelled. Naturally enough I am now in a position to improve upon many of the views I formerly expressed, particularly in the Phonology (Vol. I) published six years ago. Some of these I have expressly corrected, some tacitly. The reader should therefore consult in each case the explanation which I have given latest.

LEIPZIG, July 2. 1892.

K. BRUGMANN.

1) Lith. *galù* ('I can') and the like forms are not misprints or oversights; see I § 26 p. 29. To avoid misunderstanding, I again call attention to the fact that while *for* (Ger. *aus*) denotes a regular phonetic connexion, *instead of* (Ger. *für*), denotes analogical substitution. Thus "*φιλούμεν* for *φιλιόμεν*", but "Att. *δαίμοσι* instead of pr. Gr. **δαίμα-σι*".

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

The list of Additions and Corrections given in the concluding part of the German edition have been here put in their proper place in the text. Some few alterations have also been made, with Prof. Brugmann's sanction, by way of making clear what from its terseness might have been misunderstood. A list of misprints is given, but I fear there must be others; I hope that these will be forgiven, in view of the exceeding difficulty of correcting proof with so many different diacritic marks.

It may be well to point out that the word "Reduplicator" has been used as equivalent to Reduplicating Syllable or Syllable of Reduplication; and that "Phrase" has been extended to apply to a short complete sentence which fuses into a single word, as *ferē-bam*, *dātāsmi* (see page 444).

In this volume as before I have to thank Mr. Conway for valuable help.

The Indices are nearly ready, and it is hoped they may be publisht along with this volume, or at least with small delay thereafter.

CHELTENHAM, July 17. 1894.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

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CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

VOLUME I.

page 530 line 20 read in cases where the.

" " " 24 " an acute.

VOLUME II.

page X line 1 read masculine.

" XI " 3 *infra* read And instead of But.

" 23 read Classes instead of Classe.

" 95 " 9 *infra* read Lett. instead of Lat.

" 98 " 18 " " ποδ-ην-εκ-ής instead of ποδ-εν-εκ-ής.

" 99 " 8 " " by dissimilation.

" 111 " 14 *supra* " yugām instead of jugām.

" 114 " 4 *infra* place a full stop after 'one-eyed'.

" 117 " 16 read ('free') instead of ('fre')e.

" " " 18 " priya-tvā-m instead of -tvā-m.

" 119 " 7 " O.Icel. " " O.C.Sl.

" 133 " 5 " paoriya " " pavriya.

" 164 *infra* read saya-mna- instead of saya-mna.

" 166 " " mād-s.

" 168 line 11 read -ē instead of nē.

" 173 " 2 " ὀδυρε-μό-ς instead of ὀδυρε-μό-ς.

" 175 lines 7, 12, 28, 33

" 187 " 7, 23

" 189 line 2 *inf.* } read O.Sax. instead of A.S.

" 209 " 4

" 179 " 1 read of instead of o-.

" " " 2 " ya-tardā- instead of ya-taraf.

" 188 " 3 " weather " " wather.

" 208 " 5 " A.S. " " O.Sax.

" 210 *inf.* " it should " " itl should.

" 213 line 6 " § 62 " " § 61.

" 221 " 16 " mṛ-tā-m " " mṛ-lō-m.

" 231 " 22 " prīvā-tu-s amā-tu-s instead of prīvā-tu-sa mā-tu-s.

" 232 " 16 " dele stop after civitatem.

" " " 5 *inf.* put a stop after 221.

" 240 " 2 read -τῆτος instead of τῆτος.

- page 249 line 14 *inf.* read *θαῦμα* instead of *θαῦμα*.
 " 253 " 5 read classification.
 " 268 " 9 " There " " These.
 " 272 " 2 *inf.* " 257 " " 267.
 " 277 " 4 " " would " " whould.
 " 290 " 5 " " ἰδ-ει-ς " " ἰδ-ει-ς.
 " 291 " 8 insert stop after above.
 " 292 " 11 *inf.* read neck instead of neek.
 " 296 " 3 " datŕ instead of doŕ.
 " " 10 " siú-ti " " šiú-ti.
 " 347 " 17 *inf.* " -ειν " " -ειν- and -ην instead of ην.
 " 349 " 19 read ἀγῆ-ών instead of ἀγῆ-ών.
 " 428 " 3 *infra* read statements.
 " 434 " 2 " " line.

VOLUME III.

- page VII line 8 *inf.* read be instead of by.
 " 57 " 3 read of sound " " sound of.

VOLUME IV.

- page 7 line 9 *inf.* prefix § 463.
 " 10 prefix § 464.
 " 17, § 472 *Remark, add:* Further, it is assumed by Johansson (Bezz. Beitr. XIII 125) that *at* in Gothic perfects like *rai-rōþ sai-sō* is a long (open) *ē*. But the change which he assumes seems to me insufficiently supported.
 " 28 line 13 *infra, add:* The *ēs* of the comedians is perhaps better read *ess*, corresponding with the forms *terr* and *ferr* (page 501 footnote 1).
 " 78 " 5 " " *νυδ-ο-* instead of *νυδ-ό-*.
 " 81 " 16 " " measuredst instead of measurest.
 " 83 " 3 read -bō.
 " 95 " 2 " didst accuse instead of pullest.
 " " 2 *inf.* read say " " I say.
 " 96 " 2 " " *blet-e-tū*, omitting *.
 " 98 " 8 " " *Skr. da-thá* instead of O.H.G.
 " 106 footnote 1 *inf.* read *αἰδέομαι* " " αἰδέομαι.
 " 162 line 12 " " vol. I p. 410 footnote.
 " " 4 " " I § 404. 2 p. 299.
 " 198, title to Class XXI, read -eso- instead of -eso-.
 " 235 line 3 *inf.* in the text, read *bin* " " bin.
 " 398 " 7 read *nō-nav-ī-ti* instead of -liv.

MORPHOLOGY OF VERBS.

FORMATION OF THE STEM, AND INFLEXION OR CONJUGATION.¹⁾

§ 460. Two kinds of words go to make up a verbal system. On the one hand there are the forms of the Indicative, Conjunctive, Injunctive, Optative (or Precative), and Imperative; those, that is, which belong to what is called the

1) General Works on the Verb in Indo-Germanic. Bopp, *Vergl. Gram.*, II^s §§ 426 ff. pp. 255 ff., III §§ 672 ff. pp. 1 ff. Schleicher, *Compendium*⁴ pp. 644 ff. Fr. Müller, *Grundr. der Sprachw.*, III pp. 580 ff. Bopp, *Über das Conjugationssystem der Sanskritsprache in Vergleichung mit jenem der griech., lat., pers. und german. Sprachen*, 1816. W. Wackernagel, *Über Conjugation und Wortbildung durch Ablaut im Deutsch., Griech. und Lat.*, Seebode und Jahn's Jahrb., Supplementband I (1831) pp. 17 ff. F. Graefe, *Das Sanskrit-Verbum im Vergleich mit dem griech. und lat., aus dem Gesichtspunkte der class. Philologie*, St. Petersburg, 1836. A. Kuhn, *De conjugatione in -μ. linguae Sanscritae ratione habita*, Berlin 1837. C. W. Bock, *Analysis verbi oder Nachweis der Entstehung der Formen des Zeitwortes namentlich im Griech., Sanskr., Lat. und Türk.*, Berlin 1845. M. Rapp, *Der Verbal-Organismus der indisch-europäischen Sprachen*, 3 vols., 1859 (I. Das ind., das pers., und das slaw. Verbum; II. Das griech. und das roman. Verbum; III. Das goth., das skand., und das sächs. Verbum). Fr. Müller, *Der Verbal Ausdruck im Ärisch-semitischen Sprachkreise*, Vienna 1858. Stenzler, *Über die verschiedenen Conjugationen etc.* (see footnote to page 52, vol. III). Schleicher, *Die Unterscheidung von Nomen und Verbum in der lautlichen Form*, 1865. Ascoli, *Studj ärio-semitici*, Articolo secondo, letto alla Classe di lettere, etc. [del R. Istituto Lombardo], Milan 1865; treats of the Idg. verb as affecting the question how the Idg. languages are related to the Semitic. Merguet, *Welche Beweiskraft hat das Verbum possum für die Entstehung der Verbalendungen aus Hilfsverben*, Gumbinnen 1869. *Idem*, *Die Ableitung der*

Finite Verb. The other class consists of verbal nouns; the forms of the Infinitive (including the Supine), Gerund, and Participle (including the Gerundive). The last class is called the Verb Infinitive.

Verbalendungen aus Hilfsverben, Berlin 1871. *Idem*, Die Hilfsverba als Flexionsendungen, Fleckeisens Jahrb. 1874 pp. 145 ff. *Idem*, Bemerkungen zur lat. Formenbildung, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxii 141 ff. Pauli, Die Ableitung der Verbalendungen aus Hilfsverben, *ibid.* xx 321 ff. Leo Meyer, Über Vocalsteigerung, insbes. in der Verbalflexion, *ibid.* xxi 341 ff. Westphal, Das indogerm. Verbum nebst einer Übersicht der einz. idg. Sprachen und ihrer Lautverhältnisse, 1873. A. Kerber, Gedanken über die Entwicklung der Conjugation; Erstes Heft: Einleitung, Präsens, Rathenow 1873. Grottemeyer, Üb. die Verwandtschaft der idg. und semit. Sprachen, part 3: Das Verbum, Kempen 1876 (compare part. 4, *ibid.* 1877). W. Scherer, Zur Gesch. der deutschen Sprache² pp. 212 ff. The Author, Das verbale Suffix *ā* im Idg., die griech. Passivaoriste und die sogen. äolische Flexion der verba contracta, Morphol. Unters. i 1 ff. J. Schrammen, Über die Bedeutung der Formen des Verbum, Heiligenstadt 1884. Moulton, Notes in Verbal Morphology, Amer. Journ. Phil. x 280 ff. H. D. Müller, Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des idg. Verbalbaues, 1890.

Aryan. Bartholomae, Zur [ar.] Verbalflexion, Ar. Forsch. ii 61 ff. *Idem*, Zur [ar.] Verballehre, in 'Beiträge zur Flexionslehre der idg. Sprachen', 1888, pp. 1 ff (= Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxiv 271 ff.). Whitney, Sanskrit Gramm. pp. 200 ff. *Idem*, The System of the Sanskrit Verba, Proceedings of the Americ. Philol. Assoc., 1876, pp. 6 ff. *Idem*, Sanskrit Roots and Verb-forms (Supplement to Skr. Gr.) 1885. Delbrück, Das altind. Verbum aus den Hymnen des Rigveda seinem Baue nach dargestellt, 1874. J. Avery, Contributions to the History of Verb-Inflection in Sanskrit, Journ. Amer. Orient. Soc., x 217 ff. Neisser, Zur ved. Verballehre, Bezzenberger's Beitr. vii 211 ff. Bartholomae, Handb. der altiran. Dialekte pp. 113 ff. *Idem*, Das altiran. Verbum in Formenlehre und Syntax dargestellt, 1878. Spiegel, Gramm. der altbaktr. Sprache pp. 205 ff. *Idem*, Die altpers. Keilinschr.² pp. 184 ff. *Idem*, Der Organismus des neupers. Verbums, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. ii 464 ff. H. A. Barb, Der Organismus des pers. Verbums, Vienna 1860. Fr. Müller, Die Conjugation des neupers. Verbums, sprachvergleichend dargestellt, Vienna 1864. *Idem*, Die Conjugation des avghanischen Verbums, sprachvergleichend dargestellt, Vienna 1867. *Idem*, Die Grundzüge der Konjugation des ossetischen Verbums, Vienna 1864. Salemann, Versuch über die Conjugation im Ossetischen, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. viii 48 ff.

Armenian. Fr. Müller, Beiträge zur Conjugation des armen. Verbums, Vienna 1863 (see the same scholar's Armeniaca II, Vienna 1870, pp. 1 ff.).

§ 461. The forms of the Finite Verb grew out of the connexion of subject and predicate. In the parent language, phrases made up of a word denoting some condition or action and a personal pronoun, used as a sentence in which the latter was subject and the former predicate, coalesced, and became a

Greek und Latin. V. Henry, *Précis de grammaire comparée du grec et du latin*², pp. 264 ff. King and Cookson, *The Principles of Sound and Inflection as illustrated in the Greek and Latin Languages*, pp. 373 ff. G. Curtius, *Die Bildung der Tempora und Modi im Griech. und Lat., sprachvergleichend dargestellt*, 1846. Landvoigt, *Die Formen des griech. und lat. Verbums untereinander verglichen*, Merseburg 1847. Birkenstamm, *Über die lat. Conjugation in Vergleichung mit der griech.*, Rinteln 1869. Fröhde, *Zur griech. und lat. Conjugation*, Bezzenberger's Beitr. ix 107 ff.

Greek. Kühner, *Ausführl. Gramm. der griech. Spr.*, 1² pp. 490 ff. G. Meyer, *Greek Gramm.*² pp. 402 ff. The Author, *Greek Gramm.* (I. Müller's Handb. der klass. Altertumswiss., 11²) pp. 144 ff. Pezzi, *La lingua greca antica* pp. 216 ff. Monro, *A Grammar of the Homeric Dialect* pp. 1 ff. Lobeck, *Rhematicon, sive verborum Graecorum et nominum verbalium technologia*, 1846. Curtius, *Das Verbum der griech. Sprache, seinem Baue nach dargestellt*, 1² 1877, 11² 1880. Ahrens, *Über die Conjugation auf μ im Homerischen Dialekte*, Nordhausen 1838. L. Junius, *On the Evolution of the Greek Verb from Primary Elements*, London 1843. A. Haacke, *Die Flexion des griech. Verbums in der att. und gemeinen Prosa*, Nordhausen 1850. Inama, *Osservazioni sulla teoria della conjugazione greca*, *Rivista di filol.* i 149 ff. Fick, *Zum Aorist- und Perfectablaut im Griech.*, Bezzenberger's Beiträge iv 167 ff. Bloomfield, *The 'Ablaut' of Greek Roots which show variation between e and o*, *Amer. Journ. Phil.* i 281 ff. J. Wackernagel, *Der griech. Verbalaccent*, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxiii 457 ff. Vogrinz, *Beiträge zur Formenlehre des griech. Verbums*, 1886. Von der Pfordten, *Zur Geschichte der griech. Denominativa*, 1886. Johansson, *De derivatis verbis contractis linguae Graecae*, Upsala, 1886. Lautensach, *Verballexion der att. Inschriften*, Gotha 1887. G. Mekler, *Beiträge zur Bildung des griech. Verbums* (1. *Verba contracta mit langem Themenvokal*, 2. *die Flexion des activen Plusquamperfects*), Dorpat 1887. G. Traut, *Lexicon über die Formen der griech. Verba*, 1867. Veitch, *Greek Verbs Irregular and Defective, their forms, meaning, and quantity, embracing all the tenses used by the Greek writers, with references to the passages in which they are found*, new ed., Oxford 1887. Α. Α. Σακελλάριος *Ἀνώμαλα καὶ ἑλλειπῆ ἑήματα περὶ ὧν συγγραφῶν καὶ ποιητῶν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης*, 5th ed., Athens 1877. C. Thiemann, *Homerisches Verballexicon*, 1879. Frohwein, *Verbum Homericum, die homer. Verbalformen zusammengestellt*, 1881. Γ. Ζηκέδης *Δεικνὸν πάντων τῶν ῥημάτων τῆς Ἀττικῆς διαλέτου, μερίχον καὶ τύπους ἐξ*

single word; this is the origin of all the finite *verb-forms. The pronouns which specified the persons of whom the predication was made (it is these which we call the personal endings of the verb) always come second in these combinations; as in

Ἀρτικῶν περιγραφῶν κτλ., Athen 1888. A. Hogue, The Irregular Verbs of Attic Prose, their forms, prominent meanings, and important compounds, Boston 1869.

Latin. Kühner, Ausführl. Gramm. der lat. Sprache 1 pp. 428 ff. Stolz, Lat. Gramm. (I. Müller's Handb. der klass. Altertumswiss., 1²) pp. 356 ff. Neue, Formenlehre der lat. Spr., II² 529 ff. Merguet, Die Entwicklung der lat. Formenbildung pp. 167 ff. K. L. Struve, Über die lat. Declination und Conjugation, 1823. K. Hagen, Über die Einheit der lat. Conjug. Oldenburg 1833. Heffter, Über den Ursprung von Bildungen von Verben und der Conjugationsformen in der lat. Sprache, Seebode und Jahn's Jahrb., iv. Supplementb. (1836), pp. 114 ff. Fuchs, Über die sogen. unregelmässigen Zeitwörter in den roman. Sprachen, 1840. Seemann, De conjugationibus Latinis, Culm 1846. A. Tobler, Darstellung der lat. Conjugation und ihrer romanischen Gestaltung, Zürich 1857. Westphal, Die Verbalflexion der lat. Spr., 1872. L. C. M. Aubert, Den latinske Verbalflexion, Christiania 1875. W. Eisenlohr, Das lat. Verbum, Heidelberg 1880. Stolz, Zur lat. Verbal-Flexion; 1, 1882. A. Probst, Beiträge zur lat. Gramm., 1. Zur Lehre vom Verbum, 1883. M. Engelhardt, Die lat. Conjugation, nach den Ergebnissen der Sprachvergleichung dargestellt, 1887. — G. Koffmann, Lexicon lateinischer Wortformen, 1874. Georges, Lexikon der lat. Wortformen, 1889 (in progress).

Keltic. Zeuss-Ebel, Gramm. Celt. pp. 410 ff. Windisch, Die ir. Auslautgesetze, Paul-Braune's Beitr. iv pp. 204 ff. Lottner, Die altir. Verbalclassen, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. II 322 ff. Stokes, Bemerkungen über das altir. Verbum, *ibid.* III 47 ff., VI 459 ff., VII 1 ff. *Idem*, The Old-Irish Verb Substantive. Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxviii 55 ff. Ebel, Celtische Studien: Aus der Konjugation, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. III 257 ff., Das Verbum, *ibid.* v 1 ff. Zimmer, Keltische Studien, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxviii 313 ff. (Das sog. *t*-Futurum); 328 ff. (Das sog. *b*-Präteritum); 335 ff. (Das sogen. *u*-Imperf.); 342 ff. (Deponentiale Coniunctivformen auf *-ra*); 348 ff. (3. sing. praet. pass. auf *-as*); 352 ff. (3. plur. praet. pass. auf *-ait*); 363 ff. (3. sing. praet. auf *-ta*, *-tha*); xxx 112 ff. (Die Schicksale des idg. *s*-Aorists im Ir. und die Entstehung des kelt. *s*-Präteritums); 198 ff. (Das sogen. *t*-Präteritum der kelt. Sprachen). Loth, Essai sur le verbe néoceltique en irlandais ancien et dans les dialectes modernes, son caractère, ses transformations, Paris 1882. Ebel, De verbi Britannici futuro et coniunctivo, Schneidemühl 1866. Stokes, Die mittelbretonischen unregelmässigen Verba, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. v 306 ff. Loth, L'optatif, les temps secondaires dans les dialectes britanniques, Mém. de la soc. de lingu.

**ei-mi* (= Skr. *ē-mi* Gr. *ελ-μι*), which consists of \sqrt{ei} - 'go' and -*mi*, a pronoun connected with Skr. *mā* Gr. *μὲ* 'me' (it will appear by and by that the -*i* of -*mi* originally was no part of

v 133 ff. Ernault, *Études bretonnes*, vi: La conjugaison personnelle et le verbe 'avoir', Rev. Celt. ix 245 ff.; vii: Sur l'analogie dans la conjugaison, *ibid.* xi 94 ff. Nettlau, Observations on the Welsh Verbs, Y Cymmrodor ix pp. 56 ff. Rhys, Notes etc., Revue Celt. vi 14 ff.

Germanic. Grimm, Deutsche Gramm. I² (1870) pp. 754 ff. Kluge, Noreen, Behaghel, J. te Winkel, Siebs, Paul's Grundr. i 369 ff., 509 ff., 592 ff., 663 ff., 749 ff. Braune, Got. Gramm.³ pp. 66 ff. *Idem*, Althochd. Gramm. pp. 209 ff. Ch. S. Th. Berndt, Die doppel-form. Zeitwörter d. deutsch. Sprache mit Zuziehung der verwandten Sprachen, Aix and Leipzig 1837. H. Schweizer, Die zwei Hauptklassen der unregelmässigen Verba im Deutschen, Höfer's Zeitschr. für die Wissensch. der Spr. iii 74 ff. Ch. W. M. Grein, Ablaut, Reduplication und secundäre Wurzeln der starken Verba im Deutschen, 1862. Braune, Üb. den grammatischen Wechsel in der deutsch. Verbalflexion, Paul-Braune's Beitr. 1513 ff. Kluge, Beiträge zur Geschichte der germ. Conjugation (Quellen und Forschungen xxxii), 1879. Grein, Das got. Verbum in sprachvergleichender Hinsicht, 1872. C. H. F. Walter, Die starke Conjugation im Tatian, 1868. J. Kelle, Otfrid's Verbalflexion ausführlich erläutert, Zeitschr. f. deutsch. Altert. xii 1 ff. *Idem*, Verbum und Nomen in Notker's Boethius, Sitzungsber. der Wiener Ak., cix (1885) pp. 229 ff. *Idem*, Verbum und Nomen in Notker's Aristoteles, Zeitschr. für deutsche Phil., xviii 342 ff. *Idem*, Verbum und Nomen in Notker's Capella, Zeitschr. für deutsch. Altert. xxx 295 ff. C. Günther, Die Verba im Altostfries., 1880.

Balto-Slavonic. A. Ludwig, Der Infinitiv im Veda, mit einer Systematik des lit. und slav. Verbs, 1871. Schleicher, Lit. Gramm. pp. 221 ff. Kurschat, Gramm. der littau. Spr. pp. 270 ff. Bezzenger, Beiträge zur Gesch. der lit. Spr. pp. 192 ff. Miklosich, Vergl. Gramm. der slav. Spr. iii² 62 ff. Leskien, Handbuch der altbulg. Spr.² pp. 99 ff. Miklosich, Lehre von der Conjugation im Altaloven, Denkschriften der Wiener Akad., i (1850) pp. 167 ff. P. Pfuhl, De verborum Slavicorum natura et potestate, Dresd. 1857. Miklosich, Beiträge zur altaloven. Gramm. (part. praet. act. I; part. praes. act. auf *ę* statt auf *y*; Aorist; die Personalsuffixe des Dualis; Imperativ), Vienna 1875. Leskien, Die Präsensbildungen des Slav. und ihr Verhältniss zum Infinitivstamm, Archiv für slav. Philol. v 497 ff. O. Wiedemann, Beiträge zur altbulg. Conjugation, St. Petersburg 1886. A. Kalina, Przyczynek do historyi konjugacyi słowiańskiej, Warsaw 1889.

Works dealing specially with the formation of Tense or Mood, or of Persons, and so forth, will be cited below in their proper place.

the first personal pronoun). Personal endings make the chief difference between Verbs and Nouns or Pronouns.

But it would be a mistake to explain all the Indo-Germanic personal endings which we find actually used as being without exception personal pronouns. Once the Verb was created by aid of real personal pronouns, forms of different origin might be associated with it, and used as though they had a personal pronoun tacked on to the end. In this way, to take an example, the Latin participial form *legi-minī* = Gr. *λεγόμενοι -μεναι* was associated with the indicative *legor* etc. (see II § 71 p. 165); and the Romans felt no difference between *-minī* and *-mur* or *-ntur*. Again, many different languages employ infinitive forms, which are cases of *nomina actionis*, as imperatives used of a particular person. In the same way it is probable that some of the personal endings which have come down from the parent language were not really personal pronouns to begin with.

Another point is to be noticed. There are some forms without any personal ending at all which have been used like genuine verbal forms from the parent language onwards. The 2nd sing. imperative pr. Idg. **bhere* (= Skr. *bhāra* Gr. *φ'ρε* etc.) is simply the present stem. It must be a survival from the time when tense-stems could be used as independent words. Undoubtedly **bhere* had at first a wider use, which narrowed by degrees to the use which it must have had ever since the end of the proethnic period. In the end, the form was quite clearly marked off from all others of its verbal system by the absence of any inflexion, in the same way as the voc. *ἦννε* or the nom. *χώρα* were distinguished from all other of their associated cases (see III § 186 pp. 62, 63).

Remark. Although personal endings were a *sine qua non* for the use of a verb form as an ordinary sentence (except **bhere* and a few others like it), or as a copula in a sentence, still a sentence could exist without them. At all periods, the Indo-Germanic languages have used sentences that had no finite verb at all. See Paul, *Principien* pp. 99 ff.

§ 462. The Verb Infinite consisted of noun forms, chiefly *nomina agentis* or *actionis*. The difference between these and nouns in the ordinary sense is that these share in certain verbal peculiarities; they have tense, they distinguish between momentary, continuous, or inceptive actions, they have voice, and can govern nouns. The participles were already a large and ramifying group in the parent language; and time has brought about no important change in them. But most of the forms classed as infinitives have arisen since the proethnic period came to an end.

The distinction between the finite verb and the verb infinite is not always kept; for, as we saw in § 461, forms of the latter kind sometimes came to be used in the same way as forms with genuine personal endings. Nor is a line always drawn between the verb infinite and nouns; this we saw in vol. II § 144 pp. 456 f., and § 156 pp. 470 f.

The forms of the Verb Infinite have been discussed under the head of Stem-Formation and Inflexion, so far at least as concerns their formative and inflexional suffixes. We have now to examine the points which mark them as members of a verbal system, connecting, for example, *λείπων* with *λείπω*, *λιπών* with *ἔλιπον*, *λείψων* with *λείψω*. But for convenience' sake verbal nouns will be only cited now and then while we deal with the various groups of the verb infinite, and the whole of them will be afterwards collected and examined in detail.

Verbal Compounds, such as would be formed by joining a real verb-stem to a form of the finite verb, and would answer to O.Pers. *hama-pita* = Gr. *ὁμο-πάτωρ* among noun compounds, never existed as a distinct category, either in the later stages of the parent language, or since. The only exceptions are reduplicated verb forms such as Skr. *dār-darti* 'he bursts, breaks to pieces', so far as these can rightly be called compounds (§ 464). We must however not forget that the reduplication of uninflected "roots" was certainly older, on

the whole, than the fusion of roots with personal pronouns into verbal forms.

Whether the tense sign *-s-* in Gr. δείκ-σω ἔ-δεικ-σα etc. was the verb subst. *es-*; whether *-dh-* in Skr. *śā-dhati* Gr. ἔσθω (✓*ed-*) ἔ-σχε-θον O.C.Sl. *i-da* etc. is the verb *dhē-* 'τίθειναι'; and whether these originally acted as auxiliaries, are questions which must be left alone. Even if this be the truth about them, they must have sunk to the level of inflexions long before the end of the proethnic period, and they could no longer be the type for compounds consisting of verb + verb.

Nor do we find in the periods for which there is direct evidence either noun stems compounded with genuine verb forms, or genuine verbal stems compounded with nouns. We cannot class under the second head words like Gr. ἀρχέ-κακος (from ἀρχω), ἐπιχαυρέ-κακος (from ἐπιχαίρω), Στήσ-αγόρης (from ἰ-σσησα), H.G. *wetz-stein* 'whetstone' *melk-fass* 'milkpail' (from *wetze*, *melke*). These are due merely to a perversion or interpretative corruption, and the imitation of older compounds which had a noun stem for the first member. They are not real compounds of a verbal stem with a noun. See II § 30 pp. 51 ff., § 41 pp. 74 f., § 47 p. 86.¹⁾

Forms of the finite verb are clearly seen in composition only in the following classes of words; and here too one of the two parts has usually sunk to a kind of suffix or prefix.

1. A Verb form is compounded with Adverbial words; as Gr. ἄν-εμμ Lat. *ab-eo*, Lat. *ne-scio*, pr. Idg. **é-dḡkom* = Gr. ἔ-δοακον (I regard the augment as a temporal particle); Pruss. *quoitt-lai* 'he may wish, he might wish', pr. Idg. **bhēret-u* Skr. *bhārat-u*, — and also *-i* in **bhēret-i* **bhēres-i* (beside **bhēret* **bhēres*) was probably a demonstrative particle.

1) There is a new essay by W. Christ, *Abhängigkeitskomposita des Griechischen*, *Berichte der k. bayer. Akad.*, 1890 pp. 187 ff. I cannot agree with the theory for which Christ takes up the cudgels again (pp. 184 ff.), that Ἀγέ-λαος arose from the imperative phrase ἄγε λίσσιν, and that ἀρχέ-δέωρος came from ἀρχε-δέωρος; by phonetic change of *e* to *i*.

2. A Verb form is compounded with a Case, being itself the final member of the compound. The case, at the time of combination, was either a living case, or some kind of infinitive. Examples: Skr. *dātāsmi* (periphrastic future) for *dātāsmi* 'dator sum', Lat. *possum* for *potis sum*, *vēnun-do vēnum-do pessun-do*, Lat. *arē-bam arē-facio* O.C.Sl. *nesē-achu* (III § 275 p. 177), Fr. *aimerai* (O.Fr. *amerai*) for *amāre habeo*, Lith. opt. 1st pl. *sùktum-bime*, etc.

The line between these two classes is not absolutely fixed, as we see from such words as Skr. *astam-ēti* 'goes down' (of the sun), which has for its first part *āsta-m* 'to one's house, home'.

Remark. There is no class of Verbal Compounds answering to Class I of Noun Compounds (*ὁμο-πάτωρ*), which might have been a model for later formations. It seems therefore best not to give a special chapter to Verb Compounds, as was done to Nouns, but to describe the various kinds in the place they most naturally come, along with the Tenses, the Personal Endings, or as it may be.

One point, however, should be touched on here. It is a matter of wider interest, and well illustrates an important principle of word-formation. When a sentence becomes a single word, it may be treated like a simple word, and it may be inflected or otherwise modified just as the simple word can. Lith. *dū-k* 'give' *ei-k* 'go' (both imperative), consisting of the 2nd sing. **dū* (cp. Lat. *ce-do*) and **ei* + the particle *-k*, are the foundation for a 2nd pl. *dūkite*, *ēkite* etc.; and again *ei-ks* 'come here', which itself is *ei-k* + *szē* 'here', produced *ei-ksz-te*. Pruss. *quoiti-lai* 'he might wish' (*lai* = O.C.Sl. *li* 'vel, aut') suggested the 2nd sing. *quoiti-lai-si* and 2nd pl. *quoitilai-ti*. Slav. *daj-mi* and Mod. Gr. *δός-μου* 'give me' produced the 2nd pl. *daj-mi-te* and *δός-ου-τε*. Of the same kind were Gr. 3rd pl. *ἀγίτω-ν ἀγίτω-σαν* (2nd sing. *ἰλθτω-ς* Hesych). Lat. 2nd pl. *agitō-te*, since Idg. **age-tōd* was a compound of the imperative **age* with the adv. (abl.) **tōd* 'thence, then'. Also, according to Osthoff and Bugge, Gr. *δεδώκαμεν δεδώκατε*; they explain *δεδώκε* as **δεδω* = Skr. *dada(u)* + the particle *se* = Lat. *ce* in *cedo*. Analogous forms of nouns or pronouns are: Gr. *οὗτο-ς*; *αὕτη* acc. *τοῦτο-ν* Boeot. *οὗτο-ν* etc., formed from the nom. **oū-to* **aū-to*, whose second part was a particle (cf. O.C.Sl. *kū-to* 'who'), see II § 4 p. 9, III § 415 p. 337; Mid. Ir. instr. pl. *donafi-b* built up on O.Ir. *donai-b-(h)i*, see footnote on page 357; O.H.G. gen. *deses* dat. *desemo* following *de-se* 'this' with the particle *se*, see III § 414 pp. 335 f.; Skr. dat. *asmā-bhyam* Lesb. nom. *ἄμμε-ς* following acc. **us-me* (Lesb. *ἄμμε*) with the particle *sme*, see § 436 pp. 367 f., § 443 p. 379; Pol. gen. sing. *sztukamięsy* following nom. *sztukamięsa* 'a piece of meat', where *mięsa* is the gen. of *mięso*.

REDUPLICATED VERB-FORMS.

Reduplication, the repetition of a word or other element of speech with the same grammatical force, to express that an action or state is repeated, or to intensify it, is certainly older than the modes of forming cases or parts of the finite verb which we actually see in use. It had at first no special connexion with either verbs or nouns, but was used with both; verb types such as Skr. *dár-dar-ti* 'it bursts, breaks up' *da-dhṛṣ-ímá* 'we have ventured' *ci-kit-é* 'he knows', and noun types like Skr. *dar-dar-a-s* 'broken' *da-dhṛṣ-á-s* 'venturesome, bold' *ci-kit* 'knowing' may have been formed quite independently of each other. Compare II § 6 pp. 12 ff., § 51 ff. pp. 94 ff. 1)

Root reduplication in verbs came to be very important, and this very early in the history of the parent language, because it was turned to account in the formation of tenses.

1) Works on Reduplication in general have been cited in the footnote to vol. II page 12. On Verbal Reduplication see the following. A. Williams, On Verb-Reduplication as a Means of Expressing Completed Action, Transactions of the Amer. Phil. Assoc., 1875 pp. 54 ff. Pauli, Das praeteritum reduplicatum der idg. Sprachen und der deutsche Ablaut, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XII 50 ff. Osthoff, Zur Geschichte des Perfects, pp. 264 ff. and *passim*. — Ernault, Du parfait en grec et en latin, pp. 1 ff. — Ebel, Reduplicierte Aoriste im Griech., Kuhn's Zeitschr. II 46 ff. — Von der Pfordten, Zur Gesch. des griech. Perf., pp. 42 ff. — Deecke, De reduplicato linguae Latinae praeterito, Lips. 1869. — Stokes, Reduplication im altir. Verbum, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. II 396 ff. Windisch, Das reduplicierte Perfectum im Ir., Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIII 201 ff. — A. Moller, Die reduplicierenden Verba im Deutschen als abgeleitete Verba, eine etymologische Untersuchung, Potsdam 1866. Scherer, Die reduplicierten Praeterita, Zeitschr. f. österr. Gymn. XXIV 295 ff., and Zeitschr. f. deutsch. Altert. XIX 154 ff., 390 ff. Sievers, Die reduplicierten Präterita, Paul-Braune's Beitr. I 504 ff. Pokorny, Über die redupl. Praet. der germ. Sprachen und ihre Umwandlung in ablautende, Landskron 1874. Holthausen, Die reduplicierenden Verba im Germ., Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 618 ff. Hoffory, Die reduplicierten Praeterita im Altnord., *ibid.* 593 ff. — See also the works cited under the head of Tense-stems.

It was used to distinguish various kinds of action, and also the time at which the action took place. For these purposes Reduplication was very widely used, not only in the parent language but in most of its offshoots far on into the historical period. The wide use of verbal reduplication gave great impulse to similar reduplication in nouns. Noun-reduplication was at first a principle not very active or far-reaching; but thus reinforced it lasted much longer than it would have done, and in later times, under the influence of reduplicated forms in the verb infinite, reduplicated noun-forms appeared again where the proethnic reduplicated type had lost all its reproductive power. Examples are Gr. *κεκραγ-μός* (Eur.) *κέκραγ-μα* (Aristoph.) 'cry, outcry', *κεκραάκ-της* 'one who cries aloud' (Aristoph.) beside *κε-κραγ-ώς* *κέ-κραγ-α*, *πεποιθ-ησις* 'trust' (Josephus, Philo) beside *πε-ποιθ-ώς* *πέ-ποιθ-α*, Mod.H.G. *zitterig* 'tremulous' beside *zittere* 'I tremble' = pr. Germ. **ti-trō-mi*.

§ 465. The following Idg. types may be distinguished, according to the form of the reduplication:

I. Root-syllable and reduplication-syllable show the same vowel, or two ablaut-grades of the same vowel.

a. The Root begins and ends in a consonant, and the syllable of reduplication, or Reduplicator, ends in a consonant which is taken from the final of the Root (we count as consonants the second part of the diphthongs *ai au* and so forth). Of this there are three varieties; the first being a fairly exact reduplication, the second replacing a liquid by a nasal in the reduplicator, and the third inserting *ř*.

1. Aryan. Sanskrit *bad-badhē* 3rd sing. of *bādh-* 'press'. *dār-dar-ṣi* 2nd sing. of *dar-* (*√der-*) 'split, break', *tar-tūr-ya-ntē* 3rd pl. of *tar-* (*√ter-*) 'pass over', *vār-vṛt-ati* 3rd pl. of *vart-* (*√vert-*) 'vertere', *mar-mṛj-yā-tē* 3rd sing. of *marj-* (*√merḡ-*) 'wipe'. *jan-ghan-ti* 3rd sing. of *han-* (*√ghen-*) 'strike, kill', *nam-namī-ti* 3rd sing. of *nam-* (*√nem-*) 'bend', *dān-daś-ana-s* partic. of *dāś-* (*√daś-ñk-*) 'bite', *jan-jabh-yā-tē* 3rd sing. of *jambh-* (*√ḡembh-*) 'snap'. *vē-vē-ti* 3rd sing. of *vī-* 'appetere', *vē-vī-ya-tē* 3rd sing. of *vī-* 'flutter', *nē-nik-tē* 3rd

sing. of *nij-* (✓ *neig-*) 'wash'. *nō-nu-mas* 1st pl. of *nu-* 'cry out', *cō-škū-yá-tē* 3rd sing. of *sku-* 'cover', *śō-śuc-āna-s* partic. of *śuc-* 'light, brighten', *a-nō-nud-ya-nta* 3rd pl. of *nud-* 'push'. Avestic *car*-ker*-mahī* 1st pl. of *kar-* 'think of' (Skr. imper. *ca-kr-dhi*). *daē-dōiš-t* 3rd sing. of *dis-* (✓ *deik-*) 'show' (Skr. 3rd sing. *dē-diś-tē*). *zao-zao-mī* 1st sing. of *zu-* 'call' (Skr. *jō-havi-mi*).

Greek *πορ-φύρ-ω* 'I move restlessly' for **-φνρ-ιω*: cp. Skr. *jár-bhūrī-ti* 'moves convulsively, throbs, palpitates'. *μορ-μβρω* 'I roar, murmur' for **-μνρ-ιω*: cp. Lat. *murmurāre*, O.H.G. *murmurōn* (§ 595). *γαρ-γαίρ-ω* 'I swarm' for **-γαρ-ιω* (*γάργαρα* neut. pl. 'swarm'). *γαγ-γαίνειν* 'τὸ μετὰ γέλωτος προσπαίζειν' Hesych. (Schmidt conjectures *γαγγανεύειν*): cp. O.C.Sl. *ga-gnaja* 'I murmur, growl' (adj. *gagnivŭ*). *παμ-φαίνω* 'I shine clearly' for **-φαν-ιω*, Epic partic. *παμφανόων*; the root was *bhā-*, and the nasal of the verb was therefore a present-suffix, see §§ 601, 611. *ἄττω* Hom. *ἀίσσω* 'rush, run at something' i. e. **fai-fix-ιω* (I § 96 p. 90, § 131 pp. 119 f.) may be connected with Skr. *vē-vij-yá-tē* (*vij-* 'quicken, burst out') by assuming an Idg. *ua²iq-ua²ig-* (cp. I § 469. 7 p. 346).

Remark. The origin of *ai* and *oi* is obscure in the reduplicating syllable of the following words: *μαι-μάω*, *παι-φάσσω*, *παι-πάλλω*, *δαι-δύσσειν* (*ἔλκεσθαι* Hesych.), *ποι-φύσσω*, *ποι-πνύω* and others. The *i*-diphthong recalls a reduplicative *i* in Skr. *bhātri-bhr-ati* and in Skr. *bī-bhar-ti* Gr. *γί-γνο-μαι*. See § 473 Rem. p. 17.

Latin. *mur-murāre* (murmur): cp. Gr. *μορμύρω* O.H.G. *murmurōn*. *tin-tinnāre tin-tināre, tin-tinnire* beside *tinnire*.

Keltic. Mid. Ir. *der-drethar* 'there is a sound, or a cry', s-pret. *derdrestar*, cp. II § 52 pp. 94, 95.

Germanic. O.H.G. *mur-murōm mur-mulōm* 'I murmur' (Mid.H.G. *murmer murmel* 'murmur, growl'): cp. Gr. *μορμύρω* Lat. *murmurāre*. O.H.G. *rērēm* 'I bleat, bellow, roar', pr. Germ. 1st sing. **raī-rēið*, cp. Litt. *rėju* 'I bellow'. This verb changed its inflexion on the analogy of verbs like pr. Germ. **pulē-ið* (Goth. *pula* O.H.G. *dolēm*), see §§ 592, 708, 739; hence A.S. *rārian*, with the same change to the 2nd weak conjugation as is seen in *āolian* and some others.

Slavonic. O.C.Sl. *glagoljā* 'I speak' for **gol-goljā* (*glagolū* 'word'); *mřūmřjā* 'I gnaw, nibble'; *gagnajā* 'I murmur, growl', cp. above, Gr. *γαγαίνειν*.

§ 466. 2. The reduplicating syllable has a Nasal instead of a Liquid; see I § 282 p. 226. Skr. *cañ-cūryatē* 'moves quickly or repeatedly'. Gr. *γογ-γύλλω* 'I round' (*γόγγυλος* 'round'), *ρορ-ρορίζω* 'I murmur'. Lat. *gin-grūre*.

This nasal reduplication passed on from roots ending in a nasal (see § 465) or a liquid to a few others: as Skr. *jañjap-yātē* from *jap-* 'whisper, say half-aloud', *dandahūti dandahyatē* from *dah-* 'burn' (which seemed natural in Skr. after such a form as *dan-daś-* from √*deñk-* 'bite'), Gr. *γογ-γύζω* 'I growl'.

§ 467. 3. In Sanskrit, *i* or *ī* is often inserted between the reduplicating syllable and the root; the Vedic language has *ī* before single consonants, *i* before more than one (compare Wackernagel, *Das Dehnungsgesetz*, p. 18). E. g. *bhāri-bhr-ati* 3rd pl. of *bhar-* 'carry', *vārī-vrj-at-* partic. of *varj-* 'turn, twist', *ghāni-ghn-at-* partic. of *han-* 'strike, kill', *ganī-gan-ti* 3rd sing. *gāni-gm-at-* partic. of *gam-* 'go', *kāni-krad-yā-māna-* partic. of *krand-* 'bellow', *nāvi-nō-t* 3rd sing. of *nu-* 'cry out'.

Where *-ī-* comes after the root syllable, *-ī-* is never found after the syllable of reduplication; thus we have only *nō-navī-* and *navī-nō-*.

Forms with an aspirate at the beginning of the reduplicator, such as *bhāri-bhr-ati ghāni-ghn-at-*, are the older and are phonetically correct; but those like *dāvi-dhv-at-* and *pānī-phañ-at-* have been altered, the former from **dhāvi-dhv-at-* following *dō-dhavī-ti* (cp. I § 480 pp. 354 f.), the latter from **phānī-phañ-at-* following *pam-phañ-at-* (cp. I § 475 p. 350). Thus at a later stage we find *barī-bhar-ti* instead of *bhārī-bhar-ti* too.

How to regard this *ī* is not quite clear. Thus much, however, seems to me certain, that it is the same as an *ī*,

also of varying quantity, which characterises Class III of our reduplicated forms; and I shall give in the Remark to § 473 a conjecture as to its origin.

§ 468. 4. Gr. *ἐγρή-γορα* 'I am awake' has the suffix *-ē* in the reduplicating syllable after the root (§§ 587 ff.), cp. *ἐγρή-σσω* 'I am awake', beside *ἐγρ-ε-το* 'awoke', *ἐγείρω* 'I arouse' for **ἐγερ-λω*. Perhaps the same *-ē* is contained in Skr. *carā-carā-s* 'going far away', *ghanā-ghanā-s* 'killing easily' and similar words (cp. *sarī-srīpā-s* 'creeping, crawling' and the like).

§ 469. b. The Root begins and ends in a consonant, and contains an *i*- or *u*-diphthong. This diphthong is represented in the reduplicator by *i* and *u* sonant, sometimes *ī* and *ū*, not followed by any consonant. Skr. *bi-bhē-mi* 'I fear' 3rd dual *bi-bhi-tas* partic. *bī-bhy-at* conj. 3rd sing. *bī-bhay-a-t*, O.H.G. *bi-bē-m* 'I shake'. Skr. *dī-dhy-ē* 'I behold', Avest. *dī-ḍaēiti* 'beholds'. Skr. pret. *a-ci-kṣip-a-t* from *kṣip-* 'throw', *a-rī-riṣ-a-t* from *rīṣ-* 'be hurt'. Skr. desid. *tī-tik-ṣa-tē* from *tij-* 'be sharp'. Gr. *πιν-τι-σσω* 'I give to drink': cp. Skr. 2nd pl. *pi-py-a-ta* 2nd sing. *pī-pi-hī* (*pī-* 'make overflow, give plenty to drink'). *διζομαι* 'I seek, strive' (orig. 'gaze at something') for **δι-δι-ο-μαι* (on *διζομαι* see § 594): cp. Skr. 2nd sing. *dī-dī-hī* 3rd pl. *dī-dy-ati*, *dī-* 'shine, be bright' (*ācha dī-* 'direct one's mind to'). Goth. *rei-rāi-p* 'shakes, trembles': cp. Skr. *lē-lāya-ti* 'moves, trembles' with reduplication of the type of *a* (1) above (§ 465); the inflexion *reira reirāis* etc. is explained by the analogy of verbs like *paha* 'taceo', see §§ 592, 708, 739. Skr. *ju-hō-ti* 'offers', pret. *a-cu-krudh-a-t* from *krudh-* 'grow angry', *a-dū-duṣ-a-t* from *duṣ-* 'grow bad, perish', desid. *bu-bhut-sa-ti* from *budh-* 'wake, learn'.

Remark 1. Despite such forms as Skr. *ṣi-ṣu-ṣ a-pi-plav-a-m* Gr. *τι-τύσσομαι πινάσκω* (cp. II § 52 Rem. p. 97), I yet believe that where the *i*-roots had originally *i* in the reduplication, *u*-roots had *u*. The palatal consonant in the reduplicator of verbs whose root initial is a velar consonant does not prove that *ju-hō-ti* is instead of **ji-hō-ti*, *a-cu-krudh-a-t* instead of **a-ci-krudh-a-t*, or *bu-bhut-sa-ti* instead of **bi-bhut-sa-ti* (cp. *bī-bhar-ti a-pi-sprṣ-a-t* etc., § 473); for *ku-* may have become *cu-* on the analogy (say) of *a-ci-krad-a-t*, and of perfect forms such as *cu-krōdha cu-krudhur* where *cu-* is instead of **ca-* = Idg. **qe-* (cp. Rem. 2).

Remark 2. *i* or *u* in the reduplicator of perfects like the following is not original: Skr. *ri-rēca cu-krōdha i-yāja u-vāca* Lat. *sci-cidī tu-tudī*, O.Ir. *ro chuala* for **cu-clova*, see § 851, 868, 878.

§ 470. *c.* The Root begins in a sonant and ends in a consonant, and so also the Reduplicator.

1. Roots ending in a single consonant. Skr. *āl-ar-ti* 'moves', *am-am-a-t* 'he was hurt'. Armen. *ar-ar-i* 'I made' (pres. *ar-ne-m*), beside Gr. *ἀρ-αρ-ίσκω* 'I join to', *ἡρ-αρ-ο-ν ἀρ-αρ-εῖν*; perf. *ἄρ-ᾱρ-α*. Gr. *ἡγ-αγ-ο-ν ἀγ-αγ-εῖν* from *ἄγω* 'I lead', *ᾠρ-ορ-ο-ν ὀρ-ορ-εῖν* from *ὀρ-υῖμι* 'I arouse', perf. *ὄρ-ωρ-α* 'I have arisen, I move', *ὄπ-ωπ-α* 'I have seen, see'.

2. Where roots end in two consonants, only the first appears in the reduplicator (cp. Skr. *vār-vart-ti* from *√vert* etc., § 465). Gr. *ἄλ-αλκ-ε* 'he warded off'. Skr. perf. *ān-āśa* (pres. *aś-nō-ti* 'attains' for **ñk-*) O.Ir. perf. *t-anac* 'I came' (-*c* for -*nc-*) Gr. aor. *ἐν-εγκ-εῖν* 'to bring' (cp. Skr. *anāśa* Gr. *κατ-ήνοκα* § 846), Skr. perf. *an-āñja* (*añj-* 'anoint'). On the analogy of these perfects arose in Sanskrit *an-arca* (*arc-* 'shine, praise'), see § 851.

§ 471. II. The reduplicating syllable ends in *e* or *ē*, no matter to what vowel grade the root belongs. This was the kind of reduplication used for the Perfect and for certain classes of the Present and Aorist, both in the parent language and later. I have by no means convinced myself that *ē* belonged originally only to forms with *ē* in the root syllable, and that it was the echo of the root; nor that its use with other roots is due to analogy. See § 473, Remark.

First, forms with *e* short in the reduplication.

Perfect. Skr. *ba-bhūva* Gr. *πε-φύασι*, *√bhey-* 'become, be'. Skr. *ta-sthimá* Gr. *ἔ-σταμεν* Lat. *ste-timus*, *√stā* 'stand'. Gr. *πέ-πᾱγα πέ-πηγα* Lat. *pe-pigi* Goth. *faí-fah*, *√pāk-* *pāg-* 'make fast'. Gr. *γέ-γευμαι* O.Ir. *do-roigu* for **ró-gegu* (§ 878), *√gēys-* 'taste, try, enjoy'. Gr. *λέ-λοιπα*, *√leiq-* 'leave'. O.Lat. *pe-pugi*. By late re-formation, as has been pointed out (§ 469, Rem. 2), we get Skr. *ri-rēca cu-krōdha i-yāja u-vāca* Lat. *sci-cidī pu-pugi tu-tudī*, O.Ir. *ro chuala*.

Pr. Ar. **sa-zd-* (= Avest. *hazd-*) became Skr. *sēd-*, e. g. 1st pl. *sēdimá* (I § 591 p. 447), and pr. Ar. **ia-īt-* became Skr. *yēt-*, as mid. *yēt-ē* (Avest. 1st pl. act. *yaēp-ma*). *ē*, which here and in similar examples is regular, spread by analogy, and thus we get *pētīmá* instead of *pa-pt-īmá* (the older form, used along with the later). $\sqrt{\text{pat-}}$ 'fly, fall', and *nēšīmá*, from $\sqrt{\text{naš-}}$ 'be destroyed'. Then again *ē* in Irish arose by compensatory lengthening, as perf. *ro gēnar* 'natus sum' for **ge-gn-* ($\sqrt{\text{gen-}}$), see I § 523 p. 380, § 620 p. 467. Lat. *sēdimus* might be derived from **se-zdimus* (I § 594 p. 450), and *lēginus cēnimus* be explained on the same principle as Skr. *pētīmá*. But of Germ. forms like Goth. *sētum* (*sat* 'I sat') *mētum* (*mat* 'I measured') *qēmum* (*gam* 'I came'), and of Lith. forms like part. *sēd-ęs* (*sėdu* 'I sit') *bėg-ęs* (*bėgu* 'I run') *kėl-ęs* (*kelù* i. e. **kel-iù* 'I lift') *vėm-ęs* (*vemiù* 'I break wind'), there is none which can be due to compensatory lengthening in these several languages. We must therefore assume that here the unreduplicated root with Idg. *ē*, the 3rd strong grade of the *e*-series, acted as the weak stem for the perfect. This form of the root is quite clearly the perfect stem in Skr. *sāh-vās-* beside pres. *sāh-a-ti* = Idg. **sēgh-e-ti*, and in O.Ir. *ro mīdar* 'iudicavi' beside Gr. *μῆδ-ι-ται*, and others. See § 480 Rem., and § 494. *mēt-* in Goth. *mētum* must therefore be identified with O.Ir. *mīd-* Gr. *μῆδ-*. Weak reduplicated stems often became hard to pronounce; and hence they were often exchanged for this kind of unreduplicated form in the Germanic and Baltic branches, and perhaps in Latin too. See further in §§ 848 and 893.

The discovery of these doublet stems in the Idg. perfect, *se-zd-* and *sēd-*, makes it anything but certain that **ēd-* was a contraction of reduplicated **e-ed-* in Skr. *adima* Lat. *ēdimus* Goth. *-ētum* Lith. *ėdęs* O.C.Sl. *jadŭ* (from $\sqrt{\text{ed-}}$ 'eat'). **ēd-* may have been a stem like **sēd-*; and this to me seems more likely to be true. See § 848. 3.

Present and Aorist. Skr. 3rd pl. *sa-śc-atī* 3rd sing. *sá-śc-a-ti* Gr. *ἐ-σπ-αιτο*, $\sqrt{\text{seq-}}$ 'sequi'. Gr. *ἐπ-α* (Gort. *πεο-*

-*φειπάτω*) stem Idg. **ue-ug-*, Skr. *á-vōc-a-t* Gr. *ἐ-ειπ-ο-ν* stem Idg. **ue-ug-o-*, √ *ueg-* 'speak' (cp. §§ 557, 561).

§ 472. *ē* is less frequent than *e* in the reduplicator. Many perfects in the Vedas have *a* = Idg. *ē*, as *da-dhara* (*dhar-* 'hold'), *mā-mṛjur* (*marj-* 'wipe'), *vā-vaśur* (*vaś-* 'desire'); an example of this kind in Avestic is Gāthic 3rd sing. *vā-ver'zōi* (*var'z-* 'work').

The same *a* is found in Intensives through all periods of Sanskrit; e. g. *da-dhar-ti* beside *dar-dhar-ti*, *bā-badh-ē* beside *bad-badh-ē* (*badh-* 'press, oppress'), *pā-pac-ya-tē* (*pac-* 'cook'). A similar agreement between the reduplicators of the perfect and the present intensive is seen in perf. *dī-dhay-a* and pres. intens. *dī-dhē-ti*, from *dhi-* 'think'. It is obvious that the closely allied in meaning of the completed perfect (or present perfect) and the intensive had some part in the spread of reduplicating *a* in the Vedic perfect.

Analogous Greek forms are the perfect *ἐγὴ-γερ-μαι* from √ *ger-* 'awake', which agrees with Skr. *jā-gār-a* *jā-gr-vās-* (present *jā-gar-ti* *jā-gr-hī*), and the Homeric present *δη-δέχ-αται* 'they welcome' (§ 560).

Remark. Some have wished to see this redupl. *ē* in other Greek perfects. But the view is unsafe. See the Author, Gr. Gr.² § 131 p. 164. Nothing much is proved by Cret. *ἀπ-ήτελεε* (Cauer, Del.² no. 132. 5) and *ἱ-γατται ἡ-γαμμένο* (J. Baunack, Berl. Phil. Wochenschr., 1887, col. 60; Th. Baunack, Philologus XLIX 594), since it is very doubtful whether they come from **ση-τελ-* and **γη-γασ-* (cp. § 476, Rem. 2).

§ 473. III. The Reduplicator ends in *i* or *ī*, the Root having a different vocalism. This is the prevailing mode, and has been since proethnic times, with certain classes of aorist and present stems. I am very far from satisfied with the view that this *ī* originally was used only with roots containing *i* (as Skr. *bi-bhē-ti*, type I b. § 469), which it merely echoed, and that it only spread to other roots by analogy.

Remark. The *ī* of Skr. *á-jī-jana-t* *bī-bhar-ti* Gr. *γί-γνο-μαι*, as has been said in § 467 pp. 13 f., I would identify with *ī* in the Skr. intensives *bhāri-bhar-ti* *bhāri-bhr-ati* etc. These and the like reduplicative syllables may once have had a real independence, and -*i* -*ī* may have been some inflexion, perhaps a case ending. These were doubtless

sentences of the same kind as Lith. *dektù dēga* 'it burns up clear' (§ 260. p. 161), Umbr. *subocau suboco* 'invoco invocatione, I appeal appealingly'; for similar phrases from other languages, see Pott, *Doppelung*, 151 ff.

If this is correct, the *ī* of **ḡi-ḡen-* and similar forms originally came from roots ending in a vowel, such as **dī-dō-* (*διδωμι*), **dhī-dhē-* (*τ'θηναι*). When the cohesion between the parts had become so firm that the *ī*-case was regarded as being simply a "reduplication", — this idea was greatly encouraged by the use of real reduplications of the type of I *b*, as **bhī-bhai-* **bhī-bhī-* — two results might follow: (1) forms like **ḡi-ḡen-* **bhī-bher-* came into existence, and (2) with roots beginning in a sonant a simple *ī* was used for reduplicating, e. g. **ī + oq-* becoming **iq-* (Skr. *ik-* Gr. *ik-*) even in the parent speech, and such forms as Skr. *īy-arti* Gr. *ī-αύω* (see p. 19). Further, (3) in Sanskrit, or perhaps earlier still, the use of (say) *tari-* and *tar-* as variant reduplicators (*tari-tr-at-* and *tar-tari-ti tār-tur-āṇa-s*) led to the making of *marī-mṛj-* (instead of **marjī-mṛj-*) beside *mar-mṛj-*, and the like. Does *ai* in Gr. *μαι-μάω παι-πάσσω παι-πάλλω* etc. represent another case ending, and are the words formed on the same principle as we are supposing these with *-ī* to be? If so, *o* in the *oi* of *ποι-πνύω ποι-φύσσω* must be ascribed to the influence of *πορ-φύρω μορ-μύρω γογ-γύλλω* etc.; for *παι-πάσσω : γορ-γαίρω = ποι-φύσσω : μορ-μύρω*.¹⁾

If this be really the origin of redupl. *ī*, the question arises whether *e* and *ē* in words like Gr. *πε-φύασι* and *ιγῆ-γερωμαι* Skr. *jā-gāru* (type II, see §§ 471—2) may not be the case-ending of a root noun. As before, we should have to start from roots ending in a vowel, from groups such as *dē + dō-* (Gr. *δέ-δωκα* Skr. *da-dāu*).

Skr. *tī-ṣṭh-a-ti* Gr. *ῖ-στη-μι* Lat. *si-stō* O.Ir. *do-airissid* (I § 109 *e* p. 103, § 516 p. 377) O.H.G. *se-stōm* (pr. Germ. **si-stō-mi*, I § 35 p. 35), *√stā-* 'stand'. Skr. *bī-bhar-ti* Gr. *ῖσ-πιφθάναι* (§§ 539, 542), *√bher-* 'ferre'. Skr. *jī-jan-a-t á-jī-jan-a-t* Gr. *γί-γν-ο-μαι* Lat. *gi-gn-ō* O.Ir. *gi-gnid*, *√ḡen-* 'beget'. In Sanskrit thematic aorists the quantity fluctuated; *i* before more than one consonant, and before a single consonant when a long syllable followed; *ī* before a single consonant followed by a short syllable (cp. Wackernagel, *Dehnungsg.* p. 18); e. g. *á-pi-sprś-a-t* (*sparś-* 'touch') and *á-di-dīkṣ-a-t* (*dīkṣ-* 'be consecrated'), but *á-jī-jan-a-t*. Greek has *ī* only in *πί-πτ-ω* 'I fall' (cp. Skr. *á-pī-pat-a-t*); but here *ī* may have been borrowed from *ῖ-πτω*, which was connected

1) Another explanation of this *ī* is given by Per Persson, *Stud. zur Lehre von der Wurzelweiterung*, p. 216 footnote 1. Per Persson's is really not very different from mine.

with it in meaning; if so, it is no example of the principle we are discussing.

Presents with *-s-* (§§ 666 ff.). Skr. *ji-jñā-sa-tē* from *jñā-* 'learn, know', *dī-dā-sa-ti* *dī-tsa-ti* from *dā-* 'give', *mī-mā-sa-tē* from *man-* 'think'. O.Ir. *no-gigius* 'I will pray' for **-gigetsō*, beside *no guidiu* 'I pray'.

Presents with *-sk-* (§ 678). Gr. *δι-δάσχω* 'I teach' (perf. *δε-δίδαχα*), Lat. *discō* for **di-tc-scō* (perf. *di-dicī*).

The *i*-vowel alone is used for the reduplication with roots beginning in a sonant. Skr. *īpsati* (cp. *apsanta* § 659) beside *ap-nō-ti* 'acquires', *īrtsati* beside *rdh-nō-ti* 'thrives' fut. *ardhiṣ-yatē*; with *īkṣatē* 'sees' (cp. O.Pers. *patiy-axšaiy* § 559) is connected Gr. *ἴπ-* in Hom. *ὀπ-ἴπ-εὐώ* 'I ogle' (*παρθευ-ονῆπης*),¹⁾ which is an analogical re-formate like *ὄπ-ωπα* instead of **ὠπα*, *ἰδ-ηδώς* instead of **ῆδώς*. Skr. *ty-ar-ti* beside *ār-ti* from *ar-* 'set in motion', Avest. 3rd sing. conj. *uz-yarāp* i. e. *-iyar-āp*; Skr. *iy-ē-ti* beside *ē-ti* 'goes', the only evidence for which is its 2nd sing. pret. *āiy-ē-ṣ* (*R.V.*, v. 2. 8), Avest. 3rd pl. conj. *yeyan* = Ar. **iy-ay-ān* (Bartholomae, Ar. Forsch. II 71 f.); Gr. *ἰ-αῖω* 'I spend the night', *ἰάσκειν ἄγειν* (Hesych.) for **i-ay + σκω*; O.Ir. *i-orr* fut. of *orgim* 'I destroy, kill' (beside O.H.G. *arg* 'that which is bad'). The former group, with the reduplication vowel and root vowel contracted together, was certainly proethnic: **ip-* and **iq-* for **ī-əp-* **ī-əq-*, or something of the kind. But it is possible that Skr. *ty-arti* and others of that type are a re-formation of later date, like Goth. perf. *ai-áuk* from *áuka* 'I increase', *-ai-áik* from *-áika* (*af-áika* 'I deny, refuse').

On the difference between Gr. *τι-θῆμι*, with orig. *i* in the reduplicator, and Skr. *dá-dhati* Lith. 2nd pl. *dè-ste* with orig. *e*, see § 538.

It has been pointed out (§ 469 Rem. 1, p. 14) that *i* is found in the reduplicator even where the root contains *u*-vocalism. But, as I said in that place, I regard Skr.

1) I cannot agree with Kretschmer in deriving *ὀπτεπ-* from **oqi-oq-* (Kuhn's Zeitschr., xxxi 385).

ju-hó-ti, *a-cu-krudh-a-t*, *bu-bhut-sa-ti* and similar forms as being genuine proethnic types, and not as having changed *i* to *u*.

§ 474. IV. A fourth type, of unknown origin, is represented by a considerable number of forms in Sanskrit, and by two in Greek. (Cp. Bezzenberger, Bezz. Beitr. III 310).

Skr. desid. *āśiṣiṣa-ti* from *aś-* 'eat', the grammarians also cite *aniniṣa-ti* from *an-* 'breathe', *arjiṣa-ti* for **arjihijhiṣa-ti* (I p. 480 p. 354) from *arh-* 'deserve, be worth' and others; aor. *arpipa-t* (unaugmented) beside *arpáyati* 'sets in motion, shakes' (§ 797), in grammars also *ānina-t*, *arjiha-t*, *aubjija-t* (*ubj-* 'keep down, squeeze together') and others.

Gr. *ἐρύκαο-ν* from *ἐρύκω* 'I hold back' and *ἐντίπαο-ν* from *ἐντίπτω* 'I address'; beside *ἐνένιπο-ν*, type I c (§ 470).

§ 475. A few remarks are now needed on the way in which Consonant Initials are treated in Reduplication.

1. There was originally no difference between the beginning of root and reduplicator, when the root began with one consonant, as *dō-* 'give' Skr. *dā-dati*, Gr. *δί-δωμι*, Lat. *de-dit* Osc. *de-ded*, O.C.Sl. 3rd pl. *da-detŭ*. But a great many differences were brought about by phonetic change. For instance, in Greek and Sanskrit the *initial of the Reduplicator* was affected by the principle of dissimilation of aspirates which held in those languages, e. g. Sanskrit *dādhati* for **dha-dhati*, *babháva* for **bha-bháva* (I § 480 p. 354),¹⁾ Gr. *τίθημι* for **θι-θημι*, *πέποιθα* for **φε-φύαρι* (I § 496 pp. 364 f.). We were introduced in vol. I p. 483 footnote 1 to a dissimilation peculiar to Irish, *-roinasc* for **-ró-nenasc*, *-roichan* for **-ró-cechan*; compare § 878, below. The *Root-initial* is changed e. g. in pr. Idg. **si-zd-ō* ($\sqrt{\text{sed}}$ - 'sit') = Gr. *ἵζω* (I § 590 p. 447, § 593 p. 449). It often happened, however, that a difference brought about by phonetic change was obliterated afterwards; as in Ved. perf. mid. *si-sic-ē* instead of *si-ṣic-ē*

1) The perfect *ja-bhára* is a mixture of *ba-bhára* and *ja-hára*. See von Bradke, Zeitschr. D. Morg. Ges. XL 665 f.

from *sic-* 'pour',¹⁾ Gr. Gort. *θί-θεθθαυ* instead of **τι-θεθθαυ* Att. *τι-θεσθαυ* (I § 496 p. 365, the Author, Gr. Gr.² pp. 73 f.), Ion. perf. *βέβα-μεν* instead of **δε-βα-μεν* = Idg. **ge-gm-* from *√gem-* 'go' (I § 428 b, p. 316), Umbr. *ře-ře* 'dedit' instead of **te-ře* cp. *teřust dirřust* 'dederit' (I § 369 Rem. 3 p. 281).

Remark. We may not assume that in Idg. **pi-b-e-ti* (Skr. *pibati* Lat. *bibit* O.Ir. *ibid*) *b* is simply for *p* by dissimilation. It is quite possible that *b* came from the imperative **pi-b-dhi* (for **pi-p-dhi*), cp. § 539.

476. 2. Where a root begins in more than one consonant, only the first of them is reduplicated. This rule held in the proethnic language and holds in its branches too. Examples:

Skr. *śu-śrāva* Gr. *κέ-κλυτε* O.Ir. *ro chuala* for **cu-clova* from *√kley-* 'hear'. Skr. *á-su-srōt* from *sru-* 'flow'. Gr. *κέ-κριμαι* from *κρίνω* 'I sentence', *ἔλγθι* 'be gracious' for **σι-σλγ-θι* (I § 565 p. 423). O.Ir. *ad-ge-grannatar* 'persecuti sunt', *ro selach* 'I struck down' i. e. *se-šlach* (I § 576 pp. 431 f.). Goth. *gai-grōt* from *grēta* 'I cry', *fai-flōk* from *floka* 'I lament', *sai-slēp* *sai-zlēp* from *slēpa* 'I sleep'.

Skr. *sa-smāra* from *smar-* 'remember', *a-śi-śnat* from *śnath-* 'pierce'. Gr. *εἴμαραι* 'it is fated' for **σε-σμαραι* (I § 565 p. 422), *πέ-πνίγμαι* from *πνίγω* 'I choke', *ποιπνύω* 'I pant'. Mid.Ir. *ro senaich* 'stillavit' i. e. *se-šnaich* (I § 576 p. 431).

Skr. *di-dvēṣa* from *dviṣ-* 'hate', *sa-svāna* from *svan-* 'sound', partic. *śā-śvasat-* from *śvas-* 'puff, pant, blow'; *ta-tyajē* from *tyaj-* 'forsake', *sa-syandē* from *syand-* 'move on'. Hom. *δείδιμεν* i. e. *δέ-δφιμεν* from *√dyei-* 'frighten' (I § 166 p. 147). O.Ir. *do-sefainn -sephainn* from *do-sennim* 'I hunt, drive' for **syend-* or **syemn-* (I p. 175 p. 154, II § 613).

Skr. *ci-kṣāya* from *kṣi-* 'possess', *ca-kṣāṇa* from *kṣan-* 'hurt, wound', Gr. *κέ-κρημαι* from *κτάομαι* 'I get, win' (cp. I § 554 pp. 407 f., Kretschmer Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxi 433).

1) We are not at liberty to explain *si-sic-ē* by saying that *sa-* = Idg. *se-* was the reduplicator in pr. Aryan (§ 851).

Avest. *hi-štaiti* O.Pers. *a-ī-štata* (I § 558 Rem. 1 p. 410), Gr. ἵστημι ἔστηκα, Lat. *si-stō* Umbr. *se-stu* 'sisto', O.Ir. *do-airissid sessam* for **si-st-* (I § 109 *e* p. 103, § 516 p. 377), from √ *stā-* 'stand'. Avest. partic. *hi-spōsemna-* from √ *spek-* 'conspicere'. O.Ir. *se-scaind* 'he leapt'.

There are several variations from this type, of which the chief here follow.

The first is the commonest of them all (it is found in Sanskrit, Greek, Italic, Germanic), and perhaps began in the proethnic period. When a root began with *s* + an Explosive, both were often taken on into the Reduplicator, instead of simply the *s*. Thus Goth. *staī-stald* from *stalda* 'I possess', *skat-skáip* from *skáida* 'I divide'. In Sanskrit, Greek, and Italic dissimilation came in and destroyed the likeness of root and reduplicator; *s* was dropped either in the reduplicator (so Sanskrit, Greek, Latin) or in the root (Italic). Skr. *ta-sthāú ti-ṣṭha-ti* from *stha-* 'stand', *ca-skānda*, 2nd and 3rd sing. *kāni-ṣkan*, *cani-ṣkada-t* from *skand-* 'leap', *pa-sprdhē* from *spardh-* 'vie, strive for', *pani-ṣpadá-s* 'quivering' from *spand-* 'quiver'. This example of the principle of dissimilation Greek and Latin show only in a few nouns: *κο-σουλ-μάτια* 'shreds of leather' *qui-squiliae*, *κα-σχάνδις* 'leek' are examples (Fritsche, Curt. Stud. vi 319 f.). With *s* dropt in the root-syllable Lat. *ste-ti sti-ti* Umbr. *stiti-steteies* Lat. *spo-pondi sci-cidi*. Compare Osthoff, Paul Braune's Beitr. viii 540 ff.; I do not think that his hypothesis is overthrown by Meringer in Zeitschr. öst. Gymn., 1887, pp. 371 f.

Remark 1. The reason why the present Lat. *si-stō* kept the old method, while *steti stiti* did not, was that this was the only reduplicated present with a root beginning in *s* + explosive. Observe too that all its perfect forms were once distinguished by the vowel *e* in the reduplicator instead of *i* (§ 471).

Secondly, when a verb stem beginning in two consonants simplified these to one in its unreduplicated forms, the reduplicated forms were treated as though the verb began originally in one consonant (§ 475). Gr. Dor. *πέ-πάμαι* 'I possess, have authority over' instead of **κε-πᾶμαι* i. e. **ke-kṛā-* (cp.

Skr. *-śi-śvi-ś*), because in the present and other tenses **kṣā-* became *ṇā-* (I § 166 p. 147, § 654. 4 pp. 500 f., II § 117 pp. 370, 371). *σε-σόβημαι* for **τε-σορβ-* (cp. Skr. *ta-tyāja*) following *σοβέω* 'I scare away' ground-form **tjogéjō* (I § 459 p. 337). *τε-θήρακα* Thess. *πε-φειράκον* [τες beside *θήρ* Thess. *φείρ* 'wild beast' for Idg. **ǵh₂er-* O.C.Sl. *zvērī* Lith. *žvērī-s* (see Buck, Amer. Journ. Phil. xi 211 ff.), so that the reduplication would properly have been *κτ-*. Locr. partic. *φε-φασκότα* following *φασδάνω* (*ἀνδάνω*) 'I please' from √ *suād-* (cp. Skr. *sa-svadē*). *ρί-ριπται* (Pindar) following *ρίπτω* 'I throw' for **φρίπτω*; and Att. *ῥριπται* instead of the regular *(*φ*)*ευρίπται* (the Author, Gr. Gr.² p. 31). *νι-νῆχθαι* from *νίχω* 'I swim' for **ονᾶχω* (Skr. 3rd pl. *sa-sn-ur*). Lat. *me-mor memoria* formed from a perfect **me-morī*, which probably arose on the analogy of unreduplicated forms with *mer-* for *smer-* (cp. *merda* for **smerdā* etc., I § 570 p. 427), cp. Skr. *sa-smāra*. O.Ir. perf. 3rd sing. *rir* 'gave away, sold' from √ *per-* instead of **i-r* for **pi-pr-e* on the principles laid down in I § 339 p. 268, cp. § 878 below.

An exceptional type of reduplication is sometimes seen in Greek where verbs beginning in more than one consonant often have *ε-* for their reduplication, instead of one consonant + *ε*, even where the known phonetic laws did not demand that the consonant should drop. Examples are: *ε-βλάστηκα* beside *βε-βλάστηκα*, *ε-γραμμαι* (Cret. and elsewhere) beside *γέ-γραμμαι*, *ε-γνώκα*, *ε-κτῆμαι* beside *κέ-κτῆμαι*, *ε-σσυμαι* (√ *qīṣ-*). Probably *ε-ορώγα* (*φρηγ-*) and *ε-ορῖγα* (*φρῖπ-*) are of this sort, since there is no trace of *φ* having been used and dropped in these forms. See Curtius' Verb II² 144 ff. Lastly we must mention *ε-σταλκα*, *ε-σπαρμαι*, *ε-ρούηκα* (orig. *σε-σρν-*) and the like, beside *ἀφίσταλκα* *ἐφίσταλκα* (inscr.), and *ε-στηκα* *ε-σταμην*. The last perfect kept its *spiritus asper* because *ῖ-στημι* *ῖ-σταμεν* had it.¹⁾

1) In Boeotian or Laconian we must add to the perfect the aorist form *ῖτακα* for **ῖστακα*. Hesychius' gloss *ῖτακαν* *ῖστησαν* should probably be assigned to one or other of these dialects (cp. I § 566 p. 423).

Remark 2. It is an obvious suggestion that in *ἰβλάστηκα* etc. we have the augment in place of the reduplication, since in verbs with a vowel initial the augmented preterite and the perfect came to have the same beginning: e. g. *ἤρεθον: ἤρεθισμαι* (*ἡρεθίζω*), *ἤσκησα: ἤσκημαι* (*ἀσκέω*), *ἀφ' ἰσόμεν: ἀφ' ἰγμαι*. But if so we should expect similar forms in verbs which began with one consonant, and such forms as **ἰ-βηκα* instead of *βι-βηκα* (see § 475).¹⁾

We cannot suppose that the form *ἰ-ρεμυα* stands for **f-ρεμυα*, and that it gave the type for *ἰ-βλάστηκα* etc., because the dialect of Gortyn a has *ἰ-γεμυαι*, and this dialect kept initial *f* before an *e*-sound.

The Cretan perfects *ἀπ-ήστειλε ἰ-γεαται* mentioned in § 472 Rem., page 17 above, with *ἰ*-, only give a fresh problem to solve.

THE AUGMENT.²⁾

§ 477. The Augment (*αὐξησης*), as it is called, is a syllable, Idg. **e-* = Skr. *a-* Armen. *e-* Gr. *ἐ-*, which prefixed to verbal forms serves to mark past time.

1) *ἰλογα* instead of *ἰλογγα* in two late sepulchral inscriptions is probably not a mistake in the graving, but a misformation, due to contamination of the perfect *ἰλογγε* or *ἰληγε* at a time when this kind of perfect had become unfamiliar. (Thumb, *Mitteil. des deutsch. arch. Inst. in Athen*, xvi 176).

2) R. Garnett, On the Origin and Import of the Augment in Sanskrit and Greek, *Proceedings of the Philol. Society I* (1844) p. 265 ff. Fr. Müller, *Einiges über das Augment*, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr., iii 250 ff. J. Davies, On the Temporal Augment in Sanskrit and Greek, Hertford 1865. Faust, *Zur idg. Augmentbildung*, Strassb. 1877. A. H. Sayce, The Origin of the Augment, *Transactions of the Philol. Society*, 1885—1887, pp. 652 ff. Bréal, De l'augment, *Mém. de la Soc. de lingu.* vi 333 ff.

J. Avery, The Unaugmented Verb-Forms of the Rig- and Atharva-Vedas, *Proceedings of the Amer. Orient. Soc.*, May 1884, pp. xi f., und *Journal of the Amer. Orient. Soc.* xi 326 ff.

Ebel, Die scheinbaren Unregelmässigkeiten des griech. Augments, Kuhn's Zeitschr. iv 161 ff. La Roche, Das Augment des griech. Verbums, Linz 1882. Pöhlmann, Quomodo poetae epici augmento temporali usi sint, Tilsit 1858. Grashof, Zur Kritik des homer. Textes in Bezug auf die Abwerfung des Augments, Düsseldorf 1852. K. Koch, De augmento apud Homerum omisso, Brunswick 1868. Skerlo, Über den Gebrauch (die Bedeutung) des Augments bei Homer, Graudenz 1874. Molhem, De augmenti apud Homerum Herodotumque usu, Lund 1876. Bumke, De augmento verbi Herodotei, Braunsberg 1835. H. Lhardy, Quaestionum de dialecto Herodoti caput primum: De augmento, Berl. 1844.

It was originally an independent word, an adverb, followed by the verb, which then became enclitic; e. g. **é liqet* 'he left' (Armen. *e-liē* Gr. *ἔ-λιπε*), and it may be compared with the Irish particle *ro* (= Gr. *πρὸ*) which is used before verbs of the historic tenses. But in all the languages which have kept the Augment, it has become an inflexional prefix (cp. II § 4 page 6). A trace of its original adverbial character remains in the accentuation of Greek forms like *παρ-έ-σχον* ('I offered'), which involves the same principle as that of *παρ-έν-θες* ('put in between') and of Skr. *sam-ā-cinutē* ('he heaps together, collects').

As to the origin of this adverb **e*, and of **ē*, which as we shall see later was used in the same way in the parent language, only uncertain conjectures are possible.

Remark. Older explanations are cited by Curtius, Verb I² 109 ff. Sayce's new suggestions do not commend themselves to me (see page 24 footnote). It would be best to regard **e* as a locative of the pron. stem *o-*, with temporal meaning (see III § 409 p. 329); compare **te* (Lith. *tē* O.C.Sl. *te*) from **to-* and the like (III § 424 p. 349). The relation of **e* : **ē* has plenty of parallels, as **te* : **tē*, **ne* : **nē* (III p. 349 footnote, § 415 Rem. p. 337). Compare also Per Persson, *Studia etymologica*, p. 78.

If the verb had other prefixes besides the Augment, this stood immediately in front of the verb. But sometimes a verb compounded with a preposition became to all intents and purposes a simple form, and then the augment came right in front. Skr. *a-pīdaya-t* 'pressed' for **pi-zd-* ('sit upon'), Gr. *ἰ-πίσζον* for *πi(σ)εδ-*, see § 795. Skr. epic *a-sambhramat* 'he trembled'. Gr. Att. *ἰ-κúθενδον* beside *καθ-ηῦδον* 'I slept'. When the structure of verbs was thus forgotten, there could even be a double augment: Skr. epic *apraīṣīt* beside *praīṣīt* = *pra-aiṣīt* 'he drove out', Gr. *ἦν-ειχέμην* 'I endured'. The same thing occurs in reduplicated forms; see § 850.

§ 478. The augment with verbs beginning in a Consonant. Examples: Pr. Idg. **é bherom* 'I bore': Skr. *á-bharam*

Kloppe, *Dissert. de augmento Herodoteo*, cp. I. II., Schleusingen 1848. Sorof, *De augmento in trimetris tragicis abiecto, praemiisa de crasi, elisione, aphaeresi quaestione*, Breslau 1851.

Avest. *a-berem* O.Pers. *a-baram*, Gr. ἄ-φερον. 3rd sing. Skr. *á-da-dhat á-dhat* Armen. *e-d* Gr. ἄ-τίθει 1st pl. ἔ-θεμεν, √ *dhē-* 'place'. 3rd sing. Skr. *á-bōdhat a-buddha a-būbudhat* Gr. ἄ-πέν-θετο ἔ-πύθετο ἐπέπυστο, √ *bheydh-* 'awake, notice'. 3rd sing. Skr. *á-diṣṭa a-dikṣat* Gr. ἔ-δείκνυ ἔ-δειξε, √ *deik-* 'show, point'. 3rd sing. Skr. *á-gan* Armen. *e-kn*, √ *gem-* 'go, come'. 3rd sing. Armen. *e-tes* Gr. ἔ-δέχετο, √ *derk-* 'see'.

All that is left of the augment outside of these three groups are a few obscure Germanic forms: Goth. *iddja* 'he went' = Skr. *á-yat* (I § 142 p. 127), A.S. 3rd pl. *eódun* = Goth. *iddjēdun*, cp. §§ 587, 592, 886 Rem. But these are not free from doubt, because we find in Sanskrit epics the unaugmented form *iyā-t* as well as *a-yā-t* (with *iy-* instead of *y-* like *iy-ē*, § 493). So *iddja* too may represent the unaugmented Idg. **iē-t*.

In Greek, *i-* was often obscured by being contracted with the following vowel, after *σ* or *φ* which once began the root had dropped (cp. I § 165 p. 146, § 564 p. 421, § 603 pp. 455 f.); e. g. *εἰπόμην* for **ē-(σ)επομᾶν* from *επομαι* 'sequor', *εἶπον* for **ē-(σ)επον* from *ερω* 'serpo', *εἶδον* 'I saw' for **ē-(φ)ιδον* (Hom. *εἶδον*, Lesb. *εὐἶδον*), *ἐργάζομην* for **ē-(φ)εργαζομην* (an inser. of Hermione has *ἐφ'εργάσατο*) from *εργάζομαι* 'I work'. On *εἰθίζον* 'I was accustomed', orig. **ē-σφ'εθίζον*, *εἵλκον* 'I dragged', orig. **ē-σφελκον*, compare I § 563. 7 p. 420, and the Author Gr. Gr.² § 13 p. 33. The aspirate of *εἰπόμην* *εἵλκον* *εἶπον*, like that of *ἔηκα ἤκα* pl. *εἵμεν* (for *ē-(σ)η- ē-(σ)ε-*, from *ἦμι* 'I send forth' for **σι-σημι*) is doubtless due to the transference of the internal *h* (**ē-ἡεπόμᾶν* etc.) to the beginning; so it was in *ιερός* for **iherós* (Skr. *iṣirá-s*) and other words, see Kretschmer, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxi 421.

In Greek, again, the augmented preterites of verbs which have lost their initial consonant are often treated like those of verbs that never had any (§ 480). This is commonest in later times. An example is Att. *ῥῆκησα* instead of **ē-(φ)ου-κησαι*, from (*φ*)οικέω 'I live, dwell', following such forms as *ῥῆθησα* (*οἰδέω* 'I swell': Armen. *aitnum* 'I swell' O.H.G. *eiz* 'sore, abscess').

§ 479. In Vedic, some verbs beginning with *v*, *y*, or *r* have *a-* for their augment; as *á-vṛnak* from *vṛnākti* 'turns round' (see Delbrück, Ai. Verb., 79). *a-* is also found as augment with verbs beginning in *ā*, *ī*, *ṛ*; as *āúnat* from *unátti* 'wets' (see § 481). That this *a-* was original, at least in some of these forms, is made probable by the use of *ṛ-* instead of *é-* not infrequently before Greek verbs with initial *μ*. Examples: Hom. *ῥεῖδῃ* 'he knew' for **ῥ-φείδῃ*;¹⁾ Att. *εῶρων* 'I saw' *ἐάλων* 'I was captured' for **ῥ-(h)οραων* **ῥ-(h)αλων* (I § 611 p. 462); the aspirate in the last two is to be explained like that of *εἰπόμην* *ἔηκα* (§ 478). Words like *ῥογαζόμεν* (beside *εἰογαζόμεν*) are less certain. It is true this form may be derived from **ῥ-(f)εργ-*; but so may it be an ad-formate of verbs which began with *e-* in the pre-Greek period (cp. *ῥάκησα* § 478, above).

On the relation of **ē-* and **e-* see § 477 with the Remark, page 25.

Remark. On Greek forms with *ῥ-* compare G. Meyer, Gr. Gr.² pp. 421 ff.; the Author, Gr. Gr.² p. 150, and the works there cited.

Another view, which I think not probable, is that certain verbs with initial *f* have a prothetic *ῖ-*, and that from these were made preterites with the temporal augment (*ῥεῖδῃ* being to *ῖεινόμενος*; what *ῥευσθον* is to *ῖρευσθω* √ *reydh-*, cp. I § 626 pp. 470); afterwards, according to this view, other verbs with initial *f* but without prothetic *ῖ-* took *ῥ-* for augment.

On the other hand, I agree with those who refuse to see the Idg. augment **ē-* in *ῖ-βουλόμην* 'I wished', *ῖ-δυνάμην* 'I could', and *ῖ-μελλον* 'I intended, I was to' do so and so. These forms occur in Attic from 300 B. C. onwards, and *ῖμελλον* as early as Hesiod (Thesg. 478, 888, 898). It is a fair conjecture that these were modelled on *ῖ-θέλων* 'I wished', from *θέλω*. In this Verb *ῖ-* was no augment but a preposition, another ablaut-form of *ω-* in *ὠ-φείλω* etc., and identical with Skr. *ā* 'to towards'. The *ῖ-* of *ῖ-θέλω* is a third ablaut-form of the same prefix, to be compared with *a* in Avest. *a-sās-* etc.; but the use of *ῖ-* with *θέλω* was confined to its preterite in prehistoric times, because *ῖθέλω* : *ῖθέλων* seemed to be related as were *ῖρίζω* : *ῖρίζον*. Cp. Osthoff, Perf. 129, 604; Bartholomae, Ar. Forsch. II 169; above, vol. III § 246 p. 145.

1) Some scholars would write *εὔεῖδῃ* in the Aeolic fashion, for which there is no authority at all. Attic *ῥῖδει* cannot be contracted from *ῖειδ-* but only from *ῥεῖδ-*.

§ 480. In verbs with initial Sonant the augment has everywhere ceased to be a separate syllable. It was contracted with the root-initial in the original language (cp. I § 114 p. 107).

Examples. Pr. Idg. **ēsni* for **e esni* or **ē esni*, cp. pres. **es-mi* = Skr. *ásmi* etc.: Skr. *ásam* Avest. 3rd sing. *ās* O.Pers. *aham* i. e. *āham*, Gr. Hom. *ἦα* Att. *ἦ* 3rd sing. Dor. *ἦς*; 1) cp. O.C.Sl. *-jachŭ* for **ēsom* in imperfects like *neséachŭ* (§§ 493, 510, 903). Pr. Idg.: **ēini* from **ei-mi* 'I go': Skr. *áyam* 3rd sing. *ālt* Avest. 3rd sing. *āiþ* O.Pers. *ayam* i. e. *āyam*, Gr. *ἦα* instead of **ḥu* for **ḥu* (§ 502); compare Lith. *ėjaũ* 'I went' from the stem **ei-ā-* (§ 586). Gr. *ἦμιζον* from **ei-ā-* 'I strive'. O.C.Sl. *s-aorist jasŭ* = **ēt-so-m*, *✓ed-* 'eat'.

It is extremely probable that the same augment is seen in Lithuanian present forms of the substantive verb beginning with *ē-*, as pl. *ěsame ěsate* dual *ěsava ěsata* beside *ěsame* etc. and *ěsme (ěsme)* etc. Like O.C.Sl. *-(j)achŭ -(j)aše* etc. (see above), these were originally imperfect. But after all the other preterites of present stems with thematic vowel had fallen into disuse, this imperfect of *es-* was quite isolated; step by step it gave way to *bupaũ*, while at the same time the forms which ended like those of the present system came to be used as equivalent to them; and later the participle *ěsąs* was formed and used side by side with *ěsąs*, and in some dialects *ěsũ ěsĩ* beside *esũ esi*. Perhaps Lat. *ēs* 'thou art' (also *ēs*) is also an augmented form, and represents Idg. **ēs-s.* 2)

Remark. Osthoff (Perf., 184 ff.) assumes that Lat. *ēs ēst estis* from *edō*, and Lith. *ėdmi ėdu* etc. O.C.Sl. *jamĩ (ěmĩ)* are forms of the augmented imperfect used as present. I think that their *ē-* may very well have this origin. But another supposition is quite as good, nay

1) We are certainly tempted to follow Bopp, Lagarde, and Bugge, and add Arm. *ēi* 'eram' 3rd sing. *ēr*; but Idg. *ē* seems always to become Arm. *i*. Compare Hübschmann, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxiii 12.

2) So too the augment has crept into the present and future in Modern Greek, as *αἶς ἐβλέπω, θὰ αἶς ἐθώσω* (Hatzidakis, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxx 375); and so the augment of Armen. *e-kn* 'he came' and *e-d* 'he placed' has found its way into allied forms, as fut. *ekiç* and *ediç* (Hübschmann, Arm. Stud. i 28; Bugge, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxii 38).

better — that they represent the ablaut-grade Idg. *ēd-. Then *ēdmi : *edmi (Skr. *ádmi*) as Skr. imper. mid. *sák-śra* : *sák-śva* (✓ *segh-*), and as Skr. *sáhati* : *sáhatē* (Gr. *ἔχειν*), *dhávati* : *dhavatē* (Gr. *ἔλω*), Gr. *μῆδομαι* : *μῆδομαι*, Lith. *bėgu* : Gr. *φέβουμαι*, and so forth (§ 471 p. 16); and, if so, the ēd- of *ēdmi must be identified with that of the s-aorist Lat. *esse* O.C.Sl. *jasū* (*ěsū*), and probably with that of the perfect forms Lat. *ēdi*, Lith. *ėdęs* O.C.Sl. *jadŭ* (*ědŭ*); see *loc. cit.* above. One view only I must distinctly oppose; the view of those who regard this root as not belonging to the recognised e-series, but to an ē-series, and who regard Skr. *dāmi* as not original, while the *ēdmi of Latin and Balto-Slavonic is. Compare § 494.

How came this ē-grade (*mēd-* etc.) to exist in e-roots? It is impossible to say. It is found, in the proethnic stage and later, not only in the present and aorist, but in the perfect too (§ 848. 3), and also in nouns (e. g. Gr. *μῆδος* *μίστωρ* Armen. *mid*); and we have no right to limit this ē to any single tense. It is certainly remarkable that the perfect forms with ē never had the reduplication (Skr. *sāh-rās-* etc.). But there are other original unreduplicated perfects, as for example *μοῖδε 'knows' see *loc. cit.*).

What was originally the quality of the resultant vowel, when an augment was contracted with the initial a- or o- of a root, it is hard to say. The Aryan languages of course always have a-, whether the root began in e, o, or a; as Skr. *ájat* from *ájati* 'he drives' Gr. *ἄγει*, *ápasyat* from *apasyáti* 'is active' Lat. *operátur*. In Armenian, verbs beginning with a- have apparently no augment in the preterite, as *ac* 'he led', *ar* 'he took' *auc* 'he anointed' *anç* 'παρήλασε'; we also find a re-formation with augment ē-*anç* (with later ē instead of e). Greek forms like *ἄγον* Ion. *ἤγον* (from *ἄγω* 'I lead'), *ὀζον* (from *ὀζω* 'I smell'), *ὠθῆσαι* (from *ὠθέω* 'I swell') are suspicious, because their long vowel might come from analogy, once such forms as **esti* (*ἔστι*) : **est* (*ἔς*) had produced a belief that the lengthening of an initial vowel marked the past tense. Beyond all doubt this is the cause of the long vowel in such words as *ἰκέτευσα* (from *ἰκετεύω* 'I beseech') and *ὑμεναίουν* (*ὑμεναῖω* 'I sing the bridal song'); compare what is said in § 643 on *ὄρ-νῦ-μι* : *ὄρ-νῦ-μεν*.

§ 481. In the plural and dual of the pret. of **es-mi* 'I am' and **ei-mi* 'I go', if Idg. *e- is allowed to be their augment, we should expect forms like Skr. **á-sma* **á-san*, Gr. **εἰμεν* Lesb. **εἰμμεν* and Skr. **éma* **á-yan*, Gr. **εἰμεν*,

op. pres. 1st pl. Skr. *s-más*, *i-más* and the unaugmented imperf. Skr. Ved. *s-an* Avest. *h-en* and Avest. *i-ta* Gr. ἴ-την. One such form is Avest. *ahma* Gathic *ēhma* = pr. Ar. **a-sma*. Otherwise we find only *dsma dsan aīma dyan*, Avest. 3rd dual *aitem*, O.Pers. 3rd pl. *aha aya* i. e. doubtless *aha aya*, Gr. ἡμεν ἦστε, O.C.Sl. 2nd pl. *-(j)as-te*. If we suppose that the augment here was *ē* (cp. § 477 and Rem. p. 25, § 479 pp. 26 f.), the sing. and dual-pl. agree in their initial syllable right back as far as the parent speech. However, it is possible, and probably better, to assume that the long vowel came from the singular, the initial of *dsam ḡa* as compared with *dsmi εἰμι* being classed in the popular imagination with that of the preterites *djam ānam ḡrown* etc., which had a long initial vowel in all persons.

Remark 1. *η* in ἡμεν ἦτε must be a re-formation (cp. I § 611 p. 461). But there is no need to bring in the influence of the sing. ḡa, since **ē* + *i-ent* may conceivably have been the 3rd plural (cp. § 1020. 1. a).

Remark 2. Osthoff's view (Perf., 151 f.) that Skr. *āsta* Gr. ἦστε came from **é esté*, and that **esté* was the weak-grade form of *✓es-* with secondary or bye-accent, is no longer tenable. See Bartholome, Bezz. Beitr. xvii 105.

In Sanskrit, verbs beginning with *ā-*, *ī-*, or *ṛ-* have *au-*, *ai-*, and *ar-* in their augmented preterite. *ā́nat* from *unátti* 'wets' (*ud-*). *ā́hat* from *úhati* 'removes, pushes'. *ā́chat* from *icháti* 'wishes'. *ā́śata* from *ísatē* 'owns'. *ārchat* from *ṛcháti* 'reaches, gets'. The augment here was probably *ē*; see § 479 above, on *ā-vṛnak* etc. Other attempts to explain these are given by Schleicher Comp.⁴ p. 738 (cp. J. Schmidt, Vocalismus, I 44) and Bartholomae, Ar. Forsch. II 74 f.

§ 482. In Herodotus are a series of apparently unaugmented forms, of which *αἵτε* (*αἰτέω* 'I ask'), *εὔχετο* (*εὔχομαι* 'I pray'), *αὐξετο* (*αὐξω* 'I increase') are examples. These may be quite regular, and come from older forms with initial *ā-*, *ē-*, *au-*, as laid down in vol. I § 611 p. 461.

The vowels in the first syllable of such forms as Att. ἡτουν (*αἰτέω*), ηὔξαμην (*εὔχομαι*), ηὔξον (*αὐξω*), and ἦντησα (*ἀντάω* 'I meet'), ἦρχον (*ἄρχω* 'I lead'), ὤρνον (*ὀρνέμι ὀρνύω*



'I arouse, set a-going') is due to the analogy of ἡγόν : ἄγω, ἡρῶζον : ἐρῶζω etc. ἡμεν ἡτε are discussed in § 481 with the Remark, just above.

§ 483. The Augment Omitted. In the parent language the augment could be dispensed with. The forms with which it was used were not confined to the expression of any particular tense or time, and they could be used for the past without any augment. This was easy enough if past time were unmistakeably indicated by the context, or by some other expression in the sentence, such as Skr. *purā* Gr. *πάρως*. Compare § 909.

The use of both augmented and unaugmented forms (as **é-bherom* and **bhérom* in the sense of 'I carried') continued in the separate languages, and survivals of it occur right down into the historic period. The facts are as follows.

In Sanskrit of the Vedic period both modes of expression are used together; in the Rig-Veda they are about equally balanced. But even in Vedic we can see a growing preference for forms with the augment. In the Brahmanas and in Epic poetry the augment is rarely omitted. And in later or classical Sanskrit, which was ruled by the native grammarians, augmented forms alone are used. In Avestic the double usage is also found, though the augment occurs rarely in comparison with the number of times it is omitted. But Old Persian seems to know no preterites save those which have an augment (a few forms in this language are doubtful).

In Armenian the augment was kept only before monosyllabic verbal forms which kept their root vowel, or before those which without it would not have been a complete syllable. Thus the 3rd sing. aor. *e-liĕ* = Gr. *ἔλιπε* has it, but 1st sing. *liĕ* has it not.¹⁾ It is found in other persons besides the 3rd sing. with the aorists of the roots *dhē-* 'place', *dō-* 'give', and *gem-* 'come'; thus 1st sing. *e-di e-tu e-ki* 3rd

1) It is a fair assumption that, in the 1st sing., **eliĕi* beside **liĕi* dropt out of use before **liĕi* became monosyllabic.

sing. *e-d e-t e-kn*. That the augment was kept or dropt according to the number of syllables in the word is clear from 1st pl. *tuakē* beside sing. 1st pers. *e-tu* 2nd *e-tur* 3rd *e-t* pl. 2nd *e-tukē* 3rd *e-tun*, and by comparison with 1st pl. *e-daikē e-kaikē* (beside *e-di e-ki*). The augment of *edi* and *eki* passed into other parts of the verb, for which see page 28, footnote 2.

In the Greek of Homer and the later epic poets, the use of the augment is artificial. In the later epic it is less and less omitted as the language approaches more nearly to ordinary prose. In prose, augmented forms predominated from the very first. The only exceptions are the pluperfect, which shows the old variation, e. g. *πενόνθη πεπόνθειν* with *ἰ-πενόνθη ἰ-πεπόνθειν*, and the iterative preterite in *-σκον* in Herodotus, as *φεύγεσκον*, which never has the augment. Perhaps the reason for these exceptions was that the forms of the 2nd plural and dual pluperfect (§ 836) and *φευγέσχετε φευγίσκετον* could have only one meaning, while *τρέπετε τρέπετον, τράπετε τράπετον, τρέψατε τρέψατον* could be either indicative or imperative. This made the augment useful to make the sense clear. In Sanskrit and Old-Persian there was the same ambiguity (e. g. Skr. *bhārata* = *ābharata*, and also imperative); and there too a desire for clearness may have caused the augmented forms to become by degrees the only mode of expressing past action.

In all other branches of our group unaugmented forms gained the day. The scanty and obscure remnants of the augmented class have already been given. Examples of unaugmented forms are:

Latin. *-bam* in *planta-bam* for **fu-a-m* 'I was' (§ 583). *dixit*: Gr. *δειξε ἔ-δειξε* (§§ 823, 867. 3). *scidit*: Skr. *chidá-t á-chida-t* (§§ 523, 528, 867. 5).

Old-Irish. *s-aorist ro-char* 'he loved' for **-caras-t* (§ 840).

Old High German. *teta* O.Sax. *deda* 'I did', if it is an imperfect like Greek *τίθην ἑ-τίθην* (§§ 545. 886), and O.H.G. O.Sax. *wissun* 'they knew', if it be for **uits-ut* (§ 837). Compare Kluge in Paul's Grundr. I 375.

Lithuanian. *būvo* 'he was' for **bhuyā-t*: cp. Lat. *-bat*; *minė* 'he thought, devised' for **mynē-t*: cp. Gr. *μάνη ἐ-μάνη* (§ 587). Old Church Slavonic. *bě* 'he was' for **bhyē-t*: cp. Gr. *φύη ἐ-φύη* (§ 587); aor. *vezū* 'I carried, vexi': Skr. *vāha-m ā-vaha-m* (§ 514); *s*-aorist *dēchū* 'I laid': Skr. *dhāsam ā-dhāsam* (§ 812).

FORMATION OF THE TENSE STEM.¹⁾

GENERAL REMARKS.

§ 484. In classifying forms of a verbal system the grammars regard meaning rather than form. The result is that forms which are closely connected in structure and in derivation have often to be kept apart, and at the same time

1) Many works on the Present Stem (Imperfect-Present and Aorist-Present) include a more or less general discussion of tense formation, and it is not always easy to choose where to name them. For this reason, works on the Present Stem will here be included along with those on Tense-Formation in general. For works on the *sio*-Future, see § 747; for the *s*-Aorist § 810; for the Perfect, § 848 (the Germanic weak preterite § 907).

Indo-Germanic. L. Tobler, *Übergang zwischen Tempus und Modus, ein Capitel vergleichender Syntax im Zusammenhang mit Formenlehre und Völkerpsychologie*, Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsych. II 29 ff. S. H. A. Herling, *Vergleich. Darstellung der Lehre vom Tempus und Modus*, Hanover 1840. L. Meyer, *Über Tempusbildung und Perfecta mit Präsensbedeutung*, Benfey's *Orient und Occident* I 201 ff. F. H. Trithem, *On the Formation of the Past Tense in certain of the Indo-European languages*, *Proceed. of the Philol. Soc.* I (1844) pp. 273 ff. G. Gerland, *Intensiva und Iterativa und ihr Verhältnis zu einander*, Leipz. 1869. H. Osthoff, *Über Aoristpräsens und Imperfectpräsens*, *Paul-Braune's Beitr.* VIII 287 ff. F. Hartmann, *De aoristo secundo*, Berl. 1881. O. Hoffmann, *Das Präsens der idg. Grundsprache in seiner Flexion und Stammbildung*, Gött. 1889. The Author, *Zur Geschichte der präsensstambildenden Suffixe*, *Sprachwiss. Abhandl. aus G. Curtius' Gramm. Gesellsch.* 1874 pp. 153 ff. Bartholomae, *Altindisch āsiṣ > lateinisch erās*, *Stud. zur idg. Sprachgesch.* II 61 ff. J. Schmidt, *Die ursprüngl. Flexion des Optativs und der auf ā auslautenden Präsensstämme*, *Kuhn's Zeitschr.* XXIV 303 ff. G. Curtius, *Die Verstärkungen im Präsensstämme*, *ibid.* I 259 ff. A. Kuhn, *Über die durch Nasale erweiterten*

Brugmann, *Elementa*. IV.

others which are in structure and derivation quite distinct must be brought together. Questions of use belong to Syntax. Here we have to examine the structure of the Indo-Germanic verb, and to identify what is morphologically the

Verbalstämme, *ibid.* II 392 ff., 455 ff. H. Osthoff, Über eine bisher nicht erkannte Präsensstambildung des Idg., Vortrag auf der Münchener Philologenvers. 1891 (Zeitschr. für deutsche Philol. XXIV 215 ff., Anzeiger für idg. Sprach- und Altertumsk. I 82 ff.). The Author, Die achte Conjugationsklasse des Altindischen und ihre Entsprechung im Griechischen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIV 255 ff. J. H. Moulton, The *-nā*-Class of Unthematic Verbs, Amer. Journ. Phil. X 283 ff. A. Ludwig, Die Verba auf [lat.] *-erare* [germ.] *-izon*, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XVIII 52 ff. Th. Benfey, Einige ursprüngliche Causalia aus Bildungen durch sanskritisch *payā*, *ibid.* VII 50 ff.

Aryan. The Author, Die siebente Präsensklasse des Arischen, Morph. Untera. III 148 ff. Bartholomae, Zur dritten, achten, neunten Präsensklasse, zur Desiderativbildung [im Arischen], Ar. Forsch. II 69 ff., 86 ff., 89 f., 90 ff. Whitney, Numerical Results from Indexes of Sanskrit Tense- and Conjugation-Stems, Proceed. Amer. Or. Soc., May 1885, pp. XXXII ff. Lanman, On Multifiform Presents and on Transfers of Conjugation in the Sanskrit Verb System, *ibid.* pp. XXXVI ff. Whitney, On the Classification of the Forms of the Sanskrit Aorists, *ibid.* 1875-76 pp. XVIII f. The Author, Über einige ai. Verba der fünften und neunten Conjugationsklasse, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIV 286 ff. A. H. Edgren, On the Verbs of the so-called *tan*-class in Sanskrit, Proceed. Amer. Or. Soc., May 1885, pp. XXXIX f. Van den Gheyn, Note sur la 8^e classe des verbes sanscrits, Brüssel 1880. *Idem*, Remarques sur quelques racines sanscrites de la 8^e classe, Brussels 1884. *Idem*, Nouvelles recherches sur la 8^e classe des verbes sanscrits, Brussels 1886. A. H. Edgren, On the propriety of Retaining the Eighth Verb-Class in Sanskrit, University Studies Published by the Univ. of Nebraska I 1 (1888). S. Goldschmidt, Bildungen aus Passiv-Stämmen im Prākṛit, Zeitschr. der deutsch. morg. Gesellsch. XXIX 491 ff., XXX 779. Jacobi, Über unregelmässige Passiva im Prākṛit, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVIII 249 ff. E. Wilhelm, Zum Übergang von der unthematischen in die thematische Conjugation [im Avest.], Bezzenberger's Beitr. X 314 ff. *Idem*, De verbis denominativis linguae Bactricae, Jena 1878. Bartholomae, Zur fünften und neunten Präsensklasse [im Iran.], Bezzenberger's Beitr. XIII 60 ff.

Greek and Latin. Herm. Schmidt, Doctrinae temporum verbi Graeci et Latini expositio historica, Halle 1836. *Idem*, De verbi Graeci et Latini doctrina temporum, Wittenb. 1842. A. Kerber, Significationes temporum verbi Graeci et Latini in uno conspectu collocantur, Halle 1864. Düntzer, Über die dem Griech. und Latein. eigenthümlichen Tempus- und Modusbildungen, Höfer's Zeitschr. f. die Wiss. d. Sprache II 78 ff.

same; and we must not be led into classifying forms according to their uses, or describing them by the terms which belong to syntax, except where this is possible without neglect of the forms as such, and without interfering with the terminology and general arrangement of the subject in this book.

Greek. G. B. Bonino, Il tema del presente nel verbo greco, Turin 1879. H. Malden, On connecting vowels in Greek, Trans. Philol. Soc. 1862—63 pp. 283 ff. G. Mahlow, Über den Futurgebrauch griech. Präsens, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxvi 570 ff. W. Kühne, Das Causativum in der griech. Sprache, Leipz. 1882. H. Rumpf, Quaestio-
 tionum Homeriarum specimen: De formis quibusdam verborum in μ in aliam declinationem traductis, Giessen 1850. H. Ebel, Verkannte Präsensformen [*ῥεῖναι ἔχεται* etc.], Kuhn's Zeitschr. iv 201 ff. L. Meyer, Die homer. Formen des Zeitworts *εἶναι*, *ibid.* ix 373 ff., 423 ff. G. Meyer, Die mit Nasalen gebildeten Präsensstämme des Griechischen mit vergleichender Berücksichtigung der andern idg. Sprachen, Jena 1873. *Idem*, Die Präsens auf *-ώρηναι*, Bezzenberger's Beitr. I 222 ff. Max Müller, Die siebente [skr.] Conjugation im Griech., Kuhn's Zeitschr. iv 270 ff. The Author, Das *vr* in *ἔρηναι*, *ῥώρηναι*, *κορέρηναι* und ähnl. Präsens, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxvii 589 ff. R. Fritzsche, Über die Ausdehnung der Nasalclasse im Griech., Curtius' Stud. vii 381 ff. A. Stolpe, Iterativorum Graecorum vis ac natura ex usu Homeri atque Herodoti demonstrata, Bresl. 1849. G. Curtius, Die iterativen Präterita auf *-αρον*, Kuhn's Zeitschr. i 27 ff. Max Müller, Die griech. Verba auf *πρ*, *ibid.* iv 362 ff. I. Herrmann, De verbis Graecorum in *αθρην εθρην* exeuntibus, Erfurt 1832. Wentzel, Qua vi posuit Homerus verba quae in *θω* cadunt? Oppeln 1836. G. Mekler, Griech. verba contracta mit langem Themavocal, in Beiträge zur Bildung des griech. Verbums (Dorpat 1887) pp. 1 ff. H. von der Pfordten, Zur Geschichte der griech. Denominativa, Leipz. 1886. L. Sütterlin, Zur Geschichte der verba denominativa im Altgriech. I, Strassb. 1891. Lobeck, De mutatione terminationum coniugationis circumflexae, Königsb. 1845. G. Curtius, Zur Geschichte der griech. zusammengezogenen Verbalformen, Curtius' Stud. iii 377 ff. B. Mangold, De diectasi Homerica, imprimis verborum in *-αω*, *ibid.* vi 139 ff. F. D. Allen, The Epic Forms of Verbs in *αω*, Transact. of the Americ. Philol. Associat. iv (1873) pp. 1 ff. J. Wackernagel, Die epische Zerdehnung, Bezzenberger's Beitr. iv 259 ff. Inama, Degli aoristi greci, Rivista di filol. ii 249 ff. L. Meyer, Griech. Aoriste, Berl. 1879. A. Zickler, De causis duplicis formae aoristi Graeci, 1865. Th. Nölting, Über den genetischen Zusammenhang des Aoristus II mit dem Perfectum II der griech. Sprache, Wismar 1843. The Author, Über einige griech. Präteritalformen mit *α* vor der Personalendung, Bezzenberger's Beitr. ii 245 ff. L. Doederlein, De aoristis quibusdam secundis, Erl. 1857.

§ 485. The first point to realise is that there never was any real difference between the Present stem and the Strong Aorist. There is no difference, for example, between the imperfect Skr. *á-bhā-t* Gr. *ἔ-φη* (*√bhā-* 'to

W. Schulze, Zwei verkannte Aoriste [*ἔαρον* und *ἔειπον*], Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxix 230 ff. Ebel, Reduplicierte Aoriste im Griech., *ibid.* II 46 ff. G. Curtius, Der erste Aorist des Passivs, *ibid.* I 25 ff. J. Wackernagel, Der Passivaorist auf *-σπν*, *ibid.* xxx 302 ff. W. Kühne, De aoristi passivi formis atque usu Homericis, Marburg 1877 and Güstrow 1878. Walker, Greek Aorists and Perfects in *-α*, Class. Review, v 446 ff. Hatzidakis, Zur Präsensbildung des Neugriechischen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxvii 69 ff.

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Italic. Corssen, Zur Bildung der Präsensstämme, in Beitr. zur ital. Sprachkunde pp. 475 ff. Cludius, Über die Bildung des Verbi *sum*, Günther und Wachsmuth's Athenäum II (Halle 1817) 136 ff. J. Darmesteter, De coniugatione Latini verbi *dare*, Paris 1877. Ph. Thielmann, Das Verbum *dare* im Lateinischen, Leipz. 1882. F. Fröhde, Die lat. Präsensia auf *-lo*, Bezzenberger's Beitr. III 285 ff. K. F. Johansson, Några ord om de latinska verbalbildningarne med *n i* presensstämmen, Akadem. afhandlingar til prof. S. Bugge, Christiania 1889, pp. 21 ff. Ch. Ploix, Des verbes latins en *sco*, Mém. d. l. Soc. d. lingu., VI 399 ff. K. Sittl, De linguae Latinae verbis inchoativis, Archiv f. lat. Lexikogr. I 465 ff. C. Pascal, I suffissi formatori delle conjugazione latine, Revista di filol. XIX 449 ff. R. Thurneysen, Über Herkunft und Bildung der lat. Verba auf *-io* der 3. und 4. Conj. und ihr gegenseitiges Verhältniss, Leipz. 1879. C. Peter, Über die schwachen Verba der lat. Sprache, Rhein. Mus. III 95 ff., 360 ff. M. Bréal, Verbes dérivés latins, Mém. d. l. Soc. d. lingu. VI 342 ff. F. de Saussure, Sur une classe de verbes latins en *-eo*, *ibid.* III 279 ff. C. Pauli, Geschichte der lat. Verba auf *eo*, Stettin 1865. O. I. Fehrnborg, De verbis Latinis in *uo* divisas desinentibus, Stockholm 1889. C. Pauker, Die verba denominativa auf *-are*, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxvi 261 ff., 415 ff. R. Jonas, De verbis frequentativis et intensivis apud comediae Latinae scriptores, (I) Posen 1871, (II) Meseritz 1872. *Idem*, Gebrauch der Verba frequentativa und intensiva in der älteren lat. Prosa (Cato, Varro, Sallust), Posen 1879 und 1884. C. Pauker, Die verba frequentativa, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxvi 243 ff., 409 ff. Wölfflin, Die Verba frequentativa und intensiva, Archiv f. lat. Lexikogr. IV 197 ff. *Idem*, Die verba desuperlativa, *ibid.* II 355 ff. G. Curtius, Über die Spuren einer lat. *o*-Conjugation, Symbola philol. Bonn. 1864 pp. 271 ff. = Kleine Schriften II 133 ff. Wölfflin, Die verba desiderativa, Archiv f. lat. Lexikogr. I 408 ff. G. Curtius, De aoristi Latini reliquiis, Kieler Lectionsverzeichnis. 1857—58 = Curtius'

show, disclose, inform') and the aorist Skr. *á-sthá-t* Gr. *ἔ-στη* (√*stā*- 'stand'); between the imperfect Skr. *á-druha-t* (√*dreugh*- 'deceive') Gr. *ἔ-γλυφε* (√*gleubh*- 'split, incise') and the aorist Skr. *budhá-nta* Gr. *ἔ-πύθη-το* (√*bheydh*- 'wake,

Stud. v 429 ff. Corssen, *Kein Aoristus II im Lateinischen*, in *Beitr. zur ital. Sprachk.* pp. 538 ff. F. G. Fumi, *Sulla formazione latina del preterito e futuro imperfetti*, *Progr. del R. Liceo Chiabrera in Savona* 1875—76.

Keltic. D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Etude sur le présent du verbe irlandais*, *Mém. d. l. Soc. d. lingu.* v 237 ff. Wh. Stokes, *The Neo-Celtic Verb Substantive*, *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1885—87, pp. 202 ff. *Idem*, *The Old-Irish Verb Substantive*, *Kuhn's Zeitschr.* xxviii 55 ff. Windisch, *Das ir. praesens secundarium*, *ibid.* xxvii 156 ff. *Idem*, *Das ir. t-Präteritum*, *Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr.* viii 442 ff. Thurneysen, *Das sogen. Präsens der Gewohnheit im Irischen*, *Idg. Forsch.* I 329 ff. Lottner, *Traces of the Italic imperfect in the Keltic languages*, *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1859, pp. 31 ff. Thurneysen, *Zu den ir. Verbalformen sigmatischer Bildung*, *Kuhn's Zeitschr.* xxxi 62 ff. — Further on page 4, footnote.

Germanic. Amelung, *Die Bildung der Tempusstämme durch Vokalsteigerung im Deutschen*, Berl. 1871. Peterson, *Vom Ablaut mit bes. Rücksicht auf den Ablaut des starken Zeitworts im German.*, Lund 1877. A. Møller, *Die reduplicierenden Verba im Deutschen als abgeleitete Verba*, eine etymol. Untersuchung, Potsd. 1866. H. Lichtenberger, *De verbis quae in vetustissima Germanorum lingua reduplicatum praeteritum exhibeant*, Nancy 1891. G. Burghauser, *Idg. Präsensbildung im German.*, Wien 1887. J. von Fierlinger, *Zur deutschen Conjugation (Präsentia der Wurzelklasse, Zur westgerm. Flexion des verb. subst.)*, *Kuhn's Zeitschr.* xxvii 432 ff. H. Kern, *Over eenige vormen van 't werkwoord zijn in 't Germaansch*, *Taal- en Letterbode* v 89 ff. J. Schmidt, *Die german. Flexion des verbum substant. und das hiatusfüllende r im Hoehd.*, *Kuhn's Zeitschr.* xxv 592 ff. W. Wilmanns, *Die Flexion der Verba tuon, gān, stān im Ahd.*, *Zeitschr. f. deutsch. Alterth.* xxxiii 424 ff. Skladny, *Über das gotische Passiv*, Neisse 1873. Egge, *Inchoative or n-Verbs in Gothic*, *Amer. Journ. Phil.* vii 38 ff. Sievers, *Zur Flexion der schwachen Verba*, *Paul-Braune's Beitr.* viii 90 ff. Kögel, *Die schwachen Verba zweiter und dritter Classe*, *ibid.* ix 504 ff. The Author, *Die got. Imperativform hiri und die Denominativa von consonantischen Stämmen*, *Morph. Unters.* iv 414 ff.

Balto-Slavonic. G. Uljanov, *Značenija glagolnych osnov v litovsko-slavjanskom jazyké* (meaning of verbal stems in Lithu-Slavonic), *Russkij filol. věstnik* xxiv 105 ff., xxv 41 ff. O. Wiedemann, *Das litau. Präteritum*, ein Beitrag zur Verbalflexion der idg. Sprachen, *Strassb.* 1891. Leskien, *Die Präsensbildungen des Slavischen und ihr Verhältniss zum Infinitivstamm*, *Arch. f. slav. Philol.* v 497 ff. Miklosich,

notice, learn'). Often the same form is imperfect in one language and aorist in another; the forms *é-gene-t* (✓ *gen-gignere*) and **é-dyke-t* (✓ *denk-* 'bite') are imperfect in Sanskrit (*ájanat ádaśat*), and aorist in Greek (*ἐγένετο ἔδανε*). Or the same form is both, in one and the same language; Skr. *á-pā-t* 'drank' is imperfect of the pres. *pā-ti*, and aorist of the pres. *pāba-ti*. What the meaning of a given form was, whether imperfect or aorist, depended on its relation to others. See Delbrück, *Ai. Verb.* p. 16, *Ai. Tempuslehre* p. 5. For our purpose, then, the stems of the present and the strong aorist go together; and where it is advisable to refer to the difference in the kind of action implied, we shall use the terms imperfect-present and aorist-present.

Some of the forms which in grammars of this or that language are called Future Indicative were originally Conjunctive; for example, Lat. *eri-s age-s*. These will be found under Conjunctive (§§ 910 ff.). In form they belong to the Present. In the same place will be found the Idg. series of forms built up with the suffix *-sjo-*, as Skr. *dā-syāmi* Lith. *dā'-siu* 'dabo'. The *-sjo-* stands on the same level as *-so-* *-sko-* and other formative suffixes used in the present tense; it is probably made up of *-s(o)-* + *-jo-*, as *-njo-* is of *-n(o)-* + *-jo-* (§ 743). Thus these futures are treated under the Present Tense.

With the Present also should strictly speaking be classed the *s*-Aorist. Its characteristic *s* cannot be separated from the *s* which is so common in present and regular in future stems; and its whole inflexion follows the same principle as the present. The *s*-aorist would properly go with Class XIX of Present Stems (cp. §§ 655, 656). A separate chapter is given all the same to this

Das Imperf. in den slav. Sprachen, *Sitzungsber. d. Wien. Akad.* LXXVII 5 ff. O. Wiedemann, *Zur Stammbildung der Verben auf -nati*, *Arch. f. slav. Philol.* x 652 ff. W. Burda, *Ein Beispiel der Präsensstammbildung mittels ta im Slavischen*, *Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr.* vi 392. Miklosich, *Verba intensiva im Altslowenischen*, *ibid.* I 67 ff. *Idem*, *Einfacher Aorist [in Old-Slovenian]*, *Sitzungsber. der Wien. Akad.* LXXXI 100 ff.

Aorist (§§ 810 ff.), but merely to assist in getting a general view of this large group of forms.

As to the proethnic Perfect, as **dedorke* = Skr. *dadārśa* Gr. *δέδορκε* ($\sqrt{\text{derk-}}$ 'see'), it is distinguished from present forms by its grade of ablaut in the singular indicative active, by some special personal endings in the indicative, and (if we include the verb infinite) by a peculiar formation in the participle active. The remaining forms of the perfect system, with which we must include the pluperfect, have exact counterparts in the system of the present, and nothing but its use can tell us whether a given one of these forms is perfect, present, or aorist; even the reduplication with *e* is not confined to the perfect (§ 471 pp. 15 f.). Often the kind of action denoted is so little obvious, that grammarians doubt whether to class certain forms under Perfect or Present Stem (cp. Delbrück, *Altind. Verb.* 122 f., Whitney's *Sanskrit Gram.* § 868, Curtius *Verb II* 24 f.). It is clear that notwithstanding these points of contact between the two classes, a special chapter must be given to the perfect, on account of the peculiarities which it has.

We therefore divide Verb Forms, from the point of view of the Formation of these Tenses, into three groups:

- I. Present (including Imperfect- and Aorist-Present).
- II. s-Aorist.
- III. Perfect.

§ 486. Before we proceed to our subject in detail, two distinctions must be explained which are usually made, and to which some attention must be given in discussing Tense Morphology. These are (1) the distinction between *Primitive* or *Primary* verbs, and *Derivative* or *Secondary* verbs (*Denominative* or *Deverbative*): (2) that between *Root-Determinatives*, and *Tense-Suffixes*, or the elements used in forming a tense stem.

§ 487. First — *Primitive* and *Derivative* Verbs. Primitives, such as **es-ti* 'est' and **age-ti* 'agit', are contrasted with two classes of derived verbs: (1) a class which in the formation of

the stem is wholly verbal, as much as are the primitives; as Sanskrit Desideratives and Intensives (*nī-nī-ṣa-ti nē-nī-yá-tē* from *náya-ti* 'leads'), and Inchoatives in Latin (*gemiscō* from *gemō*): (2) those which clearly contain a Noun Stem, called Denominatives; as Skr. *gātu-yá-ti* 'procures access' from *gātú-ṣ* 'access', Gr. *ποιμαίνω* 'I tend' from *ποιμήν* 'herdsman', Lat. *planta-t* from *planta*.

(1) The formation of Desideratives, Inchoatives, Intensives, Iteratives, Frequentatives, Causatives and the rest is in principle absolutely the same as that of the so-called Primitive verbs connected with them. There is a distinction, however, in the *meaning* of the present tense; in these verbs the present had a second special meaning in addition to that of time. This distinguished them from the primitives, which had a simpler meaning in the present, and the formation with some special meaning became a more or less fertile type. But they were not originally *derived* from their primitives for the express purpose of conveying this new meaning; the new meaning, indeed, does not always date from the proethnic stage at all, but belongs to a later period, and it often has nothing to do with the form, but depends on other circumstances. This is the case with Lat. inchoatives in *-scō* (§ 674). Thus it is clear that we cannot use this different meaning as a principle of classification; our aim is historical, and we base our classification on the conditions which prevailed in the proethnic stage, and as far as possible on etymology. We must then be content to point out the special meaning where it is of any importance, and, wherever it is possible, to explain how the meaning came in.

(2) It is less easy to classify the second group of forms, and to find out how far indicative stems, which we see combined with personal endings into a word, are purely verbal, and how far they are wholly or partly nominal. If we could only see which were based on noun stems and which derived from verbs, this would of course be the main principle of distinction.

There is no manner of doubt that the Idg. languages had

not only denominative verbs with an additional suffix between stem and personal ending — such as Skr. *gātu-yá-ti* *apas-yá-ti* ('is active', from *ápas-* 'work') Lith. *pāsako-ju* ('I recount' from *pāsaka* 'account'), which have *-jo-* between stem and ending — but also others where the personal suffix was added immediately to the noun stem. Such forms are Lat. *plantā-s* *planta-t* etc. from *planta*, O.H.G. *salbō-s* 'thou anointest' *salbō-t* etc. from *salba* 'ointment', Lith. *jūsto* 'he girds' *jūsto-me* from *jūsta* 'girdle', Aeol. *τῆμα-μεν* 'we honour' from *τῆμά* 'honour'. Also Skr. *mārga-ti* 'tracks, traces' from *mārga-s* 'path, track', *phala-ti* 'bears fruit' from *phāla-m* 'fruit', Gr. *θέρμει-το* 'grew warm' from *θερμός*, *ἐχραυσε* 'was useful' beside *χραυσμέω*, Skr. *jīva-ti* Lat. *vīvi-t* O.C.Sl. *žive-tū* 'lives' from *jī-vá-s* *vī-vo-s* *ži-vū* 'alive'. With very good reason, all forms with a thematic vowel, and therefore all presents formed by *-o-* *-no-* *-to-* *-jo-* etc., have been explained as noun-stems with added personal endings (so, for example, Curtius Verb I² 14 f., 161, 239, 296): as specimens take Skr. *ájā-ti* 'drives' Gr. *ἄγει* Lat. *agi-t* with Skr. *ajā-s* 'driver' Gr. *αἰός* Lat. *prōd-igu-s*; Skr. *pañā-tē* 'buys' with *pañā-s* 'wager, stipulation' Lith. *peñna-s* 'profit' (I § 259 p. 212), Skr. *vēna-ti* 'yearns' with *vēnā-s* 'yearning', Goth. *frāthni-þ* 'asks' with Skr. *praśná-s* 'question'; containing *-yno-* *-eno-* *-ono-* (Class XIV): compare Skr. *kṛpāṇa-te* 'he acts pitifully, begs' with *kṛpāṇá-s* 'pitiful, poor', Gr. *θηγάνει* 'sharpens' with *θήγανο-ν* 'something to sharpen with, whetstone', Goth. *us-lūkni-þ* 'opens itself' with *us-lūkn-s* 'open', Lith. *kūpinu* 'I heap up' with *kūpina-s* 'heaped'; Skr. *vēṣṭa-tē* 'turns round' with *vēṣṭá-s* 'bond, noose', Gr. *ἐβλαστε* 'grew, sprouted' with *βλαστός* 'bud, sprout'; Skr. *pūya-ti* 'stinks' with *pūya-m* 'ill smelling discharge, matter'. Even some non-thematic and primitive stems have the same kind of relation to noun stems. For example take Skr. *dhṛṣṇu-más* 'we are brave' and *dhṛṣṇú-ṣ* 'brave'. The root-extending suffix *-a-*, in **bhuy-a-* **bhy-a-* (Lith. *būvo* Lat. *-bat*), **tr-a-* (Skr. *trā-sva* imper. 'preserve, save', Lat. *in-trā-mus* *trā-ns*) it seems necessary to identify with the feminine suffix *-a-*, compare Skr. *jī-jyāú* 'he has overcome' (fut. *jyā-*

-*syā-ti* etc.) Gr. Ion. *βε-βίη-ται* (aor. *βίη-σασο* etc.) with fem. Skr. *jyā- jiyā-* 'power, superiority' Gr. *βίᾱ* from $\sqrt{\text{gei-}}$ (Skr. *jáy-a-ti ji-ná-ti* and others). So also -*es-*, which extends the root in **u-es-* 'clothe' (Skr. *vás-iṣ* Gr. *ἐνί-εσται* and other words) must be the same as the neuter suffix -*es-*, and the tense-formative -*as-* in Skr. *á-jāriṣ-ur* 'they have grown old' the same as -*as-* the neuter suffix (Gr. *γηρας*). Many other proofs will meet us in the course of our enquiry.

It need hardly be said that these denominatives or noun-verbs did not all appear at the same time. The different types of formation belong to very different periods; and in the earliest strata, e. g. in verbs of Class II such as Skr. *ája-ti* Lat. *agi-t*, their noun origin was forgotten even in the proethnic language.

But of what verbs, then, can we be certain that when their stem was fused with a personal pronoun it was a verb and not a noun? Of none at all. Even where the stem is the bare root, reduplicated or not, as in **es-ti* *ἔσ-τι*, **stā-t* *στᾷ*, **bhībhāṣ-ti* Skr. *bībhē-ti*, the stem may be regarded as a *nomen actionis* or *agentis* (cp. the Root Nouns, II §§ 159 ff., pp. 478 ff.).

In the formation of those verbs which are traditionally called Denominative there is nothing to distinguish them from what are classed as primary verbs. Lat. *plantā-s* is just like *intrā-s hiā-s*, Aeol. *ἐντῆμα-μεν* like *ἔδρα-μεν ἔτλη-μεν*, Lith. *jā'sto* like *bijōs lādo*. Even the present formation with -*io-* is nothing peculiar to the denominative class. We see in Skr. *apas-yá-ti pṛtanā-yá-ti* Gr. *ὀνομαίνω* etc. the same present secondary suffix -*io-* as we see in reduplicated forms such as Skr. *dēdiṣ-yá-tē* Gr. *γαργαίω* (Class XXVII), in forms such as Skr. *gr̥bha-yá-ti*, pass. *trā-yá-tē*, Gr. *δρῶ* for **δρᾱ-ιω*, *ἰῶμαι* for **ioā-ιο-* (Class XXVIII), and in futures such as Skr. *ta-s-yá-tē vēd-iṣ-yá-ti* (Class XXX). Lat. *plantō* (for **plantā-iō*) Skr. *pṛtanā-yá-ti* are related to Lat. *plantā-s* Lith. *jā'sto* just as Lat. *intrō* (for **intrā-iō*) Skr. *trā-yá-tē* to Lat. *in-tra-s* Skr. *trā-ti trā-sva*, as Skr. *dēdiṣ-yá-tē* to *dēdiṣ-tē*, and as Skr. fut. *vēdiṣ-yá-ti* to aor. *á-vēdiṣ-ma*.

That the term Denominative Verbs cannot be restricted to one special mode of inflexion is clear from many other instances where verbs have been derived from nouns by simply imitating the inflexion of any Primary Verb. Primary verbs in *-ēð* (Causatives, and Intensives or Iteratives) were the model for Skr. *mantrāya-tē* 'he takes counsel, advises' from *mántra-s*, and Goth. *fulljan* O.C.Sl. *plūni-ti* 'to fill' from *full-s* *plūnū*. In Gothic, primary verbs like *af-lifnan* were the model for *fullnan* 'to become full' from *full-s*; in Lithuanian, *kūpin-ti* etc. were the model for such derivatives as *lūksmin-ti* 'to make cheerful' from *lūksma-s*, and *virstū virsti* etc. for *gelstū gelsti* 'to become yellow' from *gelta-s*. These and similar re-formations will be discussed in § 793. They were due to the fact that there were nouns from the same root as some of the primary verbs, and from these they were believed to be derived. Then real denominatives were formed and used along with these apparent ones.

Thus in our classification of verbs, which depends first and foremost upon differences of inflexion, no use can be made of the traditional distinction between Primary and Denominative.

Even if the term Denominative were to be restricted to its common application it would be misleading. The feeling of a speaker for his language can give no help here. Often it cannot be made out whether the speaker regarded a given form as Denominative or not; his feeling often changed according to suggested associations; and if feeling of this sort were made the standard, we should often enough be led to class with Denominatives verbs which were only so by false analogy, and to class as Primary some which were undoubtedly derived from a noun. If again we took as our standard not the feeling of the speaker, but the actual formation of the words, we should be no nearer to getting a settled boundary line. It is easy to say, let those verbs be called denominative which contain noun formative suffixes, thus showing their noun origin, words that is like Gr. *τῆμάω* from *τῆ-μή*, *ποιμαίνω* from *ποι-μήν*, or Goth. *fullnan* from *full-s* (ground-form **pl-no-s*). But not

to mention that this criterion excludes verbs derived from root nouns, little is gained by this mode of classification; for the task of historical grammar is not so much to analyse the forms and to describe their etymological structure, as to discover their origin and growth. In numberless instances doubts arise as to the correctness of our terminology. The commonest example is that of two classes of verbs running together, a primary and a denominative; e. g. in Greek, verbs in *-έξω* and verbs in *-εἶδ* both become *-έω*; in Germanic, verbs in *-ixō -éixō* and those in *-e-ixō -i-ixō* both became (Goth.) *-ja*; in Lithuanian, verbs in *-éixō* and verbs in *-a-mi (-a-ixō)* both became *-au* (inf. *-y-ti*). Here the question whether a given verb is primary or denominative is absurd, because it may quite well have been both. For instance, Lith. *bradaũ bradýti* 'to wade about' may be derived both from *bradà* subst. 'wading' on the analogy of *jũ'stau jũ'styti* 'to gird', a denominative from *jũ's-ta* 'girdle', and from *bredũ* 'I wade' on the analogy of *-manaũ -manýti*, the old "primary" *éixō*-byeform of *menũ* 'I remember'; and Greek *τροπέω* may come from *τρόπος* on the analogy of *νοστέω* : *νόσ-τος*, and from *τρέπω* on the analogy of *φορέω* (= Skr. *bhārāya-ti*) : *φέρω*.

But however faulty our grammatical terminology may be, we cannot afford to dispense with it altogether in a book like this. I shall keep the term Denominative for verbs derived from nouns in the later periods, when the verb stem was still more or less felt to be originally a noun; for instance, Skr. *gātu-yá-ti*, Gr. *τιμάω*, and Lat. *planta-t*.

§ 488. Turn we now to the distinction drawn between Root-Determinatives and Suffixes or other elements used in forming the Tense Stem.

What is usually understood, or may be understood, by the term Root-determinative has been set forth in II § 8 Rem. 2 pp. 20 f. A reference should be added to Curtius, Greek Etymology² pp. 59 ff., and Fick, Wörterb. IV³ 44 ff.¹

1) Another work, systematic, and valuable in spite of much bold conjecture, is Per Persson's *Studien zur Lehre von der Wurzelerweiterung*

These elements may appear in any part of the verb. For instance, from Idg. **rē-dh-* 'take counsel' come Skr. *á-rādha-t rādhnō-ti rādhya-tē rātsyá-ti, rarādh-a, á-rātsī-t, rāddhā-s rāddhō* etc.; from Idg. **sr-ey-* *sr-u-* 'flow' come Skr. *sráva-ti, sraviṣyá-ti, susráv-a, srutá-s* etc. But they are sometimes found only in present or aorist forms, and disappear in the rest; as Lat. *per-cellō* for **-cel-dō* beside perf. *-culi*, Lith. *vir-du* 'I boil' beside pret. *viriaũ* inf. *viř-ti*, O.C.Sl. *ži-va* 'I live' beside aor. *ži-chũ* inf. *ži-ti*.¹⁾ Again, present formative-suffixes, to use the stock phrase, spread beyond their own proper area both in the original language and later. These two reasons make it impossible always to keep Root-Determinatives distinct from Present Formative-Suffixes; the origin of both, by the way, is equally obscure. The tense which we call Present was almost always the foundation for the whole structure of the Verb and its associated noun forms; and the spread of root determinatives over all the verbal system is due to the same principle which from Skr. *pī-nva-ti* 'fattens' makes the perfect *pininva* and the participle *pinvi-tá-s*, and makes Skr. *á-yuṣṭk-ṣ-mahi* Lat. *jūnx-ī* Lith. *jūnk-siu* from *yuṣṭē jungō jūngiu* (✓*jeug-* 'iungere').

There is something else which shows the impossibility of carrying out the usual distinction between Determinatives and ordinary Inflexions. In discussing the inflexion of the present in primary classes of verbs, it is too common to find the *first syllable* of a form taken for the uninflected kernel of it. Because in **bhereti* 'fert', the syllable *bher-* is this kernel, that is, the root, therefore in **treseti* (Skr. *trāsati* Gr. *τρέσει*) the syllable *tres-* is called the root; then, because there is not the same syllable in Skr. *tar-alá-s* 'moving to and fro,

und Wurzelvariation, Upsala 1891. This has reached me too late for anything more than occasional use. With his treatment of the main questions of principle as set forth on pages 202 and following, I agree.

1) In Lat. *vi-vō* too the *vo-*suffix was once confined to the present. *vīzī victum* are re-formatēs, for **vī-sī* **vī-tum*. See Osthoff, Paul-Braune's Beitr. viii 274; Stolz, Lat. Gr.² p. 383.

trembling' Gr. $\tau\rho\text{-}\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omega$ Lat. *tr-emō* Lith. *tr-imū* 'I tremble', -es- is called a "determinative", whilst in Skr. *vās-tē* 'clothes himself' Gr. $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}\text{-}\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$ ($\sqrt{\epsilon\sigma\tau}$, in Lith. *au-nū* Lat. *ex-uō*) -es- is not so called because these verbs are looked upon as parallel to forms like **es-ti*. But inasmuch as **tres-* and **ues-* run right through the whole system of their verbs, they have become "roots". And there is no more reason for separating Skr. 1st sing. *tr-ásē* *v-ásē* from 1st sing. *yaj-asē* *ṛñj-asē* than for separating (say) **bhu-ō* (Lat. -bō O.C.Sl. 3rd pl. *ba*) Skr. *á-hv-a-t* Gr. $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\pi\lambda\text{-}\epsilon$ from **bher-ō* (Gr. $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\text{-}\omega$) Skr. *á-vid-a-t*. We always hear of an "s-suffix" in such words as Skr. *yaj-asē*; but why? Simply because the ending -asē is not the first syllable of the word. The ē of **pl-ē* 'fill' (Skr. *prá-si* Gr. $\pi\lambda\tilde{\eta}\text{-}\tau\omicron$ Lat. -*plē-s*) is called part of the *Root*; but it is the same ē which we have in **mpn-ē* Gr. $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta$ Lith. *mīn-ē*), **tak-ē* (Lat. *tac-ē-s* O.H.G. *dag-ē-s*), where it is called *Inflexion*. And the "determinative" -dh- is called inflexional in Gr. $\phi\lambda\epsilon\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\theta\omega$ $\nu\epsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ $\pi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\theta\omega$, but not in $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\delta\rho\alpha\text{-}\theta\omicron\text{-}\nu$ $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\delta\alpha\rho\text{-}\theta\omicron\text{-}\nu$, or $\acute{\alpha}\chi\text{-}\theta\omicron\text{-}\mu\alpha\iota$. The question whether a verbal element, which can be analysed no further, is or is not a separate syllable has, it is true, some importance; for it influenced the grouping of the forms in the speaker's memory, and this affected the developement of a language in many ways: e. g. the root in Lith. *v-ējū* O.C.Sl. *v-ŷja* 'I wind, turn' (= Skr. *v-áya-ti* 'weaves'), since it formed in itself no syllable, did not follow the course taken by the other verbs in -*éjō* (Class XXXII) in Balto-Slavonic. But this cannot justify the making a distinction, as is so often done, between things which are clearly connected. Dealing as we do with the parent language, and from this point investigating the growth of the Verbal System, we must discuss together Skr. *v-ásē* and *yaj-asē*, Greek $\pi\lambda\tilde{\eta}\text{-}\tau\omicron$ $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\beta\lambda\text{-}\eta$ and $\acute{\iota}\text{-}\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu\text{-}\eta$ $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\text{-}\eta$.

If, as it seems right to do, a special Present Class is given to **és-ti* 'is' (Skr. *ás-ti*, $\sqrt{\epsilon s}$ -), another to **uema-ti* 'vomits' (Skr. *vámi-ti*, $\sqrt{\mu\epsilon m}$ -), and a third to **bhsē-ti* 'chews up, devours' (Skr. *psá-ti*, $\sqrt{bha^*s}$ - seen in *bá-bhas-ti*), it is only consistent to distinguish each of the following as another class of Present

Stems: — a *u* : *eu*-class for Skr. *sr-áva-ti* Gr. ῥ-έ(ν)σι 'flows' Skr. *á-su-srō-t* from √*ser*- seen in Skr. *sí-sar-ti*, for Skr. *dr-áva-ti* 'runs' *á-du-dr-uva-t* from √*der*-, seen in Skr. *dr-á-ti* *dr-ama-ti* 'runs', and others; an *m*-class for Skr. *dr-ama-ti* Gr. ἔ-δρ-αμο-ν from the above mentioned *der*-, for Gr. *ρρ-έμω* Lat. *tr-emō* Lith. *tr-imù* 'I tremble' from √*ter*-, seen in Skr. *tar-alá-s* 'moving to and fro, trembling' *tr-ása-ti* 'trembles', and others; a *y*-class (probably connected closely with the *u* : *eu*-class) for Skr. *jí-va-ti* Lat. *vī-vi-t* O.C.Sl. *ži-ve-tŭ* 'lives' from √*gei*-, seen in Avest. *gay-a* 'life' *jy-aiti*- 'life' Gr. ζῆν (for **gi-ē*-), O.C.Sl. *ži-ti* 'to live', for Avest. *ni-šaurvaiti* 'defends' Skr. *dhárva-ti* 'harms' *bhárvati* 'chews, destroys' etc. In the same way we come to a *p*-class, a *bh*-class, a *k*-class, and so forth. But this principle will not be consistently carried out, for two reasons. First, in these and many similar classes which might be made only a few examples occur, and thus for our period such formative elements as these can hardly be said to have any real productive power. Secondly, any attempt to make such a classification complete would lead us into labyrinths of root-analysis which would properly be without the scope of a compendium like the present. Roots with this kind of Determinatives, then, which we do not place in any separate class, we shall generally assume to be incapable of further analysis; and thus we place (say) Gr. *ρρ-έμω* in the same division as *νέμω* and *γέμω*.

§ 489. The formation of the Moods, the stems of the Injunctive, Conjunctive, Optative, and Imperative, will follow that of the Tense Stem (§§ 909 ff.). It must however, be here pointed out that the elements which are generally regarded as mood-formative are sometimes etymologically the same as in the indicative. Injunctive and Indicative forms, of course, cannot be separated. And it is beyond all doubt that the short Conjunctive vowel (Gr. -ε- -ο-), as in **es-e-ti* Skr. *ásati* Lat. *erit* (indic. **es-ti* 'est'), Hom. ἄ-λε-ται (indic. ἄλ-το 'sprang'), is the same as what is called the thematic vowel in the Indicative (as **aḡ-e-ti* Skr. *ájati* Lat. *agit*).

Further, I hold that the conjunctive vowel *-ā-* in Lat. *ferā-s* etc. is the same as *-ā-* found after weak root-forms in the indicative (Classes X and XI), and also the same as the *ā* which forms feminine nouns (§ 487 pp. 41 f.); thus Lat. *fu-ā-mus* belongs to the same class of words as the Indic. Lat. *-bā-mus* (for **fū-ā-mos*) and Lith. *būv-o-me* (§ 578), and that Lat. *poscat* for **porscā-t*, the indic. O.H.G. *forscōt* 'demands', and the Skr. fem. *prchā* 'question' (common ground-form **prk-skā-*) in point of etymology must all go together. So also the Italic conjunctive *-ē-* is to be identified with the Indicative *-ē-* (Classes X and XI), and so forth.

In all these cases it were proper to keep together whatever forms are etymologically akin. But if we did so, a student who is used to the practice observed hitherto, of arranging forms according to their function, would hardly be able to find his way. So I prefer to give this up, and simply call attention to etymology and structure where it is convenient to do so.

THE PRESENT STEM.

IMPERFECT PRESENT AND AORIST PRESENT.¹⁾

§ 490. The classes of the Present Stem are very commonly divided into two groups:

- (1) *Thematic*, or verbs in *-ō* (Bopp's First Main Conjugation); and
- (2) *Non-thematic*, or verbs in *-mi* (Bopp's Second Main Conjugation).

The first group has in the Indicative *-o-* or *-e-* just before the personal ending; but *-ō* is the ending of the 1st person singular. These vowels were distributed amongst the persons of the singular and plural (we may leave the dual out for the present) in very much the same way as they are in Greek; *-e-* in the 2nd person of both, and the 3rd singular, *-o-* in the 1st persons (but 1st sing. pres. act. *-ō*) and in the 3rd plural:

1) For works bearing on this subject, see footnote to page 33.

compare 2nd sing. *ἔφερε-ς φέρε-αι ἔφερε-ο* (for the indic. pres. act. cp. Goth. *baíri-s*), 2nd pl. *φέρε-τε ἔφερε-τε φέρε-σθε ἔφερε-σθε*, 3rd sing. *ἔφερε φέρε-ται ἔφερε-το* (for the indic. pres. act. cp. Goth. *baíri-þ*); 1st sing. (*φέρω*) *ἔφερο-ν (φέρω-μαι ἔφερό-μην)*, 1st pl. *φέρω-μεν ἔφερο-μεν φερό-μεθα ἔφερό-μεθα*, 3rd pl. *φέρου-σι (φέρουσι) ἔφερου-ν φέρο-νται ἔφερο-ντο*. The variation *-e* : *-o* is the rule in all the present *o*-suffixes except *-ίω-*, where instead of it there is sometimes *-i* *-ι-*; see § 702. The Conjunctive shows a long vowel before the personal endings, as 1st and 2nd pl. Gr. *φέρω-μεν φερώ-μεθα φέρω-τε φέρω-σθε* Lat. *fera-mas fera-tis* Skr. *bhára-ma bhára-mahai bhára-tha bhára-dhvai*. The Optative has the thematic vowel *-o-*, and between it and the personal ending *ι*, which, when the personal ending began in a consonant, combined with the thematic vowel into a diphthong and a single syllable, as 2nd sing. Gr. *φέρου-ς* Goth. *baíraí-s* Skr. *bhárē-ṣ*.

To the second group belong all present stems which have no thematic vowel before the personal ending in the Indicative. The personal endings were mostly the same as in the first group. There is a strange difference in the first person singular pres. indic., which had in the parent language, as it has in Greek, the ending *-mi*; Gr. *εἰ-μι τίθη-μι δάμνη-μι στέργω-μι* etc., not like *φέρω βόσχω τύπτω πορέω*. In most non-thematic conjugations, the indicative had, and retains, a vowel grading; the syllable just before the personal ending, whether root or suffix, had the strong grade (and accent) in the singular of the active, and the weak grade (no accent) in the active dual and plural: compare Skr. act. sing. 1st pers. *dvēṣ-mi* ('I hate') *á-dvēṣ-am* 2nd *dvēk-ṣi á-dvēṣ* 3rd *dvēṣ-ṭi á-dvēṣ*, but pl. 1st pers. *dviṣ-más á-dviṣ-ma* etc., dual 1st pers. *dviṣ-vás á-dviṣ-va* etc., mid. sing. 1st pers. *dviṣ-ē á-dviṣ-i* etc.; act. sing. 1st pers. *kṛ-ṇō-mi* ('I make') *á-kṛ-ṇav-am* 2nd *kṛ-ṇō-ṣi á-kṛ-ṇō-ṣ* 3rd *kṛ-ṇō-ti á-kṛ-ṇō-t*, but pl. 1st pers. *kṛ-ṇu-más á-kṛ-ṇu-ma* etc., dual 1st pers. *kṛ-ṇu-vás á-kṛ-ṇu-va* etc.; mid. sing. 1st pers. *kṛ-ṇv-ē á-kṛ-ṇv-i* etc. On the whole it may be said that the Conjunctive formed with *-e* and *-o* had the strong

stem in active and middle; as 3rd sing. act. *dvēš-a-t(i)* *kṛ-náv-a-t(i)* mid. *dvēš-a-tē* *kṛ-náv-a-tē*. The optative had in the singular active *-iē-* *-iē-*; in the other active forms and in the middle it had *-ī-* before personal endings beginning in a consonant and *-i-* or *-ī-* before a sonant; always with the weak form of the present stem: e. g. act. 1st sing. *dviš-yā-m* *kṛ-nu-yā-m* 1st pl. **dviš-ī-mā* **kṛ-nu-ī-mā* (what we actually find are *dviš-yā-ma* *kṛ-nu-yā-ma*, contrast Lat. *s-i-mus* beside *s-ie-m*), mid. 3rd sing. *dviš-ī-tā* *kṛ-nu-ī-tā* 1st sing. Avest. *tanuya* i. e. *ta-nu-iy-a*.

§ 491. Great as is the importance of the difference between thematic and non-thematic stems, it seems best not to make it the chief principle of distinction in what follows.

Every class of non-thematic presents with vowel gradation had parallel to it another class, which may be regarded as formed by adding the thematic vowel to the weak stem. Very often the same verb has both. Examples: Skr. *vēt-ti* (*vid-más*): *vid-ā-ti*, √ *uej*- 'know, learn'; Gr. *ἵστημι*: Skr. *tī-ṣṭh-a-ti*, √ *stā*- 'stand'; Skr. 3rd pl. *sá-śc-ati*: 2nd sing. *sá-śc-a-si* Gr. *ἵσται*, √ *seq*- 'sequi'; Skr. *ṛ-nó-ti*: *ṛ-nv-ā-ti*, √ *er*- 'move'; Skr. *mṛ-nā-ti*: *mṛ-n-ā-ti* 'crushes'; Skr. *yunák-ti*: *yuñj-a-ti* Lat. *jung-i-t*, √ *jeug* 'iungere'. These two kinds hang closely together, and cannot be treated apart.¹⁾ I therefore choose a mode of

1) The closest contact between them is in the 3rd pl. active and the partic. pres. active. I now depart from my previous view set forth in I § 226 p. 193, II § 125 p. 395 (and elsewhere); I now hold with Streitberg (Idg. Forsch. I 82 ff.) that the strong suffix-forms of these parts of non-thematic verbs (3rd pl. act., and pres. act. partic.) were *-enti* *-ent* and *-ent-*, e. g. **s-énti* 'sunt' partic. nom. pl. **s-ént-es*. It is possible that there were variants, also of the strong grade, *-onti* *-ont* and *-ont-*. Then *-ent-*: *-ont-*: *-ṇ-* as in the gen. abl. sing. *-es*: *-os*: *-s* (III § 228 pp. 111 f.). If so, it is very possible that we should class together with the non-thematic conjugation e. g. Lat. *sunt* *sunt*, *sōns*, O.C.Sl. *sqŭ* (*sqŭti*) *sy*, and analyse them **s-onti* **s-ont-s*; that is to say, regard them as parallel to forms like *es-t* *jes-ti* (*jes-tū*). They would belong to both conjugations. This is, however, only a possibility; and I have accordingly treated forms with *-o-*, like Lat. *sunt*, in each case as thematic) and thematic only (below, §§ 492 ff.).

classification which takes as its principle some common points of structure or etymology other than the presence or absence of a thematic vowel. Thus one group will comprise presents which have a nasal-formative (as Skr. *mṛṇā-ti mṛṇā-ti ṛṇō-ti ṛṇā-ti yundā-ti yuñja-ti*); it is clear that this element was the same in all of them.

A. CLASSES I TO VIII:

SIMPLE ROOT, OR ROOT WITH -o-, FOR THE PRESENT STEM;
SOMETIMES REDUPLICATED.

Class I: Simple Root used for the Present Stem.

§ 492. This class disappeared in most languages, leaving only a few traces. It is commonest in Aryan, as are all the non-thematic forms.

§ 493. Idg. **uél-mi* 'I choose, wish, will' 1st pl. **uḷ-més*: Skr. 3rd sing. mid. *á-vṛ-ta* opt. *vr-iyā-t* (3rd sing. mid. *vur-ī-ta* 1), Lat. 2nd sing. *vel* for **vel-s* (now a particle), 2nd pl. *vol-tis*, Lith. *pa-velmi* 'I will' 3rd sing. *pa-velt*. — With thematic vowel, Lat. *volō* (**uḷl-ō*) 3rd pl. *vol-u-nt*.

**gém-ti* 'goes, comes' 2nd pl. **gṇ-té*: Avest. 3rd sing. *jan-tū* Skr. 2nd pl. *ga-thá* 3rd sing. mid. *á-ga-ta* 3rd pl. *á-gm-an*, Armen. 3rd sing. *e-kn* = Skr. *á-gan*, Gr. 3rd dual *βᾶ-την*. Conjunctive: Avest. *jim-a-ḥ* (I § 94 p. 89), cp. indic. Goth. *qim-i-ḥ*. Optative: Skr. *gam-yā-m* A.S. *cyme* (= Goth. **kumjau*). — With thematic vowel. Avest. *g'm-a-ḥ* *γm-a-ḥ* O.Pers. mid. *a-gm-a-tā* Skr. opt. *gamé-t* i. e. **gṇm-ó-ī-t* O.H.G. 1st sing. indic. *cumu* i. e. **gṇm-ō*.

**éḷ-mi* 'I go' 1st pl. **i-més*: Skr. *ē-mi i-más* 3rd pl. *y-ánti*, Gr. *ἐλ-μι ἔ-μεν*, Lat. 2nd sing. *ei-s* *ī-s*, Lith. *ei-mi*; pret. **ēḷ-ṇ*: Skr. *áy-am* 3rd sing. *ái-t* 1st pl. *ái-ma*, Gr. *ἦ-α* 1st pl. *ἦ-μεν* (cp. § 480 p. 28, § 481 p. 30). Conjunctive: Skr. 3rd sing. *áy-*

1) Instead of **ur-ī-ta* (cp. partic. *ur-ānā-s*), see I § 157 p. 141. On the other hand, the regular form with *v-* is seen in Avest. Gath. *vairī-maidi* for pr. Ar. **vṛr-ī*.

-a-ti *áy-a-t* (cp. indic. 3rd sing. mid. *áy-a-tē*, Lat. *eō* for **eī-ō*, *eunt* for **eī-o-nt(i)*). Optative: Skr. *i-yā-t*. Weak forms also found with *i-*, *iḡ-*: Skr. 1st pl. mid. *ī-mahē* opt. *ī-yā-t*, 3rd sing. mid. *ī-ya-tē* (Class XXVI), ¹⁾ Gr. conj. 1st pl. *ἴ-ο-μεν* (but cp. § 914); Skr. 1st sing. mid. *i-yē* (cp. Avest. *y-ōi*), Lat. *i-ēns*, Gr. perhaps 3rd pl. *ἴ-ασι* (cp. § 502). — With thematic vowel Gr. opt. *ī-o-ι* partic. *ī-ó-ντ-* pret. Hom. *ἦ-ε ἴ-ο-μεν* (cp. conj. *ἴ-ο-μεν*), Pelignian *afāed* 'abiit' for **af-īe-d* (§ 867. 5).

**kēns-mi* 'I soothsay, praise, say' 1st pl. **kṛs-més*: Skr. 2nd pl. *śas-ta* (Avest. 2nd pl. *sas-tā* with the nasal of the sing.), O.C.Sl. 3rd sing. *setŭ* i. e. **se* = **kēns-t* + an additional -*tŭ*, like *pri-jetŭ* instead of *pri-jē* etc. (§§ 512, 830). Albanian gives us *ḡom* 'I say', for **kēns-mi* according to G. Meyer (M. Herz z. 70. Geburtst. 1888, p. 86; Etym. Wtb. der alb. Spr., 91; Alb. Stud. III 13, 63).

**uēid-mi* 'I see, know' 1st pl. **uid-més*: Skr. *vēd-mi* 1st pl. *vid-más*, Lith. *veizdmi* instead of regular **vei(d)-mi* (I § 547 Rem. 1 p. 401). Conjunctive: Skr. 3rd sing. *vēd-a-ti* Gr. Hom. 1st pl. *εἶδ-ο-μεν* (cp. indic. Skr. *vēd-a-tē* Gr. *εἶδ-ε-ται*). Optative: Skr. *vid-yā-m*, Goth. 1st pl. *vit-ei-ma*. Imperative: Skr. *viddhī* Gr. *ἴσθι*, cp. Lith. *veizdi veizd* (I loc. cit., IV § 962). Also perf. 3rd sing. **uóid-e* 'knows', with which the above named mood-forms were associated (cp. II § 136 Rem. 1 p. 438, IV §§ 846, 912, 939, 959). — With thematic vowel: indic. **uid-ó-*, Skr. *vid-á-ti* Armen. *e-git* Gr. *ἴδ-ε εἰδ-ε εἰδ-ε*.

**és-mi* 'I am' 1st pl. **s-més*: Skr. *ás-mi s-más*, Armen. *em* (I § 561 p. 417), Gr. *εἰμι* Lesb. *ἔμμι* (G. Meyer, in the work just cited, pp. 81 ff., Etym. Wtb. der alb. Spr. 160, Alb. Stud. III 63, 85), Lat. *es-t* Umbr. 3rd pl. *s-ent*, O.Ir. 3rd sing. *is* (I § 66 p. 55), Goth. *im* (I § 582 Rem. 2 p. 437) 3rd sing. *is-t*, Lith. *es-mi* 3rd sing. *ēs-ti ēs-t* O.C.Sl. *jes-mŭ* 3rd sing. *jes-tŭ*; on the 2nd sing. Skr. *ási* Gr. *εἶ* see § 984. 1. Pret. Skr. *ás-am* 3rd sing. *ás* 1st pl. *ás-ma* Gr. *ἦ-α ἦ* 3rd sing. *ἦς* 1st pl. *ἦμεν* O.C.Sl. 2nd pl. *-jas-te* see § 480 p. 28, § 481

1) A different explanation of these Sanskrit forms may be found in Bartholomae's Ar. Forsch. II 73 f.

pp. 29 f.; Alban. 3rd sing. *iš* for **es-t* (G. Meyer, in the first work cited above, p. 91). Conjunctive: 3rd sing. Skr. *ās-a-ti* *ās-a-t* Lat. (fut.) *er-i-t* (cp. indic. Hom. *ē-o-v* opt. *ē-o-i*, also *ἐόντων ἐών*, Lith. *es-ù* = *esmì* 1st pl. *ēs-a-me* partic. *ēs-ās*, O.C.Sl. pret. *-jach-ŭ -jaš-e* § 480 p. 28). Optative: Skr. *s-yā-m s-iyā-m*, Lat. 2nd sing. *s-iē-s* 1st pl. *s-ī-mus*, O.H.G. 1st pl. *s-ī-m*. — With thematic vowel: partic. Gr. *ὄντ*- instead of *όντ*- **s-o-nt-* (on the analogy of *εἰμὶ* etc. which begin with a smooth breathing) Lat. *s-o-n-t-* 'he who is the doer, guilty' O.Icel. *sannr* 'true, really guilty' (pr. Germ. **s-a-nþ-a-*) Lith. *sās sanczio* O.C.Sl. *sy sqšta*, indic. Lat. *s-u-m s-u-mus s-u-nt* O.C.Sl. 3rd pl. *s-qtŭ*.

**dhégh-mi* 'I burn': Skr. 2nd sing. *dhák-ṣi* Lith. *deg-mì*. The conjunctive implied by these forms is hidden in the indic. Skr. *dáh-a-ti* Lith. *deg-ù*. The weak form **d(h)gh-* cannot be found; we have evidence for it in Avest. 3rd pl. imper. *sc-antī* beside 1st sing. indic. *hax-mī* (pr. Ar. **sak-mi*) from $\sqrt{\text{seq-}}$ 'sequi', Skr. 3rd pl. *á-kṣ-an* 3rd sing. mid. *gdha* i. e. **ghs* + *ta* (I § 591 p. 449) beside 3rd sing. *á-ghas* from *ghas-* 'eat'.

**dhé-t* **é-dhē-t* 'he placed' 2nd pl. **dha-té*: Skr. *dhát-á-dha-t* 3rd sing. mid. *á-dhi-ta* 2nd sing. imper. *dhi-ṣvá*, Armen. 1st sing. *e-di* 3rd sing. *e-d*, Gr. 2nd pl. *ἐ-θε-τε* 3rd sing. mid. *ε-θε-ρο* (*θε-* instead of **θα-*, I § 109 c pp. 101 f., the Author Gr. Gr.² pp. 27 f.), Lat. *con-di-mus* (I § 370 p. 282). Optative: Avest. *d-yā-þ*. Imperative: Lith. *dė-k*. — With thematic vowel Skr. *práti dh-a-t*, *a-dh-a-t*,¹⁾ Lat. 1st sing. *con-d-ō* 3rd pl. *-d-u-nt*, Avest. opt. 2nd sing. *d-ōi-š*.

**dō-t* **é-dō-t* 'he gave' 2nd pl. **dō-té*: Skr. *á-da-t* 3rd sing. mid. *á-di-ta*, Armen. 1st sing. *e-tu* 3rd sing. *e-t*, 1st pl. pres. *ta-mk*, Gr. 2nd pl. *ἐ-δο-τε* 3rd sing. mid. *ἐ-δο-ρο* (*δο-* instead of *δα-*, cp. on *θε-*, above),²⁾ Lat. *da-mus red-dimus*. Optative:

1) Less probably, some scholars take *(a-)dhat* to be **dhatt* = **dha-* *-dh* + *t*, i. e. formed from the weak present stem **dha-dh-* (cp. *a-dha-t-tam*).

2) Pauli (Altital. Forsch. III 258) compares Venetian *zoto* 'dedit' with Gr. *δορο*. Admitting that the explanation is in the main correct

Avest. *d-yā-p*. Imperative: Lat. *ce-do*, Lith. *dā-k*. — With thematic vowel: Skr. *dda-t* i. e. *a* + *a-d-a-t*, Lat. *red-d-u-nt*, Avest. opt. 2nd sing. *d-ōi-š*.¹⁾

**stā-t* **ē-stā-t* 'he placed himself', 2nd pl. **stā-té*: Skr. *á-sthā-t*, 3rd sing. mid. *á-sthi-ta*, Gr. *ἐ-σθη*, mid. 3rd sing. *ἐνι-σθα-ται*²⁾, 2nd sing. *ἐ-σθά-θης* = Skr. *á-sthi-thas* (§ 503). Imperative: Lith. *stó-k*. — With thematic vowel: Skr. *asth-a-t*, Avest. *a-xšt-a-p* mid. *xšt-a-ta* (*xšt-* instead of *št-*, see Bartholomae Handb. § 100 Anm. 3 p. 43, and *št-* instead of *st-* following compounds like *paiti-štā*).

§ 494. As the examples in § 493 shew, roots of the *e*-series took regularly the *e*-grade (1st strong grade) in strong forms. But probably in the parent language there were forms with the 3rd strong grade, or *ē*-grade, also in use.

First we notice Lat. *ēs-t* Lith. *ės-t* O.C.Sl. *jas-tū* from *✓ed-* 'eat', on which see § 480 Rem. p. 27; the normal form was Skr. *ád-mi át-ti* (§ 498). Skr. *ds-tē* Gr. *ἵσ-ται* 'sits' 3rd pl. *ds-atē* *ἥ-ται* are usually connected with **es-ti* 'is'. The rough breathing in Greek must then be explained as due to the analogy of the root *ἐδ-* = **sed-* 'sedere' (I § 564 Rem. 3 p. 421³⁾). But some forms of the Greek word may be derived at once from the root *sēd-*, which occurs not only in the perfect Goth. *sēt-um* Lith. *sēd-ēs*, but in the Lith. pres. *sėdmi* 'I sit' 3rd sing. *sėst*, side by side with which in the usual fashion we have Skr. 2nd sing. *sāt-si*. Skr. imper. mid. *sāk-šva* beside indic. 2nd sing. *sāk-ši* from *sah-* 'overpower'. Skr. *taš-ṭi* Avest. injunctive *tāš-t* beside Skr. *tākṣa-ti* 'shapes, forms'. Skr. *daś-ṭi* 'pays homage to' from *✓dek-*, see § 639. Further, the Skr.

(cp. G. Meyer, Berl. Phil. Wochenschrift 1892 col. 312 f., Thurneysen Wochenschr. class. Phil. 1892 col. 290 f.), it is a question whether *zoto* should not be regarded as **dō-to* (cp. the *s*-aorist *zonaso* 'donavit').

1) Probably to the same class belongs Avest., being *daduyē* 2nd pl. indic. pres. mid. See Bartholomae, Idg. Forsch. I 495.

2) Fick's connexion of this verb with Skr. partic. *cit-tā-s* is worthless (Fick, Gött. gel. Anz. 1881 p. 1426, Wtb.⁴ I 20 f.).

3) In the English translation of this note, 'Spiritus Asper' is a clerical error for 'Spiritus Lenis'.

present forms with *āu* instead of *ō*, as *stāú-ti* 'praises' (3rd pl. *stuv-ánti* mid. *stu-tē*, beside which are found 2nd sing. *stō-ṣi* conj. *stāv-a-t*) and *snāu-ti* 'drips' (cp. Gr. *ρέω ρεύσομαι*), also *mārṣ-ṭi* 'wipes' (3rd pl. *mṛj-ánti*).¹)

Along with these non-thematic *ē*-forms stand usually others with the thematic vowel; thus, Lith. *ėd-u* beside *ėd-mi*, *sėd-u* beside *sėd-mi*, Skr. *ās-a-tē* beside *ās-tē*, *dāś-a-ti* beside *dāṣ-ṭi*, *sāh-a-ti* beside *sāh-ṣva*, *māṛj-a-ti* beside *mārṣ-ṭi*. Compare Gr. *μύδουαι* etc., § 514.

§ 495. In all languages, as we shall see, it is common for the strong stem to spread into what should be weak-stem forms, but the reverse is rare.

We should especially mention here that the strong-grade *ā*, *ē*, and *ō* spread from roots ending in them to the weak persons which properly had *ə*. This re-formation brought about some confusion with Class X, where there is no gradation.

Skr. 1st pl. *á-sthā-ma* Gr. *ἑστημεν* instead of **a-sthi-ma* **ἑσταμεν* (cp. § 493 pp. 53 f.). The difference between *ἑστημεν* and *ἑθεμεν* *ἑδομεν* was due to the intransitive meaning of *ἑστην*, and to the powerful attraction of a word closely connected in meaning — *ἑβην* *ἑβημεν* (Skr. *ágam ágama*); cp. the Author, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxv 220, Osthoff's Perfect 373 f., and below, § 497 Rem. As regards Lat. *stā-mus* beside *dā-mus*, see §§ 505, 584 Rem.

In Sanskrit we find also *á-dhā-ma* *á-dā-ma* instead of **a-dhi-ma* **a-di-ma* (cp. § 493 p. 53), and similarly *ā* instead of *i* in the plural and dual active of all roots ending in (Aryan) *-ā*. Compare opt. 1st pl. *s-yā-ma*, instead of **s-ī-ma*, following *s-yā-m*, § 940.

Unlike Gr. *φημι* 'I say': *φωμεν*, which undoubtedly has original gradation (cp. O.H.G. *bannu* = **bha-njō*, Gr. *φαίρω* **bha-njō*, see §§ 611, 654), all recorded forms of Skr. *bhā-ti* 'shines' follow Class X, as pl. *bhā-nti* imper. *bha-hi* partic.

1) The ablaut of *stāú-ti* and *mārṣ-ṭi* is exactly parallel to that of the *s*-Aorist. See § 811.

bhā-ta-s etc. We must therefore assume for this Skr. verb a stem *bh-a-*, i. e. an extension of the root by the ungraduated suffix *-a-* (*bhā-ti* : *bhā* f. = *psā-ti* : *psā* f.), which is also possible for Lat. *fa-tur* *for* and O.C.Sl. *ba-ja* 'fabulor' (§ 706).¹⁾

§ 496. The strong stem is remarkable in Skr. *śē-tē* Avest. *saē-tē* Gr. *κεῖ-ται* 'lies' (cp. Skr. perf. *śi-śy-ē*, *-śi-ś* 'lying') beside Skr. *śāy-a-tē* Gr. Hom. *κέ-ο-νται* opt. *κέ-ο-ι-το*. Very uncertain explanations are suggested in vol. I § 598 p. 453, and by Meringer in the *Zeitschr. öst. Gymn.* 1888, p. 134. Perhaps the irregularity was due to a very early change from thematic to non-thematic conjugation, which was suggested by *ds-tē* *ἦσ-ται* 'sits'. I believe that this same change must be assumed for *γέν-το* *ἔ-γεν-το* (Hesiod and other poets) beside *γένε-το* *ἔ-γένε-το* (cp. 3rd dual *γεγά-την*), and for *σεῦ-ται* (only in Soph. Tr. 645) beside *σεύ-ε-ται* (cp. *σύ-το*).²⁾ It is beyond all doubt seen in *ἄμειπ-το* = *ἀμειβε-το* in Nonnus, and other such forms in late Greek poetry (Rzach, *Gram. Stud. zu Apoll. Rhod.*, 164), and in some Lithuanian presents in *-mi* (§ 511).

Remark. **ues-tai* 'clothes himself' (Skr. *vas-tē* Gr. *ἡπλ-εσται* *ἔσ-το*) is not of this class, as it must be analysed **ue-es-tai* (§ 656).

§ 497. Like *ī-mahē* (Gr. *ἴ-ο-μεν* § 493 pp. 51 f., § 914), many other forms show the weak-grade with bye-accent. Thus Skr. *á-bhū-ma* Gr. *ἔ-φθ-μεν* Umbr. *fū-tu* 'esto' Lith. *bú-k* 'be it' from *√bhe-* 'become, be'; compare the sing. with the same grade of root Skr. *á-bhū-t* Gr. *ἔ-φθ* (cp. perf. Skr. 2nd sing. *ba-bhū-tha*), without question somewhat influenced by preterites of Class X (§§ 597 ff.) such as Skr. *á-dr-ā-t* *á-dr-ā-ma* *á-gl-ā-t* *á-gl-ā-ma* Gr. *ἔ-δρ-α* *ἔ-δρ-α-μεν* *ἔ-βλ-η* *ἔ-βλ-η-μεν*.

1) *√bhā-* means 'to show, send forth, make known'. If we connect with it Skr. *bhānati* 'sounds, calls out' (Osthoff, *Perf.* 353, Whitney, *Skr. Roots* 109 f.), this must be taken as an extension **bh-eno-* or **bh-ṇno-* (§ 619). With the same extension Moulton connects Lat. *fenestra* (*Proceed. Camb. Phil. Soc.* 1890, May 22, p. 9).

2) The 3rd pl. mid. Ved. *á-jan-ata* beside *á-jan-a-nta* may be similarly taken. It is true that the word may quite well be derived from **e-ḡṇ-nto* (cp. *á-jñ-antu*).

Also from $\sqrt{\text{er-}}$ 'set in motion' ($\epsilon\rho\epsilon\tau\omicron \cdot \acute{\omega}\rho\mu\acute{\eta}\theta\eta$, $\epsilon\rho\sigma\eta \cdot \acute{\omicron}\rho\mu\acute{\eta}\sigma\eta$ Hesych., Skr. *ár-ti* aor. mid. *ár-ta*) we have an Idg. mid. $\sqrt{\text{r-tai}}$: Skr. *ír-tē* imper. *ír-šva* Avest. *ar°-šva* partic. Skr. *ír-ṇá-s*, Gr. *ῥο-σο* partic. *ῥο-μενο-ς* inf. *ῥο-θαι* (I § 306 pp. 241 f.). The Skr. *ír-* Gr. *ῥο-* were used before sonants too, instead of $\sqrt{\text{ir-}}$ *ῥο-* (for $\sqrt{\text{r-}}$), which gives us such forms as Skr. 3rd pl. *ír-atē* (cp. Skr. *á-bhūv-am* instead of *á-bhuv-am* following *á-bhū-š* etc.) 3rd sing. *ír-a-tē*, Gr. *ῥο-ο-ι-το ῥο-η-ται*; another re-formation is the augment in *ῥρο* ($\sqrt{\text{ro}}$ orig. without augment = $\sqrt{\text{r-tó}}$). A Germanic form of this kind is A.S. *ear-ā* 'thou art', see § 509. In the same relation as *ῥο-ο-ι-το* bears to *ῥο-σο*, *ῥ-μολ-ο-ν* stands to *ῥ-βλω* $\cdot \epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta$, *ῥῡχετο*, *ἔστη* Hesych., since *βλω-* represents an Idg. $\sqrt{\text{ml-}}$ (cp. I § 306 p. 243).

On de Saussure's hypothesis, *bhū-* was the weak grade of *bheya-* (Skr. fut. *bhavi-šyá-ti* etc.), and $\sqrt{\text{r-}}$ the weak grade of *er-* (Skr. fut. *ari-šyá-ti* etc.), and so on.

Remark. To this list of forms I have hitherto added Skr. *á-gā-ma* Gr. *ῥ-βη-μεν*, 3rd sing. *á-gā-t ῥ-βη* (cp. *á-bhū-t ῥ-φῦ*), equating *gā-βη* = $\sqrt{\text{gm-}}$ (I § 253 p. 206). But another hypothesis appears to be preferable from Skr. *ji-gā-ti* Gr. Hom. *βι-βῆ:*, Skr. *vi-gā-man-* n. 'step' Gr. *βῆ-μα*, Skr. perf. mid. *ja-gē*, and others of the like nature. This is, that there were original variants $\sqrt{\text{gā-}}$ and $\sqrt{\text{gem-}}$, like $\sqrt{\text{drā-}}$ and $\sqrt{\text{drem-}}$ 'run' (§ 488 p. 47, § 579). It would be easy to decide this point, if only $\sqrt{\text{gā-}}$ could be found outside of Aryan and Greek. The derivation of Lett. *gāju* 'I went' is doubtful (see Wiedemann, *Das lit. Praet.*, 141 f.), and it is worse than unsafe to adduce O.H.G. *pfad* 'path' (Fick, *Wtb.* I⁴ 33).

§ 498. Aryan. $\sqrt{\text{qer-}}$ 'make': Skr. 2nd sing. *kár-ši* 2nd 3rd sing. *á-kar* 2nd pl. *kṛ-thá* 3rd pl. *á-kr-an* 3rd sing. mid. *á-kṛ-ta*, Avest. 3rd sing. *cor°p* = pr. Ar. $\sqrt{\text{car-t}}$ (I § 94 p. 89, § 647. 7 pp. 493 f.); on O.Pers. 1st pl. *a-kū-mā* 3rd sing. *a-kū-ta* see Bartholomae, *Ar. Forsch.* II 67 f. Imperative: Skr. *kṛ-dhí*, mid. *kṛ-švā* Avest. *ker°-švā*. Conjunctive: Skr. *kár-a-ti* Avest. 1st sing. *carānti* (cp. indic. Skr. *kar-a-ti á-kar-a-t*, imper. 2nd sing. O.Pers. *pari-karā*). Optative: Skr. 1st pl. *kr-iyā-ma*. Skr. *kar-* always instead of regular *car-* (kept in Avestic) from the weak stem, but *á-kar-ma kár-ta* have *-ar-* on the analogy of the strong. On the difficult forms Skr. *kur-más kur-vás* (whence sing. *kur-mi*) opt. *kur-yā-m* etc., see I § 289 p. 231,

§ 290 Rem. p. 232, Hübschmann, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxvii 112, von Fierlinger *ibid.* 438, Bartholomae Ar. Forsch. ii 67 f., 86 ff., J. Wackernagel in E. Kuhn's Litteraturbl. iii 55 f., and below in this volume, § 641.

✓*der-* 'split, burst': Skr. 2nd sing. *dár-ṣi* 3rd sing. *á-dar*; opt. *dīr-yā-t* = **dṛ-īē-t* (cp. pass. *dīr-yá-tē* partic. *dīr-ṇá-s*).

✓*ghen-* 'strike, slay': 3rd sing. Skr. *hán-ti* Avest. *jainti*, Skr. 2nd pl. *ha-thá* 3rd pl. *ghn-ánti*, mid. 1st sing. Avest. *yn-ē* 3rd sing. Skr. *ha-tē* 3rd pl. Skr. *ghn-atē*; pret. 1st sing. Skr. *á-han-am* O.Pers. *a-jan-am* 2nd sing. Skr. *á-han* Avest. *a-jēn* (Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. xiii 64 f.) 3rd sing. Skr. *á-han* O.Pers. *a-ja* i. e. *a-jan* 2nd pl. Skr. *á-ha-ta* O.Pers. *ja-ta*; imperative Skr. *ja-hí* for **jha-dhi* (I § 480 p. 355) Avest. *jaidē*. The weak form Ar. **jha-* (Skr. *ha- ja-* Iran. *ja-*) instead of regular **gha-* = **ghy-* on the analogy of **jhan-* = **ghen-*, I §§ 453 f. pp. 335 f. Skr. 1st dual *hanvas* instead of **ghanvas* = **ghy-ues* (I § 225 p. 193, § 229 p. 195). -*n-* passes by analogy into other weak persons: Skr. 1st pl. *han-mas* imper. *han-dhí* (contrast *jahí*). Conjunctive: Skr. *hán-a-ti* Avest. *janaiti* (cp. indic. Skr. *han-a-ti a-han-a-t* Avest. *janaiti* Gr. *ἐ-στειν-ν*). Optative: Skr. *han-yā-t* Avest. *janyāp* O.Pers. *janiyā*, pr. Ar. **jhan-īa-t* instead of regular **ghaniāt* for **ghy-īē-t* (I § 454 Rem. pp. 335 f.); also found, with regular form, mid. Skr. *ghn-īya ghn-ī-ta*, and, on the analogy of the active, *han-ī-ta*. — With thematic vowel: Skr. 2nd pl. *ghn-a-ta a-ghn-a-n a-ghn-u-nta* partic. *ghn-a-māna-s* (Avest. conj. 3rd pl. *yn-a-p*).

Pr. Ar. **jan-ti* Idg. **gem-ti*, see § 493 p. 51. Imperative: Skr. *ga-dhí ga-hí* Avest. *gauidē*. 3rd pl. Skr. *á-gm-an gm-án* Avest. *g'm-en*. Skr. 1st dual *gánvahi* regular for **gm-u-* (I § 225 p. 193, § 229 p. 195), only with changed accent. -*n-* (for -*m-*) passing by analogy into other weak persons: Skr. 1st pl. *á-gan-ma* 2nd pl. *gan-tá gán-ta* beside *ga-tá*, *g-* instead of *j-* in Skr. *á-gan gán-tu* (Avest. *jantū*), *j-* instead of *g-* in opt. 3rd sing. Avest. *jam-yā-p* O.Pers. *jam-īyā* (Skr. *gam-yā-t*), see I § 451 p. 334.

Pr. Ar. **ai-ti*, Idg. **ei-ti*, see § 493 p. 51. 3rd sing. Skr. *é-ti* Avest. *aē-iti* O.Pers. *ai-tiy*, 3rd pl. Skr. *y-ānti* Avest. *y-ēinti*, imper. Skr. *i-hi* Avest. *i-dī i-āi* O.Pers. *i-diy*. By re-formation: Skr. 1st sing. *i-mi* instead of *é-mi*. Preterite 1st sing. Skr. *āy-am* O.Pers. *ayam* i. e. *ay-am*, 3rd sing. Skr. *āi-t* Avest. *ai-p* 3rd dual. Skr. *āi-tām* Avest. *ai-tem*. Conjunctive: Skr. *āy-a-ti* *ā-ya-t* Avest. *ay-a-p* (cp. indic. Skr. *āy-a-tē*, Avest. imper. *ay-a* conj. *ay-ā-p* opt. *ay-ōi-p*).

Skr. *kṣē-ti* Avest. *šaē-iti* 'lingers, dwells', 3rd dual Skr. *kṣi-tās* 3rd pl. Skr. *kṣiy-ānti*, conj. Skr. *kṣāy-a-t*: Gr. Hom. *iv-xti-μενος* 'well built'. — With thematic vowel Skr. *kṣiy-ā-ti*.

✓ *kleṣ-* 'hear': Skr. 2nd sing. *śrō-ṣi*, 1st sing. *ā-śrav-am* 3rd sing. *ā-śrō-t*, 2nd pl. *śru-ta* and following the singular *śrō-ta* Avest. *srāo-ta*, Avest. 2nd pl. mid. *a-srū-dūm*, Skr. imper. *śru-dhī*; conj. Skr. 3rd dual *śrāv-a-tas*, opt. Avest. 1st pl. *srovīmā* i. e. *sruv-i-mā*: Gr. imper. *κλύ-θι κλύ-τε* (cp. § 497 pp. 56 f.) *Περί-κλύ-μενος*. — With thematic vowel Skr. *śruv-a-m* Gr. *κλύω* (cp. § 527).

✓ *derk-* 'see': Skr. *ā-darś-am* Avest. *dars-em*, 1st pl. Skr. *ā-dṛś-ma*, and also *ā-darś-ma* following the singular; conj. Skr. *dārś-a-t* Avest. 1st pl. *dar's-a-ma* (cp. indic. Skr. *ā-darś-a-t*). — With thematic vowel Skr. 3rd pl. *ā-dṛś-a-n* opt. *dṛś-ē-t*.

Skr. *ā-grabh-am* Avest. *grab-em* 'I grasped', 3rd pl. Skr. *ā-grbh-ran*.

Skr. *chand-* 'appear': 3rd sing. *chānt-ti*.

✓ *bheṣd-* 'findere': Skr. 1st sing. *ā-bhēd-am* 3rd sing. *ā-bhēt*; — with thematic vowel opt. *bhid-ē-t*. Avest. *miṣ-* (Skr. *mith-*) 'destroy': 3rd sing. *mōist*, conj. *mōiṣ-a-p* (cp. indic. Skr. *mēth-a-ti*), opt. *miṣ-yā-p*.

✓ *dheugh-* 'milk, give milk' (cp. Fick Wtb. I⁴ 73): Skr. 3rd sing. *dōgdhi* 3rd pl. *duh-ānti*, mid. 3rd sing. *dugdhē* 3rd pl. *duh-atē -ātē* conj. *dōh-a-tē*, opt. *duh-i-ta*; — with thematic vowel *ā-duh-a-t* opt. *duh-ē-t*. ✓ *jeug-* 'iungere': Skr. 3rd sing. mid. *ā-yuk-ta* 1st pl. *ā-yuj-mahi*, Avest. 3rd pl. *yāj-ēn* 1st pl. mid. *yaoy-maidē* with non-original strong stem; — with thematic vowel, Skr. *ā-yuj-a-t*.

✓*uek-* 'wish, desire': Skr. 1st sing. *váš-mi* 3rd sing. *váš-ṭi* 1st pl. *uś-mási*, Avest. *vasmī vašti usmahī*, conj. Skr. *váš-a-t* Avest. *vasaḥ* (cp. indic. Skr. *váš-a-ti* imper. *váš-a*). — With thematic vowel Skr. *uś-á-māna-s*.

Pr. Ar. **as-ti*, Idg. **es-ti*, see § 493 p. 52. Skr. sing. *ás-mi ási ds-ti* pl. *s-más s-thá s-ánti*, Avest. sing. *ahmi ahi asti* pl. *mahi* (I § 558.3 p. 414) *sta henti*, O.Pers. sing. *amīy* (I § 558.3 p. 415) *ahy astiy* 3rd pl. *hatiy* i. e. *hantiy*; O.Pers. 1st pl. *amahy* with *a-* from the singular. Pret. Skr. 1st sing. *ás-am* 3rd sing. *ás* O.Pers. 1st sing. *aham* i. e. *āham* Avest. 3rd sing. *as* (I § 647.7 pp. 493 f., § 649.6 p. 496), pl. Skr. *ds-ma ds-ta ds-an* O.Pers. 3rd pl. *aha* i. e. *āha*, cp. § 481 pp. 29 f., also unaugmented Avest. 3rd sing. *as* 3rd pl. *h-en* Skr. *s-án*; on the 2nd and 3rd sing. Skr. *ás-ī-ṣ* *ás-ī-t*, see § 574. Imperative: Avest. *z-dī*; Skr. *ēdhī* for **az-dhi* (I § 591 p. 447) instead of regular **dhi* following the analogy of forms with strong root. Conjunctive: Skr. *ás-a-ti ás-a-t* Avest. *aṛh-a-itī aṛh-a-ḥ* O.Pers. *ah-a-tiy*. Optative: Skr. *s-yā-t s-iyā-t* Avest. *h-yā-ḥ*.

✓*ed-* 'eat': Skr. *ád-mi át-ti*. So in all the weak persons *ad-*, as 3rd pl. *ad-anti* 2nd pl. *at-tá* imper. *ad-dhī*, obviously because such forms as **ta *dhi* were not clear enough (cp. above, Skr. *ēdhī*). Conjunctive: **ad-a-ti *ad-a-t* (cp. 2nd sing. mid. *ad-a-sva* Gr. *ēd-ω* Lat. *ed-ō* Goth. *it-a*). On the relation between *ád-mi* and Lat. *ēst* Lith. *ėst*, see § 480 Rem. pp. 28 f., § 494 pp. 54 f.

Skr. *dhákṣi* and others of the same sort, see § 493 p. 53. Skr. *bhi-ṣak-ti* 'heals' (*bhi-* is a bye-form of *abhi*) was no longer recognised for a compound, hence 3rd sing. *a-bhiṣṇak* R.-V. x, 131.5, following Class XV, and *bhēṣajā-s* 'healing'.

✓*dhē-* *dō-*, Skr. *dhā- dā-* Iran. *dā-* (in Iranian the two stems ran into one, and it is no longer possible to distinguish their meaning exactly), see § 493 p. 53. Skr. *á-dha-t dhá-t á-dā-t* pl. *á-dhā-ma á-dā-ma*, Avest. *dā-ḥ dā-mā* O.Pers. *a-dā*; on *ā* in the plural, see § 495 p. 55; mid. Skr. *á-dhi-ta á-di-ta*,

imper. *dhi-ṣvā*. Conjunctive: Skr. *dhā-ti* pl. mid. *dhā-mahē* Avest. *dā-itī* mid *dā-itē* (§ 933). Optative: Avest. *d-yā-p*.

✓*stā-*, see § 493 p. 55. Skr. *ā-sthā-t ā-sthā-ma* (like *ā-dhā-ma*, see above), Avest. *paiti-štā-p*; mid. Skr. *ā-sthi-ta*. Conjunctive: Skr. *sthā-ti* 2nd dual *sthā-thas*, Avest. mid. *xštā-itē* (§ 933).

✓*dā-* 'separate, divide up' (Gr. *ḃā-μo-ς ḃḡ-μo-ς*): Skr. *dā-ti* 3rd pl. *dā-nti* (like *ā-dhā-ma*, above), mid. 1st pl. *ā-di-mahi* (cp. partic. *dī-nā-s di-ta-s* Gr. *ḃα-τῆo-μαι*).

Sometimes in place of *-i* = Idg. *-ə* in roots of the latter kind, Sanskrit has *-ī*: *ā-dhī-mahi* from ✓*dhē-*, *mī-mahē* from ✓*mē-* 'measure' (3rd sing. *mā-ti*), *dī-ṣva* from ✓*dō-*, *ā-dī-mahi* from ✓*dā-*. This *ī* was connected with a very wide-spread Sanskrit re-formation.

There was a certain element used in root-extension, found in the parent language, and appearing in Sanskrit under the forms of *-ī-* and *-i-*. Whether it be dubbed *Root-Determinative* or *Suffix*, matters nothing (see § 488 pp. 44 ff.). Examples of its use are *pī-* 'swell, give to drink' from ✓*pō-* (*pi-pī-tē pī-yā-tē pī-lā-s pī-pi-hī pi-nva-ti*), *rī-* 'run, flow' from ✓*er* (*rī-ya-tē rī-tī-ṣ rī-nd-ti rī-t-*), *śrī-* 'boils' beside *śr-tā-s*. Another form of this determinative in Sanskrit, as Bartholomae has pointed out (Stud. zur idg. Spr., II 63 ff.), is *āi*, seen in the Vedic preterites *ā-śar-āi-t* 'he broke up' beside *a-śar-i-t śār-ī-tōṣ*, and *āj-āi-ṣ* 'thou dravest' (unaugmented); and this word is closely connected with Gr. *ἀγ-ίνω ἀγ-ινέω* (cp. § 801).¹⁾ We shall meet the grade *-ī-* in several other categories of Sanskrit forms.

Now this *-ī-*, originally only a variant of Ar. *-i-* = Idg. *-i-*, encroached upon Ar. *-i-* = Idg. *-ə-*, so that in Aryan

1) It is probable that another strong grade of the same determinative is contained in the Idg. present in *-éiō* (as Skr. *śv-āya-ti vart-āya-ti* Lat. *qu-eō mon-eō*), to which belonged a participle in *-i-to-s* and *-i-to-s* (Class XXXII). And I would now (with Bezzenger, Zur Gesch. der lit. Spr., 195) recognise a form exactly answering to Skr. *ājāi-ṣ* in Gr. *ἀγμ-*; *ἀγμ* (for **-ēi-s *-ēi-t*); see § 987. 1, and § 995. 2.

ī as well as *i* was found in the same ablaut series with *ā*.¹⁾ Hence arose the above named forms *ādhīmahī* instead of *ādhimahi* beside *ādham* etc., and hence *śi-śi-hi* **śi-śi-tē* instead of **śi-śi-hi* **śi-śi-tē* (cp. *śi-tā-s*) beside *śi-śa-ti* (§ 538), *mṛ-ṇi-mās* instead of **mṛ-ṇi-mās* (cp. Gr. -*ρα-μεν*) beside *mṛ-ṇā-mi* (§ 597), *á-starī-ṣ* instead of **a-stariṣ* (§ 839). Last of all, *-ī-* even pushed out *a* = *ə* in the root of forms like pass. **dha-ya-tē* = Avest. *da-yē-tē* (I § 109. *a*. p. 101), and so we have *dhī-yā-tē* (§§ 707, 709).

It is true that there are other instances besides these of variation between Idg. *i* and *ī*; for instance, in the syllable of reduplication, §§ 467, 469, 473. Whether these had anything to do with associating *ī* with *i* = *ə*, and if so, how far, I leave an open question.

§ 499. A few more examples may here be added to those already given of the confusion between weak and strong stem.

Strong Stem instead of Weak. Skr. 2nd dual *spar-tam* beside *spr-tam* from *spar-* 'save, win'.²⁾ Avest. 3rd sing. mid. *man-tā* beside Skr. *á-ma-ta* from *man-* 'think'. Skr. 1st pl. *á-hē-ma* (cp. 3rd pl. *á-hy-an*) from *hi-* 'impel'. Skr. 2nd pl. *stō-ta* (cp. 2nd dual *stu-tam*) Avest. 1st pl. mid. *stao-maidē* from *stu-* 'praise' (cp. Skr. *stāū-ti* § 494 p. 54). Skr. 2nd pl. *vart-ta* (cp. 3rd pl. *á-vṛt-ran*) from *vart-* 'vertere'. Avest. 2nd pl. *sas-tā* beside Skr. *śas-ta* from √*kens-* 'foretel' (§ 493 p. 52). Skr. 1st pl. *chēd-ma* from *chid-* 'cut'. Skr. 2nd pl. mid. *vōdhvam* beside *ūdhvam* 2nd dual act. *vōdham* (I § 404. 2 pp. 298 f., § 482 p. 356) compared with 2nd sing. *vákṣi*, √*uegh-* 'vehere'. Skr. 3rd sing. mid. *á-tak-ta* beside *ták-ti* 'runs, pushes, shoots', √*teq-*, cp. the weak grade *tq-* in Avest. partic. perf. *ta-ḥk-uš-* (I § 473. 2 p. 349).

1) Bartholomae (*loc. cit.*) assumes *ā : ī* to be an orig. ablaut; he believes *ā* came from *āi* in Idg., and e. g. Lat. *erās* (contrasted with Skr. *āsi-ṣ*) is derived by him from **esāi-s*. I cannot approve this theory.

2) Avestic mid. 3rd sing. *var-tā* 1st pl. *var-maidē*, compared with Skr. *á-vṛ-ta*, are not safe examples to cite in proof of this re-formation, because *var-* may come from **vṛ-*.

Weak Stem instead of Strong: much rarer. Skr. *i-mi* beside *ē-mi* from *i-* 'go' (already cited, § 498 p. 59). Skr. 3rd sing. *á-vṛk* beside *várk* (mid. *á-vṛk-ta*) from *varj-* 'twist' (but *vice versa* 2nd dual *vark-tam* instead of *vṛk-tam*). Avest. 2nd sing. *a-per's* instead of **a-fraš* ground-form **e-prek-s* from *√ prek-* 'ask' (*vice versa*, 3rd sing. mid. *fraš-tā* instead of **per's-tā*).

§ 500. In Aryan, the ever increasing use of thematic forms was helped on by the like endings *-am* in the first person singular, and *-anti -an* in the third plural. Sometimes the desire for clear expression came in too. Thus Skr. 2nd and 3rd sing. *āda-s āda-t* drove out **āt* (both persons) from *√ ed-* 'eat' (1st sing. *ād-am* 3rd pl. *ād-an*),¹⁾ and in Avestic *-aitē -ata* (= Skr. *-atē -ata*), endings of the 3rd pl. middle, were almost entirely dropped in favour of the thematic endings *-antē -anta*, by which the plural was more clearly marked; e. g. *ānōh-antē* as contrasted with Skr. *ās-atē* 'they sit' (§ 1067. 1).

Much the same may be said of the other non-thematic present classes. Compare particularly the Avest. 3rd pl. of Classes III and V, in *-anti -enti* instead of *-aiti* (= Skr. *-ati*), §§ 540, 556, 1018. 1. *b*.

§ 501. Armenian. *e-kn* 'he came': Skr. *á-gan*, common ground-form **e-gem-t*, see § 493 p. 51; the 1st sing. *eki* and 3rd pl. *ekin* are said to be adformates of *edi edin* (see below); Bugge, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxii 75.

em 'am': Skr. *ás-mi*, see § 493 p. 52; 2nd sing. *es* for **es-si* (I § 559 p. 416); 3rd sing. *ē* following *berē* 'fert' for **bhere-ti* (*vice versa*, 2nd sing. *beres* follows *es*); 3rd pl. *en* doubtless for Idg. **s-enti* (Bugge, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxii 71), cp. § 1019.

e-di 'I placed': Skr. *á-dhā-m*, see § 493 p. 53; 2nd sing. *e-di-r* 3rd sing. *e-d* 2nd pl. *e-di-ṛ* 3rd *e-di-n*. *di-* = Idg. **dhē-* (I § 71 p. 62), and thus the strong stem has here passed into

1) Similarly, the forms with an *i*-determinative, *ās-i-š ās-i-t* 'eras erat' establish themselves in place of *ās* (Vedic for both persons); see § 574.

the plural. The same is true of *e-tu* 'I gave': Skr. *á-dā-m*, see § 493 p. 53; 2nd sing. *e-tu-r* 3rd sing. *e-t* 2nd pl. *e-tu-k̃* 3rd pl. *e-tu-n*; *tu-* = Idg. **dō-* (I § 87 p. 84). But *ta-* = Idg. **dā-* is the stem of the present 1st pl. *ta-mk̃* 'damus', whence *a* appears instead of *u* in the singular *ta-m* (I § 109. *a*. p. 101).

gom 'I am' is compared by Hübschmann (Arm. Stud. I 25, 61) with Gothic *visa* 'I remain, tarry'; and he conjectures that it is derived from **ues-mi*; Bugge (as cited, page 7) offers another explanation, but hardly improves upon this.

§ 502. Greek. *κτεν-* 'kill' = Skr. *kṣan-*: 1st pl. *ἐκτα-μεν*, 3rd sing. *ἀπ-έκτα-το* = Skr. *á-kṣa-ta*, 2nd sing. *ἐκτά-θης* = Skr. *á-kṣa-thās* (§ 503). The Homeric 3rd pl. *ἐκτᾶν*, conj. 1st pl. *κτέωμεν*, partic. *-κτάς* follow the analogy of roots in *-ā* (*ἐ-φᾶν* etc.), like *γέγα-κα* (Pindar) from *✓γεν-* etc. (the Author, Gr. Gr.² p. 47). — With thematic vowel *ἐκταν-ο-ν*.

Remark. The Homeric 1st sing. *-εκταν* and 3rd sing. *εκτα* are peculiar. *a* is certainly short only in O 432 (*ναι*’, *ἐπεὶ δυνδρα κατέκτῃ Κυθήρουσι ζαθέοισιν*). Is it possible that the original forms were *ἐκταν εκτα* with Aeolic *a*, which would be re-formates of the same nature as 3rd pl. *ἐκτᾶν*? Or is *ἐκτᾶ* a re-formate like Skr. *á-vrk* beside *várk* (§ 499 p. 63), and *-εκτᾶν* due simply to the analogy of *ἐκτᾶ*?

✓ *bher-* 'ferre': 2nd pl. *φεῖρ-τε* instead of **φρα-τε* **φαρ-τε*: Skr. *bhár-ti* 2nd dual *bhṛ-tám*, Lat. *fer-t* (§ 505).

✓ *ger-* 'swallow': *ἐβρω* · *ἐφαγην*, *ἔδακε*, *διέσπασεν*; *βρω* = **gř-*, weak grade like *φῶ-* in *ἴ-φῶ*, § 497 p. 56.

ελ-μι 'I will go', Idg. **éǵ-mi*, see § 493 p. 52, 2nd sing. *εἰ* for **εἰ-(σ)*, 3rd sing. *εἴ-σι*; pl. 1st person *ἔ-μεν* 2nd *ἔ-τε*; 3rd pl. *ἔσσι* either for **iǵ-αντι* (Idg. **iǵ-énti*) or instead of **άντι* (Idg. **ǵ-enti*) with *i* prefixt following *ἔ-μεν ἔ-τε*. Pret. 1st sing. *ἦα* instead of **ἦα* for **ḡk-a* (Skr. *áy-am*) following forms with a personal ending beginning in a consonant, such as *ἦ-μεν* (on the augment see § 480 p. 28, § 481 pp. 29 f.); unaugmented 3rd dual *ἔ-την*. Imperative *ἔ-θι*: Skr. *i-hí*. The old conj. and opt., answering to Skr. *áy-a-ti* and *i-yá-t*, are not found. Partic. fem. *Ἐν-ιασσα*, epithet of Demeter, for **i-ατ-ια*: Skr.

y-at-ī. — With thematic vowel: indic. pres. *εἰσ-ίουσι* pret. Hom. *ἔ-ε* ἦ-ε ἦ-ομεν Att. imper. *ἰ-ό-ντων* opt. *ἔ-ο-ι* partic. *ἰ-ό-ντ-* (cp. J. Baunack, Curt. Stud. x 96 ff., Rhein. Mus. xxxvii 472), and compare conj. *ἔ-ω* *ἔ-ω-μεν*.

φθαι- 'destroy' = Skr. *kṣay-*: 3rd sing. mid. *ἔ-φθι-το*: Skr. imper. *kṣi-dhī*. Conjunctive *φθί-ε-ται*; in Skr. we should expect **kṣay-a-tē* on the analogy of *kṣi-dhī* (cp. indic. *kṣay-a-ti*). Partic. *φθί-μενο-ς*. — Whether *φθίω* (*ἔφθιεν*, Σ 446) is *φθικ-ω* or *φθι-χω* is not clear; cp. § 527 Rem.

✓*λεμ-* 'loose': mid. 3rd sing. *λύ-το* *λῦ-το*, 3rd pl. *λύ-ντο* (cp. § 1068).

1st pl. *ἴθ-μεν* (Att. *ἴσμεν*) 2nd pl. *ἴσ-τε* may be connected with the sing. **μειδ-μι* or *οἰδ-α*, it matters not which; see § 493 p. 52.

εἰμι 'I am', Idg. **és-mi*, see § 493 p. 52. 2nd sing. *εἶ* for **é(σ)ι* = Skr. *ási*, also *εἶς* (*εἷς*) and *έσ-σι*, see § 987. 1. 3rd sing. *έσ-τι* (*έσ-τι*): Skr. *ás-ti*. 1st pl. *εἰμὲν* (Dor. *εἰμές*) for **έσμεν* shows the strong stem for the weak (cp. O.Icel. *er-o er-u* § 507), like the 2nd pl. *έσ-τε* and the 3rd pl. Ion. *έσσι* for **έσ-αντι*; Att. *έσμεν* follows *έσσι* in having *σ*. The 3rd pl. Dor. *έντι* Att. *εἰσι* instead of **έντι* = Goth. *sind*, Idg. **s-enti* (§ 1020. 1); for the breathing compare *όντ-* instead of **ό-ν-τ-* § 493 p. 53. With 3rd pl. Dor. *έντι* goes the participle Dor. *έντ-*, nom. pl. *έντ-εις* whose fem. *έσσα* is a transformation of **άσσα* (cp. Skr. *s-at-ī*). Pret. 1st sing. Hom. *ἦα* Att. *ἦ* for **έσ-η*, 3rd sing. Dor. *ἦς* for **έσ-ι*, 1st pl. *ἦμεν* for **ἦσ-μεν* (I § 565 p. 410), 2nd pl. *ἦσ-τε*, 3rd pl. Dor. etc. *ἦν* for **ἦ(σ)-εν* = Skr. *ás-an* (§ 1020. 1), also Boeot. *παρ-εῖαν* for **ἦαν* (§ 1021. 1); for the augment, see § 480 p. 28, § 481 pp. 29 f. 1st sing. *ἦν* 2nd pl. *ἦτε* are re-formates caused by preterites like *ἐβλήν*, Class X, the point of contact being *ἦμεν*. The 3rd sing. Hom. *ἦεν* Att. *ἦν* is probably identical with 3rd pl. Dor. *ἦν* for **ἦ(σ)-εν*; the Indicative had adopted *-αν* (*-σαν*) in other forms in place of 3rd pl. *-εν* (§ 1021), and thus *ἦεν* ceased to be a clear plural, beginning with sentences like *ἃ δὴ τετελεσμένα ἦεν* (Σ 4), *ένθα μάλιστα μάχη*

καὶ φύλοπις ἦεν (N 789). In the dialect of Herodotus ἦα became εἶα (I § 611 p. 462), whence by analogy εἶα-ς εἶα-τε, cp. § 504. On ἦσθα and Hom. εἴησθα εἴην ἤην, see §§ 583, and 858. 2. Imper. ἴσθι for Idg. **z-dhi* with prothetic vowel (I § 626 p. 470); and Hecataeus has εἴσθι with the strong stem introduced. The old conjunctive (Skr. *ās-a-ti* *ās-a-t* Lat. *er-i-t*) was lost in the historic period, and in its place we find εἶω εἶομεν ὦ ὦμεν like Skr. *as-ā-t*. Opt. εἴην for **ē-s-ih-n* or **ē-s-ih-n* with the strong tense-stem (cp. § 943). — There is connexion between 1st pl. ἐμὲν in Callimachus, the Thess. 1st sing. ἐμὶ, and Hom. inf. ἔμεν ἐμεναι: either on the analogy of εἰσὶ : τιθεῖσι (Dor. ἐντι : τίθεντι) and of εἴην : τιθείην, infinitives were formed to match with τίθεμεν and τιθέμεν τιθέμεναι (cp. Mess. conj. ἦνται and Hom. conj. μετ-ήω (§ 934); or the parallel forms εἶασι : ἴασι, εἶω : ἴω and so forth gave the impression that the two verbs were distinguished by having one ε and the other ι before the same endings, and thus ἐμὲν and ἔμεν(αι) came into existence on the analogy of ἴμεν (1st pl.) and ἴμεν(αι). In any case, ἐμὶ was not made until after ἐμέν. — The enclisis of εἰμὶ, as of φημὶ, is due to the fact that the finite verb was always enclitic in the original language; see I § 669 p. 534, and Wackernagel, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxiii 457 ff. — On the thematic forms (**s-o-* and **es-o-*), see § 493 p. 53.

ἦ 'said' (with pr. Greek ἦ) for **h₁κ-τ* (I § 652. 5 p. 496), cp. Skr. *āh-a* Lat. *ājō*. The ablaut in the root needs explaining (cp. Lat. *ad-āgium* : *prōd-igium*). In the mould of φῆν φῆην, φημὶ, φησι beside φῆ φῆη (pr. (†r. *phā-*) were cast ἦν, ἦμὶ, ἦσι.

√*dh₂-* 'place': εἴθε-μεν etc., see § 493 p. 53. Similarly, from √*sē-* 'send forth, let go, sow': εἴμεν pr. Gr. **ē-(s)ε-μεν* (cp. § 478 p. 26), unaugmented κάθ-ε-μεν ἀφ-έ-την, ξύρ-ε-το; Fick's comparison (Wtb. I⁴ 13 f.) with Skr. *sā-* in *āva-sā-* 'let go' (3rd sing. *ā-sā-t* 2nd dual *si-tam*) is unsafe.

√*dō-* 'give': εἴδο-μεν etc., see § 493 p. 53. Similarly from √*kō-* 'to be sharp, have one's wits sharpened by

experience' (Gr. *κῶν-ρο-ς*, Lat. *cōs ca-tu-s*, O.Ir. *cath* 'wise'): *ἰ-κο-μεν* ἡσθόμεθα and *κόν* εἰδός Hesych., cp. partic. *δόν*.

✓ *bhā-* 'show, make open, declare': *φη-μι* Dor. *qā-mi* 1st pl. *φα-μὲν* 2nd pl. mid. *φά-σθι*, cp. § 495 p. 55.

✓ *stā-* 'stare': *ἰ-στη-ν* ἔ-στη-μεν, 2nd sing. mid.-pass. *ἰ-στά-θης* (: Skr. *á-sthi-thās*, § 503) etc., see § 493 p. 54, § 495 p. 55.

§ 503. A number of forms of the 2nd sing. pret. mid. with the personal ending *-θης* = Skr. *-thās* were the foundation for the *θην*-aorist, *ἰ-κτά-θης* = Skr. *á-kṣa-thās* beside *ἀπ-έκτατο* (§ 502 p. 64), *ἰ-τά-θης* = Skr. *á-ta-thās* from ✓ *ten-* 'stretch', *ἰ-φθί-θης* beside *ἔ-φθι-το* (§ 502 p. 65), *ἰ-σύ-θης* beside *ἔ-σσυ-το* ἔ-συ-το (§ 504), *ἰ-τέ-θης* = Skr. *á-dhi-thās* beside *ἔ-θι-το* from ✓ *dhē-* 'place' (§ 493 p. 53), *ἰ-δό-θης* = Skr. *á-di-thās* beside *ἔ-δο-το* from ✓ *dō-* 'give' (§ 493 p. 53), *ἰ-στά-θης* = Skr. *á-sthi-thās* from ✓ *stā-* 'stand' (§ 493 p. 54). See §§ 589 and 1049. 2.

§ 504. Some preterite tenses of this sort form a subclass apart, in having developed from the *-α* of the 1st pers. sing. and *-αν* in the 3rd plural, a flexion like the *s*-aorist (*-σα -σας* etc.), in which the strong stem appeared instead of the weak in the active plural and dual and in the middle voice.

✓ *gheu-* 'pour': *ἔ-χε(φ)-α*, Aeol. (Hom.) *ἔχεν-α* 3rd sing. mid. *ἔ-χυν-το* *χύ-το*: Skr. 2nd sing. *hó-ṣi*. From this beginning we have *ἔχτας* *ἔχενας* *ἔχετ* *ἔχιντε* *ἔχίσμεν* *ἔχίσμεν* and so forth, instead of **ἔ-χενς* **ἔ-χεν* **ἔ-χυν-μεν*, and middle *ἔχενατο*. ✓ *gíeu-* 'set in motion, drive' (Gr. *σεεφ-* *σεφ-*, I § 489 p. 360): Aeol. (Hom.) *ἔ-σσενα* *σεῖα* imper. *σύ-θι* ἔλθι (Hesych.) 3rd sing. mid. *ἔ-σσυ-το* *σύ-το*. Hence *ἔ-σσενας* and so on, also middle *σεύατο*. Similarly *δέατο* 'videbatur' doubtless is due to **ἔ-δεα* = **e-dei-η*: Skr. redupl. *á-dī-dē-t* imper. *dī-di-hi* (*δοάσσατο* with the root-grade *doi-* is derived from some noun). Herodotus has *ἔας* and *ἔατε* from *ἔα* 'eram', see § 502 p. 66.

Of the same sort are the reduplicated *ῥν-εγκ-α ῥνεγκας* etc., and *εἰπ-α εἰπας* (*Feip-* = **ue-ug-*); see §§ 557, 569. Parallel to *ῥνεγκα* is the form *ῥν-εικα*, which is not reduplicated, but is derived from another root and compounded with the preposition *ἐν-* (the Author, Idg. Forsch. I 174); *ῥνεικα* too received the inflexion of the *s*-aorist.

It is easy to understand how this amalgamation with the *s*-aorist came about, if we may assume that the first step was to change the 3rd person singular active. This would become **ἐν-ει(κτ)*, and if in its stead was used a form with the thematic vowel, *ἐν-εικε* (beside *συν-ενείκεται* Hesiod), and similarly *ἔχε(F)ε* (from *ἔχου*) replaced **ἔ-χευ*, and *ἔσπευε* (beside *ἔσσεινύμην*) replaced **ἔ-σσευ*, and so forth, the rest followed naturally: for *-α* in the first and *-ε* in the third person brought the forms into direct relation with the *s*-aorist. *ἔας ἔατε* are late, and copied straight from *ἔχεας ἔχετε*.

Remark. According to Fick (Gött. gel. Anz. 1881, pp. 1432 f) and others, in all these preterites the 2nd sing. (*-α-*), 2nd pl. (*-α-τε*), etc., contain original dissyllabic roots ending with *ο* (= Gr. *α*), in which case they will belong to our Class IX. For instance, *χεφα-* in *ἔχας* is connected by these scholars with Skr. *havi-* in *haviṣ-*. This view seems to me less probable. Even granting it, however, confusion with the *s*-aorist is not by any means excluded.

§ 505. Italic. A peculiarity of Latin is the combination of thematic and non-thematic forms to make up the persons of the present indicative. A first pers. sing. in Idg. *-mi* cannot be proved for Italic.

✓ *bher-* 'bear': Lat. *fer-t*: Skr. *bhár-ti*; 2nd pl. *fer-tis* imper. *fer-te* have taken the strong stem, like Gr. *φείρ-τε* (§ 502 p. 64), and like Skr. 2nd dual *bhar-tám* beside the regular *bhṛ-tám*. The 2nd sing. indic. *fer-s* and the 2nd sing. imper. *fer* both represent the Idg. injunctive **bher-s*: *fer* is regular (as *par* for **pars* and the like, I § 655 p. 506), but *fer-s* has had *-s* added again.¹⁾ In the pres. indic., *ferō*

1) That *fer* comes from **fere*, as Pauli asserts (Altlt. Stud., IV 29), I do not believe. If *fere* in the Song of the Arval Brethren really means 'bring', this, and no other, would represent Idg. **bhere*; and *fere* would stand to *fer* as Marruc. 3rd sing. pres. *fere-t* to Lat. *fer-t*.

ferimus ferunt have a thematic vowel. Umbr. *fertu* 'fer^{to}' may be identical with Lat. *fer-tō*, or it may be the same as the thematic Gr. *φερε-τω* (see I § 633 p. 474).

✓ *uel-* 'wish': Lat. 2nd sing. injunct. *vel* for **uel-s* (I § 655 p. 506), now a particle,¹⁾ 2nd pl. *voltis* for **ul-tes*: Skr. *á-vṛ-ta* etc., see § 493 p. 51. 3rd sing. *volt* instead of **vel-t*. On 2nd sing. *veis vis*, see below. Optative: *vel-i-m vel-ī-mus*, like (Goth. 1st pl. *vil-ei-ma* (1st sing. *viljau*), with strong stem,²⁾ as contrasted with Skr. 3rd sing. mid. *vur-i-ta* for **ull-i-to* (see p. 51 footnote); in consideration of *nōli nōlite nōlitō* (*nōlō* for *ne-volō* as *mālō* for **mag(e)-volō mavolō*, cp. I § 432 c p. 322 on the word *avilla*), this irregularity may be easily explained on the supposition that there was an indic. **uel-(i)ō* **uel-i-s* (Class XXVI), which is represented by O.H.G. 1st sing. *willu* Goth. inf. *viljan* partic. *viljands* O.C.Sl. *velja veli-ši* etc. (§ 727).³⁾ — With thematic vowel indic. pres. *volō*, *volumus volimus* (§ 530), *volunt*, for **ull-ō* etc. Umbr. *veltu* 'eligitō' is as ambiguous as *fertu*, see above.

Lat. 2nd sing. *vei-s vi-s* (beside *in-vittu-s*), alien forms absorbed into the conjugation of *volō*: Skr. *vē-ti* 'presses on, strives' 3rd pl. *vy-ānti*.

✓ *ei-* 'go': 2nd 3rd sing. Lat. *ei-s i-s* and *i-t* ground-forms **ei-s* and **ei-ti*, see § 493 p. 51. The *i-* (also written *ei-*) of the present of the Latin finite verb, *i-mus i-tis i-tur i-te* etc., should strictly be *i-*, cp. Skr. *i-más* etc. This is doubtless not the (weak grade) *i* of Skr. *i-mahē* Gr. *ἵ-ο-μεν* (p. 52), but the strong grade *ei-*, cp. Peln. *ei-te* 'ite'. The rare Lat. 3rd

1) Compare Umbr. *heris* — *heris* 'vis — vis' = 'vel — vel'. Originally it was no doubt a question: 'will you have this? will you have that?'

2) I do not consider that proof has been shown for deriving *relim* from **volim* by vowel assimilation. *rel* shows that Latin had the grade *uel-* in this root.

3) A different account of Lat. *nōli* may be seen in Kuhn's *Zeitschr.* xxx 313 (Wackernagel's), and Stolz, Lat. Gr.² pp. 378, 379.

pl. *int* was coined to complement *imus* on the strength of *sta-nt* : *stū-mus*, *ple-nt* : *plē-mus* etc.

Partic. *iēns* like *prae-s-ēns* (II § 126 p. 396, and IV p. 50, footnote). With thematic vowel *eō* for **ei-ō*, *eunt*, partic. *eunt-is* etc., and the conj. *eam*: cp. Skr. indic. mid. *āy-a-tē*, *ambū ambunt* are doubtless not to be compared with Gr. *in eis-inon* etc. (pp. 52, 65): they must be a re-formation following *finio*, the compound being treated like a simple word.

✓ *es-* 'be': 3rd sing. Lat. *es-t*, Umbr. *est est* Osc. *est ist*: Skr. *ās-ti*, § 493 p. 52. 2nd sing. *es* for **es-s*, also *ēs*, the latter perhaps augmented (§ 480 p. 28). Weak stem *s-* in the 3rd pl. Umbr. *s-ent* Osc. *s-et*. The 2nd pl. Lat. *es-tis* has taken the strong stem, like Gr. *ēo-rē*. Conjunctive: Lat. *erō er-i-s* etc. with future meaning (§ 910). Optative: 2nd sing. Lat. *s-iē-s* *s-i-s* Umbr. *sir si sei*, see § 946. To the the thematic stem *s-o-* belong 1st sing. Lat. *s-u-m* Osc. *súm sum* for **s-o-m*, the injunctive form, 1st pl. Lat. *sumus simus* (so too *possumus possimus*, cp. *volumus volumus* above) for **s-o-mos*,¹⁾ 3rd pl. Lat. *s-o-nt sunt* Falisc. *sunt*, partic. Lat. *sōns sont-is* (cp. the Author, Bericht der sächs. Ges. der Wiss., 1890, pp. 230 ff.).

Remark 1. Side by side with *potis sum* (*poti-s* 'mighty, powerful, able' = Gr. *nó-a-*), for which a plural *potis sumus* was formed instead of **potēs sumus* after *potis* had crystallised (cp. Skr. *dātāsmas* 'we will be giving' instead of *dātārah smas*, and like phrases), was a variant *pote sum*. *pote* is an adverb (acc. sing. neut. for **poti*, or loc. in orig. -e, see III § 280 p. 160), cp. *bene sum, tūto sum*. *potisset potisse* are for *potis 'asset 'sse*, op. *situst* for *situs 'st*. But *potes potest potestis* come from *pote es* etc. So also *possum possim* (whence *possem posse* by complementary analogy) come from **potsum *potsim*, *pote-sum*, *pote-sim*. It is doubtful, however, whether -e- disappeared by regular syncope, or whether *potest* : *est* suggested **potsum* : *sum* (I § 501 p. 367).

✓ *ed-* 'eat': *ēs ēst ēstis ēste*, pass. *ēstur* (on -*st-* instead of -*ss-* -*s-* see I § 501 Rem. 2 p. 368); with thematic vowel *edō edimus edunt*, also *edis edit* etc. See § 480 Rem. pp. 28 f., § 494 pp. 54 f., § 498 p. 60. Optative: *ed-i-m ed-ī-mus* instead

1) I § 110 page 105 should be corrected by this statement.

of **d-ī-*, perhaps to distinguish this optative from the old optative of *dō-* 'give' (see below).

✓ *dhē-* 'place': Lat. *con-di-mus con-di-tis crēdimus* for **fa-mos *fa-tes*: Gr. *ἔ-θε-μεν*, see § 493 p. 53. The forms *-dō -dis -dit -dunt* are thematic.

✓ *dō-* 'give': Lat. *da-mus da-tis red-dimus -ditis*: Gr. *ἰ-δο-μεν*, see § 493 p. 53. 1) Imperative: *ce-do* (2nd pl. *ce-tte* for **ce-date *ce-dite*, I § 633 p. 474), see § 957. The old optative stem **d-ī-* (cp. Avest. 3rd sing. *d-ya-ḥ*) is found in Osc. *da-did* 'dedat'; to this the conj. *da-dad* Lat. *dē-dut* is related like Lat. *ed-a-mus : ed-ī-mus* (see above). The old singular forms **dō-m *dō-s *dō-t* are gone; we have instead *dō dās dat*. The last two represent the stem used in composition for the conjunctive, *d-ā-* (cp. *-bas* for **bhū-ā-s* indie. beside conj. *fu-ā-s*, see § 578); and these created *dō* on the analogy of *stō : stās, flō : flās* etc. In composition, we see the same inflexion as *legō* has: *vēn-dō red-dō -dis -dit -dimus -diti -dunt*. But undoubtedly *-dimus -ditis* are what **damus *datis* must regularly become, cp. fut. O.Lat. *reddibō* for **red-dabō*.

Remark 2. The compounds of *dhē-* and *dō-* were confused in Latin, beginning with the 1st and 2nd plural; *-di-* = **fa- *dha-* and = **da- *da-*. Compare Darmesteter, De conj. Lat. verbi *dare*, Paris 1877; Postgate, *Dare*, 'to give' and *-dere* 'to put', Trans. Phil. Soc. 1880—81 pp. 99 ff.; Thielmann, Das verbum *dare* im Lat., Leipzig 1882; the Author, Liter. Centr. 1882 col. 1389 ff.

Whether the forms *stā-s sta-t* from ✓ *stā-* 'stand' are rightly placed here with the rest, as is suggested by Skr. *ā-sthā-t* and Gr. *ἑ-στη* (§ 493 p. 54), is very doubtful because of *stā-mus stā-tis*. One cannot see why an orig. **stā-mus* (cp. *dā-mus*) should have been altered (*ἑστημεν* as compared with *ἔδομεν* is quite a different thing, see § 495 p. 55); and so it

1) Bréal (Mém. Soc. Ling., VII 326) thinks he may regard as an un-augmented preterite *dat* in Vergil's *cratera antiquom quem dat Silonia Dido* (Aen. IX 286). Many points in Vergil's manner are in favour of Bréal's assumption (see Ladewig on Aen. I 79, II 275, Kühner Ausf. Gr. II 90).

is preferable to refer the whole present of this verb *stō* to **stā-īð*; see § 584 Rem., § 706. This is supported by Umbr. *stahu* 'sto'.

§ 506. Keltic. $\sqrt{es-}$ 'to be',¹⁾ 3rd sing. O.Ir. *is* O.Cymr. *iss* *is* for **es-ti*. 3rd pl. O.Ir. *it* O.Cymr. *int* for **s-enti* (II p. 196, footnote). The *a-* of the Irish proclitic sing. 1st pers. *am* 2nd *at* (3rd relat. *as*), plur. 1st *ammi* 2nd *adib* (3rd rel. *ata*), is from *-e*. The form *am* then had no *-i* at the end; and since it is usually written *am* with one *m*, it seems to have had *m* spirant, like Mid.Cymr. *wyf*. It must therefore not be derived from **esmi*. The 2nd sing. *at* Mid.Cymr. *wyt* may contain the pronoun of the 2nd person, and may thus be explained as **esi+t-*. Mid.Cymr. 1st sing. *wyf* seems to be due to the analogy of the 2nd sing. Is Ir. *am* the same? Others regard these forms as coming from the root *ei-* 'go'. The 1st pl. *ammi* Mid.Cymr. *ym* may be **esmesi*. In the 2nd pl. *adib*, *-b* is certainly an affixed personal pronoun, and *-di-* the ending of the 2nd pl. = *-thi -the* (ground-form **-tesi*, the suffix re-formed on the analogy of the 1st pl., see § 1014). This brings us back to an imaginary ground-form **s-e-tesi + s-*, which would be a re-formate following the 3rd pl. **senti*; and so perhaps the 1st pl. should be derived from **s-esmesi*, a later contamination.

Again, the Keltic *t*-preterite, as it is called, is partly of the same kind. In the 3rd sing. of this preterite, the ending *-t* is said to represent the middle ending **-to* (Strachan, Bez. Beitr. XIII 128 ff., and Zimmer, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxx 204 ff.): e. g. O.Ir. *as-bert* 'dixit' Mid.Cymr. *kymberth* 'sumpsit' for **kymberth* from $\sqrt{bher-}$. When *-t* ceased to be understood as a personal ending, the other persons which completed the tense were formed on the model of stems ending in *-t*: O.Ir. sing.

1) Compare Zimmer, Kelt. Stud. II 133; Stokes, The Neo-Celtic Verb Subst., 43 ff., Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxviii 93 ff.; d'Arbois de Jubainville, Mém. Soc. Ling., v 239 f.; Strachan, Bez. Beitr. xv 114 ff. In the text I follow chiefly information received from Thurneysen.

1st pers. *-burt* 2nd *-birt*, plur. 1st *-bartmar* 2nd **-bartid* 3rd *-bartatur*. Compare Lith. *eitù* 'I go' formed from *ẽĩ-t* 'he goes' = Skr. *ẽ-ti* § 686 Rem. 2, Gr. *ẽđóθην* from *ĩ-đó'-θης* = Skr. *á-di-thās* § 589. In forms like *as-bert* Strachan sees root-aorists of this class, Zimmer *s*-aorists (**ber-s-to*). As a matter of fact, both these aorists may have been the source for some preterites such as these. To our Class I belong O.Ir. *ro-ẽt* 'he took' for **-em-to*, Mid.Cymr. *gwan-t* 'percussit, feriit'.

§ 507. Germanic. *√ uel-* 'wish': opt. Goth. *viljau* pl. *vilei-ma* O.H.G. 2nd and 3rd sing. *wili* O.Icel. 1st sing. *vilja*. The strong stem (cp. Skr. *vr-iyā-t* *vr-ĩ-ta*), like that of Lat. *velim*, is due to a confusion with the indic. **uel-(i)ñō- *uel-ĩ-* (O.H.G. *willu* O.C.Sl. *velja*). See § 493 p. 51, § 505 p. 69, § 928.

*√ *gem-* 'go, come': opt. A.S. *cyme* = Goth. **kumjan*: Skr. *gam-yā-m*, see § 493 p. 51.

√ es- 'to be', see § 493 p. 52. The indicative forms are Goth. *im, is, ist, sijun sium, sijuþ siuþ, sind*; O.H.G. *bim, (bist bis), ist, birum, birut, sint*; O.Icel. *em, est, es* (Run. *is*), *erom erum, erod̄ eruð, ero eru*. First it must be mentioned that the O.H.G. 2nd sing. *bist bis* belongs to a present to be described below in §§ 707 and 722, formed from *√ bhey-*, namely 1st sing. **bhū-ñō* 2nd sing. **bhū-ĩ-si* etc. (A.S. 1st sing. *béo* 2nd sing. *bis* 3rd sing. *bið*, O.Ir. *biu* etc.), and that the similarity of *bis* and **is* (= Goth. *is*) produced *b-im b-irum b-irut*. 1st sing. Goth. *im* O.H.G. (*b-*)*im* for **immi *ismi* = Skr. *ás-mi* (I § 582 Rem. 2 p. 436); O.Icel. *em* instead of regular **im* following the plural forms which begin with *e*, whence also the *e* in *est* and *es*. Whether the 2nd sing. Goth. *is* comes from Idg. **esi* or **es-si* (see § 984.1), cannot be decided; O.Icel. *est* like O.H.G. *bist* has *-t* on the analogy of the preterite (§ 990.3); on the very rare O.Icel. 2nd sing. *es*, see Noreen in Paul's Grundr. I 515. The 3rd sing. Goth. O.H.G. *ist* is for Idg. **es-ti*; O.Icel. *es* (Run. *is*) A.S. O.Sax. *is* are doubtless the old injunctive Idg. **es-t*; the 3rd pl. O.Icel. *er-o* is also injunctive (other explanations are suggested by J. Schmidt, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxv 593; von Fierlinger, *ibid*.

xxvii 440 footnote 2; Noreen, *loc. cit.*; Osthoff, *Perf.* 428 f.). In the plural, the weak stem is seen in Goth. *s-ind* O.H.G. *s-int* = Idg. **s-enti*. O.Icel. *ero eru* is pr. Germ. **iz-unþ* (§ 1025.1 b), an injunctive in which the strong stem has taken the place of the weak (cp. Gr. *ἔασι*, § 502 p. 66). As the ending of **izunþ* agreed with the so-called preterite-presents, such as Goth. *mun-un* (§ 508), on their analogy the 1st pl. O.Icel. *erom* O.H.G. *(b-)irum* and the 2nd pl. O.Icel. *erod* O.H.G. *(b-)irut* appeared. These forms then produced O.H.G. Frank. *sind-un* O.Sax. A.S. *sind-un*. Goth. *sijum sijup* are probably transformed from **iz-um *iz-uþ*, caused partly by *sind*, partly by the feeling that the opt. *sijau sijáis* etc. should contain a stem *sij-*. — The optative has always a weak root: 1st sing. Goth. *s-ijau* O.H.G. *s-i* O.Icel. *s-jā*; on the inflexion, see § 947. — Partic. **s-und-* = Idg. **s-ūt-* in Goth. *sunjis* 'true' for **sund-ju-* = Skr. *sat-yá-* 'true'; also thematic **s-o-nt-* in **sanþ-a-* 'true, truthful' A.S. *sōð* O.Icel. *sannr* (cp. § 493 p. 53).

O.H.G. *tuom* 'I do' (O.Sax. A.S. *dō-m*) must be derived from *√ dhē-*, along with the pret. *te-ta* and the subst. *tā-t* (Goth. *ga-dē-di-*) and others, but its vowel makes it impossible to derive the word from **dhē-mi*. Perhaps it contains **dh-a-* (Class X, § 585), found in other parts of the verb as a conjunctive stem (Lat. *con-da-m -dā-mus*); cp. Lat. 2nd sing. *d-ā-s* 'thou givest' = conj. *(red-)dās* (§ 505 p. 71, § 937).

Remark. On O.H.G. *stām stēm* 'I stand' and *gām gēm* 'I go', see § 708. They certainly do not belong to this class of presents.

§ 508. Some Preterite-Presents may also be placed in this class. Goth. *mun-un* 'they think', opt. 1st pl. *mun-ei-ma*: Skr. mid. 3rd sing. *á-ma-ta* partic. *man-andá-s*, *√ men-* 'think, mean'. Goth. *ga-daúrs-un* O.H.G. *gi-turrun* 'they dare', opt. Goth. *ga-daúrs-ei-ma* O.H.G. *gi-turr-ī-m*: Skr. partic. *dhṛṣ-āṇá-s*, *√ dhers-* 'dare'. Goth. *vīt-un* O.H.G. *wizz-un* 'they know', opt. Goth. *vīt-ei-ma* O.H.G. *wizz-ī-mēs*: Skr. *vēt-ti* opt. *vid-yā-t* etc., see § 493 p. 52; the weak forms of this verb were present and perfect at the same time.

If this view be right, Goth. *mun-un ga-daúrs-un vit-un* were originally injunctive, like Icel. *er-o er-u* (§ 507 p. 73). We shall meet again with present forms among the preterite-presents (§§ 646, 887, 893).

§ 509. Connected with Skr. *ír-tē* imper. Avest. *ar°-šva* Gr. *ῥο-σο*, which point to an Idg. mid. pres. **ǵ-taǵ* (mentioned above, § 497, page 57) are A.S. 2nd sing. *ear-ð ar-ð ear-t* 'thou art' pl. *ear-un ar-on* with *ar-* = Idg. **ǵ-*. For the meaning cp. Gr. *ῥο-ωο-α*, which in late Greek had also the meaning 'I am'. On the 2nd sing., see § 990. 3.

Remark. Germ. *ar-* was probably not a perfect stem, which would have been *ör-*. This is said to correct the note in Idg. Forsch. I 81.

Von Fierlinger (Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxvii 436 ff.) deduces some other presents with weak stem and secondary accent, from thematic forms with peculiar vocalism. Thus, for Goth. *fara* 'I fare, go', *✓per-* (in Gr. *περάω* 'I pass through' etc.), he assumes an older present stem **pǵ-*, 1st pl. **pǵ-més* (cp. Skr. 2nd sing. *pár-ṣi*).

§ 510. Balto-Slavonic. To Idg. **ueǵd-mi* 'I see' belong Lith. *veizd-mi*, and imperative Lith. *veizdi veizd* O.C.Sl. *viždī*, — the imperative forms have non-original strong stem, and the O.C.Sl. form has *ž* instead of *z*, see § 493 p. 52, §§ 949, 962. An undoubted re-formate is Lith. *pa-výzdmi* instead of *pa-výdžiu* 'invideo', also used (cp. § 511).

Idg. **es-mi* 'I am', see § 493 p. 52. The Lithuanian forms here to be cited are scattered over various dialects. 1st sing. Lith. *es-mi* O.C.Sl. *jes-mǐ*; on the analogy of thematic verbs with *-u* Lith. *esmū* (like Lett. *esmu* Pruss. *asmu*), and then a 2nd person *esmi* was made on the analogy of *sukl : sukū*. 2nd sing. Lith. *esi* (Pruss. *assai assei asse essei*) O.C.Sl. *jesi*, see § 991. 3rd sing. Lith. *ēs-ti ēs-t* (Pruss. *ast est*) O.C.Sl. *jes-tū*. The 1st and 2nd pl. may have taken *es-* instead of *s-* in pr. Balto-Slav.: Lith. *ēs-me ēs-te* (Pruss. *asmai, astai asti estei*) O.C.Sl. *jes-mū jes-te*. Partic. Pruss. *-sins* dat. *-sentismu*: cp. Lat. *-sēns* and Gr. Dor. *ἴνν-εῖς* (p. 50 footnote). —

*s-o- in O.C.Sl. 3rd pl. *sqtū* partic. Lith. *sąs sanczio* O.C.Sl. *sy sqsta*. *es-o- in Lith. 1st sing. *esù* 1st pl. *esame* 2nd pl. *esate* partic. *ėsąs*. It is not clear whether Lith. opt. (permissive) 3rd sing. *tesė* 'sit' is to be analysed *te-sė* (cp. Pruss. 2nd pl. opt. *sei-ti*) or as *t-esė*. With augment pr. Balto-Slav. *es-o-m etc.: in O.C.Sl. this occurs in the imperfects *nesě-achū -aše -aše* pl. *-achomū -ašete -achq*, unthematic 2nd pl. *-as-te* also found (so too the dual has both *-asta -aste* and *-ašeta -ašete*), see § 903; in Lith. the preterite *ē*- passed into the present, *esù est ėsa esame esate* partic. *ėsąs*, see § 480 p. 28. — On Lith. 3rd sing. *grà*, which comes from the root of Skr. *īr-tē* Avest. *ar'-šva* Gr. *ῥο-ωρ-α* A.S. *ear-ā*, see J. Schmidt in Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxv 595 f.

The present of *✓ed-* 'eat' was in pr. Balto-Slav. *ēd-mi; for its *ē* see § 480 Rem. pp. 28 f., § 494 p. 54. Lith. sing. 1st pers. *ėmi* 'I devour' 3rd sing. *ėsti est* pl. 1st *ėme* 2nd *ėste* dual 1st *ėdva* 2nd *ėsta* (on *ėdmi ėdme* see I § 547 p. 401); O.C.Sl. sing. 1st pers. *jamŕ* 2nd *jasi* 3rd *jastū* pl. 1st *jamŭ* 2nd *jaste* 3rd *jad-ętū* (on 1st dual *javě* instead of **jadvě*, see I § 547 Rem. 3, p. 401). — Also thematic Lith. *ėdu ėdi* etc., Pruss. opt. 2nd pl. *idaiti* O.C.Sl. partic. *jady jadašta*.

Other presents of this class are found in one only of the two branches, Baltic or Slavonic, not in both:

§ 511. In Lithuanian there is a fine array of present forms of this class, but nearly all are defective and have only one or two persons left, chiefly the first and third. Some of them have come into this class quite late. Compare § 496 p. 56. Lists of *mi*-forms may be found in Schleicher pp. 250 ff., Kurschat pp. 304 ff., Bezzenberger Beitr. lit. Spr. 198 ff. (a few more come from the dialects).

We begin with those which may be regarded as representing Idg. originals.

pa-velmi 'I will' 2nd sing. *pa-velt*, refl. 1st sing. *velmė-s*: Skr. *á-vṛ-ta* etc., see § 493 p. 51.

ei-mi 'I go': Skr. *é-mi* etc., see § 493 p. 51. 2nd sing. *ei-si* 3rd sing. *ei-ti ei-t*. The strong stem passes into the

plural: 1st *ei-me* 2nd *ei-te*; but 2nd pl. High Lithuanian *eĩste* on the analogy of *ėste*: *ėme*, *dūste*: *dūme*. Old injunctives are *ei* 'let him go' (*te ne ei* 'let him not go') *ei-mè* 'let us go' (dual *ei-và*). Imper. *ei-k* = Lat. *i* (§ 957). Indic. now usually *ei-nù*, as Class XIII (§ 615). Pruss. 2nd sing. *ēi-sei* 3rd sing. *ēi-t* 1st pl. *ēi-mai*. Partic. Lith. *ent-* 'going' (in old printed books) doubtless stands for **i-ent-*, first in compounds with prefix ending in a consonant, such as *isz-ent-* (I § 147 p. 132), cp. p. 50 footnote; but it is possible that it comes from **iē-nt-*. Class X; see § 593. — **i-o-* appears to be contained in Pruss. opt. 2nd sing. *jeis* 2nd pl. *jeiti*.

lėk-mì 'I remain' 3rd sing. *lėk-ti* *lėk-t*: Skr. 2nd dual *rik-tam* 2nd sing. mid. *rik-thās*, *√ leiq-* 'linquere'.

ráudmi 'I lament' (regularly **raumi*, I § 547 p. 401): Avest. 3rd sing. mid. *raostā* with irregular strong stem (cp. § 499 p. 62), *√ reyǵd-* 'rudere'; cp. Skr. *rōdi-ti* pl. *rudi-mas* § 574.

deg-mì 'I burn': Skr. 2nd sing. *dhákṣi*, see § 493 p. 53.

sėdmi 'I sit' 3rd sing. *sėst* 1st pl. refl. *sėdmė-s*: Skr. 2nd sing. *sát-si*, *√ sed* 'sedere', see § 494 pp. 54 f.

jūs-mi 'I gird' (beside *jūs-siu*): Avest. 3rd sing. *yās-ti*, stem *jōs-*. Compare § 656.

The imperatives *dė-k* 'lay' (inf. *dė-ti*, *√ dhē-*) and *dū-k* 'give' (inf. *dū-ti*, *√ dō-*), of which the latter must be compared with Lat. *ce-do*, show the same formation as *ei-k* (= Lat. *i*). O.Lith. *dū-di* *dū-d* 'give' doubtless = **dō-dhi*. See I § 547 Rem. 1 p. 401, IV §§ 546, 957, 962.

Some other presents of the same sort, to which there is nothing which answers outside the Baltic group, may here be named: *bar-mi* 'I scold' 3rd sing. *ap-bart*, *√ bher-* (Lat. *feriō*), *bar-* for **bhǵ-*; *snėk-ti* 'it snows', *√ sneigh-*; *mėg-mì* 'I sleep' 3rd sing. *mėkt* 2nd pl. *mėkte*; *rāug-mi* 'I belch', *√ reyǵ-* (Gr. *ῥεύουαι*);¹⁾ *sėrg-mi* 'I protect, watch' 3rd sing. *sėrkti*; *kósmi* 'I cough' (Skr. *kās-a-tē*).

1) On account of a form *riáuymi*, Wiedemann (Lit. Praet. 186) derived this word from a groundform **rėyǵ-mi* (cp. § 494 pp. 54 f.); which is very dubious.

All these verbs have in Lithuanian, beside this present formation, another with the same meaning, which in High Lithuanian is almost the only one. It is certainly no mere chance that in so many presents of the *mi*-class, the *bye*-form is a verb in *-iu* with accentuated root (1st pl. *-i-me* Class XXVI § 727), as *sėdžiu*, *sėrgiu*, *kósiu*, *žydžiu* (*žýdmi* 'I bloom'), *cziaudžiu* (*cziaudmi* 'I sneeze'), *stóvtu* (*stóvmi* 'I stand'), *mėrdžiu* (*mėrdmi* 'I lie a-dying') etc. With these verbs in *-iu*, the 2nd and 3rd sing. ran together and became indistinguishable in form (2nd sing. *-i* for **-ii*, 3rd sing. *-i* for **-i-t*), and it is probable that it was a wish to keep these persons distinct which first produced the non-thematic forms in most of these verbs. Perhaps on the analogy of *sėst(i)* (*sėdmi*) beside *sėdžiu* was formed *sėrkt(i)* etc.

Observe also *tenk-mi* instead of *tenkù* 'I last' (pret. *tekaù* inf. *tėktì*), and the 2nd pl. *gėlbste* (*gėlpste*), from *gėlbmi* 'I help' 3rd sing. *gėlbt(i)* *gėlpt(i)*, — for its *s*, compare that of *ėĩ-s-te* § 511 p. 77.

§ 512. Slavonic. The form only without parallel in Lithuanian is *se-tŭ* 'inquit', explained in § 493 p. 52.

Class II: Root + Thematic Vowel forming the Present Stem.

§ 513. This class of present stems, invariably the largest in all Indo-Germanic languages, falls into two divisions, according as the accent falls (A) upon the root syllable or (B) upon the thematic vowel. When the root carried the accent, it was of the strong grade (1st strong grade in the *e*-series), but weak grade if the accent fell upon the thematic vowel; e. g. (A) **bhēydh-o-* = Skr. *bōdh-a-* Gr. *πεύθ-ο-* (*bōdh-a-ti* *πεύθ-ο-μαι* *πεύθ-ε-σθαι*); (B) **bhudh-ó-* = Skr. *budh-á-* Gr. *πυθ-ό-* (*budh-á-nta* *ἐ-πύθ-ε-το* *πυθ-έ-σθαι*), from *√bheydh-* 'wake, notice, learn'. The indicative often gives both forms from the same root, particularly often in Aryan and Greek. This we see in the above example; others are Skr. *tár-a-ti* : *tir-á-ti* 'oversteps, passes',

kárš-a-ti : *kṛṣ-á-ti* 'draws, ploughs', *sárp-a-ti* 'crawls' : *á-syp-a-t* ; (ir. Att. *τρέπ-ω* : Dor. *τράπ-ω* (instead of **τραπ-ω*) 'I turn', *λείπ-ω* 'I leave' inf. *λείπ-ειν* : *ἔ-λιπ-ο-ν* inf. *λιπ-εῖν*, *ἔχ-ω* 'I have' inf. *ἔχ-ειν* : *ἔ-σχ-ο-ν* inf. *σχ-εῖν* ; Lat. *ic-ō* : *ic-ō*, *rūd-ō* (O.H.G. *riugu*) : *rud-ō* ✓ *reud-*.¹⁾ Goth. *veiha* 'I fight' pr. Germ. **uēix-ō* : O.Icel. *veg* 'I compel' pr. Germ. **uiž-ō*, Goth. *trud-a* 'I tread' : O.H.G. *trit-u* ; O.C.Sl. *der-a* 'I tear' : Czech *dr-u* Serv. *-dr-em*, O.C.Sl. *žid-a* 'I wait' (Lith. *geidžiū*) : *žid-a*, Lith. *mélž-u* 'I milk' : O.C.Sl. *mlŭz-q*. The two kinds are often found in different languages with the same root; as from ✓ *dhreugh-* 'hurt, deceive' Aryan has only **drughó-*, Skr. 2nd sing. *druh-a-s* etc., and Germanic only **dhreughō-*, O.H.G. *triugu*.

To decide the historical relation of these two kinds, two facts have to be taken into account. First, that in Aryan and Greek, Type *B* constantly expressed aorist action, and *A* present action.²⁾ Secondly, that type *A* is conjunctive to indicative forms of Class I, and *B* often occurs as a variant indicative stem along with stems of Class I, no distinction being drawn between these two present stems in meaning; see §§ 493 ff. How these facts are to be explained is still obscure. Only thus much may be called probable, that Type *A* had originally both indicative and subjunctive meaning (cp. § 489 pp. 47 f., §§ 578, 910).

Remark. Because of the frequency with which these two types (II *A* and *B*) are found in the same verb, many scholars, among them Fick and Paul, have supposed that from different persons of the same stem, we have the two stems *bhéydh-o* *bhéydh-e-* and *bhudh-ō* *bhudh-é-* by levelling; originally, they assume, the varying accent produced **bhéydh-o-* and **bhudh-é-* (e. g. 1st pl. **bhéydh-o-mos* but 2nd pl. **bhudh-é-te*); then, by levelling, we have 2nd pl. **bhéydh-e-te* beside **bhudh-é-te* following **bhéydh-o-mos*, and *vice versa* we have **bhudh-ō-mos* beside

1) I here assume that *icō* comes from **eicō* and *rūdō* from **roydō* **reudō*. But this is not certain; for *i* und *ū* may represent Idg. *i* und *ū*.

2) Type *B* is found distinguishing the aorist sense from other present stems, and not only those of the *A* type; as Skr. *āchida-t* Lat. *scidi-t* (§ 528), but pres. Skr. *chināt-ti* opt. *chindē-ta* Lat. *scindō*.

**bhédh-o-mos* following **bhudh-é-te*, and so on.¹⁾ This must have happened, if it did happen, in the proethnic language, because even then the type **bhudhó-* had become associated with aoristic action, and **bhédho-* with the meaning of the conjunctive.

To explain the relation of II *A* and *B*, others call attention to the change of accent in the Balto-Slavonic present indicative, as Lith. *vedù vedì vėda*. But the original accent of the Balto-Slavonic verb, which is the important point, has not yet been made out for certain; the only certain point is that the 1st sing. accented its final, Lith. *vedù sukù* = Russ. *vedú skú*. And even if the accentuation varied then in the different persons, how can it be proved that this mode was older than the Sanskrit?

The same double forms are seen in Class XIII (as Gr. *δηλομαι: βύλωμαι*, § 607), and Class XXVI (as O.H.G. *wirk(i)u*: Goth. *vairkja*, § 705). What may be the cause of the difference is no less dark in these than in the other.

§ 514. Class II *A*: the Root Syllable accented and in the strong Grade. Some forms are used as both indicative and conjunctive, as. indic. Skr. *áy-a-tē* Lat. *eō eunt*, conj. Skr. *áy-a-ti áy-a-t* (beside indic. *é-ti*); see § 493 ff. Here we confine ourselves to *o*-forms with indicative meaning.

Pr. Idg. *bhér-ō* 'I bear' 3rd sing. **bhér-e-t(i)*: Skr. *bhár-ami bhár-a-ti*, Armen. *ber-em* (§ 978) *berē* for **ber-e-ti* (I § 483 p. 357), Gr. *φέρω*, Lat. *fer-ō*, O.Ir. *-biur* for **ber-ō ber-i-d*, Goth. *baír-a baír-i-þ*, O.C.Sl. *ber-e-tŭ*; pret. 3rd sing. **é-bher-e-t*: Skr. *á-bhar-a-t*, Armen. *e-ber*, Gr. *ἔφερον*; imper. 2nd sing. **bhér-e*: Skr. *bhár-a*, Armen. *ber*, Gr. *φέρε*, O.Ir. *beir*, Goth. *baír*; opt. 2nd sing. **bher-o-i-s*; Skr. *bhár-ē-ṣ*, Gr. *φέρω-ις*, Goth. *baír-á-i-s*, O.C.Sl. *ber-i*. **gén-ō* 'I beget': Skr. *ján-ami*, Gr. 'pret. *ἔγενετο* (§ 518), O.Lat. *gen-ō*. **uḗ-ō*: Avest. *vay-ēmi* 'I drive, scare off', Lith. *vej-ù* 'I pursue'. **pléu-ō* 'I swim, flow, sail': Skr. 3rd sing. mid. *pláv-a-tē*, Gr. *πλέω*, Lat. 3rd sing. **plov-i-t* (imperf. *plovēbat* Petron., inf. *per-plovere*

1) Such levelling as this would not be extraordinary. For instance, the present of Lat. *vindicō* becomes in O.Fr., regularly, *venge venches venchet vengons rengiez venchent*; from this we have two series derived, (1) *venge vengies venget vengons vengiez vengent*, and (2) *venches venche venchet venchons venchiez venchent* (Neumann, Zeitschr. Rom. Phil., xiv, 562).

Fest.), O.C.Sl. 3rd sing. *plov-e-tŭ*. **yért-ō* 'verto': Skr. *várt-ami*, Lat. *vert-ō*, Goth. *vairþ-a*. **lénogh-ō*: Skr. 3rd sing. mid. *rāh-a-tē* 'hastens, accelerates', O.Ir. *lingid* 'springs up' (R. Schmidt, Idg. Forsch. I 48 ff., 76), O.H.G. *gi-lingu* 'I have good progress or result'. **nés-e-taj*: Skr. *nás-a-tē* 'approaches lovingly, joins company with some one', Gr. *vé(σ)-ε-ται* 'returns home', Goth. *ga-nis-a* 'I am saved, survive, recover'. **géys-ō* 'I taste, try, enjoy': Skr. *jōṣ-āmi* Gr. *γέυ-ω γέυ-ο-μαι* (cp. the Author Gr. Gr.² p. 31), Goth. *kius-a*. **yégh-ō* 'veho': Skr. *váh-ami*, Gr. Pamphyl. imper. *ἴεχ-ί-τω* (?), Lat. *veh-ō*, Goth. *ga-viga*, Lith. *vež-ù* O.C.Sl. 3rd sing. *vez-e-tŭ*. **ség-e-taj* 'is with, follows': Skr. *sác-a-tē*, Gr. *ἔπ-ε-ται*, Lat. *sequ-i-tur*, O.Ir. *sech-idir* (now a weak verb), Lith. *sek-ù*. **pég-ō* 'I cook': Skr. *pác-āmi*. Lat. *coqu-ō* for **quequ-ō* **pequ-ō* (I § 336 p. 267), O.C.Sl. 3rd sing. *peč-e-tŭ*. **dág-ō* 'I drive, lead': Skr. *dj-āmi*, Armen. *ac-em*, Gr. *ἄγ-ω*, Lat. *ag-ō*, O.Ir. *ag-im*, O.Icel. infin. *aka*.

On present forms with Idg. *ē* in place of *e*, as Gr. *μῆδ-ο-μαι* Lith. *bég-u* Skr. *sāh-āmi mārj-āmi*, see § 471 p. 16, § 480 Rem. pp. 28 f., § 494 pp. 54 f. To the same list perhaps belongs the West-Germ. 2nd sing. pret., as O.H.G. *māgi* AS. *māte* 'measurest' (Gr. mid. *ἐ-μῆδεο -ov*), O.H.G. *āzi* 'atest' (Lith. *ėd-u* 'to eat', but cp. the augmented Skr. *ād-a-s* Gr. *ἤδ-ε-ς*), see § 893.

§ 515. Aryan. Skr. *bhár-a-ti* 'fert' Avest. *baraiti*, pret. 3rd pl. Skr. *á-bha-ra-n* Avest. *bar-e-n* O.Pers. *a-bar-a*: Armen. *ber-em* etc., see § 514 p. 80. Skr. *nám-a-ti* 'bows' Avest. *nemaiti*, ✓ *nem-*. Skr. *náy-a-ti* 'leads' Avest. *nayēiti* O.Pers. pret. 1st sing. *a-nay-a-m*. Skr. *cyáv-a-tē* 'raises itself, stirs' Avest. *šavaitē* O.Pers. pret. 1st sing. *a-šiyav-a-m*: Gr. Aeol. *σεύω*, ✓ *qieu-*. Skr. *párd-a-tē* 'farts': Gr. *πέφδ-ε-ται*, O.H.G. *firz-u*, Lett. *perd-u*. Skr. *śás-a-ti* 'utters solemnly, praises' Avest. *savəghaiti* Gathic *səvəghaiti* 'speaks, teaches', ✓ *kens-*. Skr. pret. *á-bandh-a-t* 'he bound' Avest. *bandaiti*: Goth. *bind-a*, ✓ *bhendh-*. Skr. *bhéd-a-ti* 'splits': Goth. *beit-a* 'I bite', ✓ *bheid-*. Avest. *snaēš-aiti* 'it snows' (I § 454 p. 335): Gr. *νεῖψ-ει*, Lith. dial. *snėg-a* Lett. *sniġ*, ✓ *sneigh-*. Skr. *bódh-a-ti*

'wakes, awakes, is observant' Avest. mid. *baodaitē*: Gr. *πύθ-ε-ται* 'learns, discovers', Goth. *ana-biuda* 'I bid, command', O.C.Sl. *bljud-e-tŭ* 'observes', with secondary (*l*)j, $\sqrt{\text{bheudh-}}$. Skr. *pāt-a-ti* 'flies' Avest. *pat-e-nti* 'they fall, run' O.Pers. *ud-apatata* 'he raised himself': Gr. *πέτ-ε-ται* 'flies', Lat. *pet-ō*. Skr. *āj-a-ti* 'leads, drives' Avest. *azaiti*: Armen. *acem* etc., see § 514 p. 80. Skr. *ārḥ-a-ti* 'earns, deserves' Avest. *arējaiti*: Gr. pret. *ἤλαθ-ο-ν* 'I earned', $\sqrt{\text{algh-}}$.

§ 516. Sanskrit had so many presents of Class II *A* with *á* in the root syllable, that other stems which had originally *a* unaccented in the root, accented it on their analogy; e.g. **dāṅk-é-ti* 'bites' properly becomes **daśáti*, but what we find is *dásati*, cp. also *daś-a-ti* from **deṅk-e-ti*. See I § 672 p. 537. But this retraction of accent is found with other root vowels as well, not *a* only; as *gírāmi* beside *girámi* (§ 525); cp. *hínv-a-ti hí-nv-a-nti* in contrast with *hí-nō-ti hí-nv-ánti* § 651.

§ 517. Armenian. *berem* 'I bring, carry': Skr. *bhārāmi* etc., see § 514 p. 80. *celem* 'I split', beside Lith. *skelù* (*skel-jù*) 'I split'. *e-ker* 'he ate': Skr. 3rd sing. *gar-a-t* (should be **jar-a-t*, but follows *girá-ti* and others), $\sqrt{\text{ger-}}$. *e-tes* 'he saw' (*tes-* for **ters-*, I § 263 p. 214): Skr. *á-darś-a-t*, Gr. *δέρξ-ε-ται*, O.Ir. *con-dercar* 'conspicitur', $\sqrt{\text{derk-}}$. *liz-em* 'I lick': Gr. *λείχ-ω*.

Remark. Whether the *i* of *gitem* 'I know' was Idg. *e_i*, which would connect the verb with Skr. *vēd-a-tē* Gr. *εἰδ-ε-ται*, or Idg. *o_i*, which would make it a transformation of the perfect (Gr. *οἶδα*), is not to be decided, Bartholomae's efforts notwithstanding (Bezz. Beitr. xvii 94 f.). The meaning does not prove a perfect origin for it.

§ 518. Greek. *δέρ-ω* 'I flay'; Goth. *ga-taira* O.H.G. *zir-u* 'I tear to pieces, I destroy', O.C.Sl. *der-e-tŭ* 'tears to pieces'. *στεν-ω* 'I groan, bewail': Skr. *stan-a-ti* 'thunders, roars'. *ῥέ(F)-ει ῥεῖ* 'flows': Skr. *srāv-a-ti*. *ῥέ(F)-ω* 'I run': Skr. *dhav-a-tē* 'streams, flows' (on *dhāv-a-ti* see § 480 Rem. p. 29). *τέρ-ω* 'I satisfy, please': Skr. *tārp-a-ti*. *ἀμέλγ-ω* 'I milk': O.H.G. *milch-u*, Lith. *mélž-u*. *εἶδ-ο-μαι* 'I appear, am like': Skr. *vēd-a-tē*. *πείθ-ω* 'I persuade': Lat. *fīd-ō*, Goth. *beid-a*

'I await'. *εὔ-ω* 'I burn' Ion. *εὔ-ω* (cp. the Author, Gr. Gr.² p. 31): Skr. *ḍṣ-a-ti*, Lat. *ūr-ō*, √ *ems-*; *εὔ-ω* for **εὐhō* as *εἰπόμην* for **ἐλεπόμην*, see § 478 p. . *ἔρενθ-ω* 'I redden, make red': O.Icel *rǫð* (inf. *rǫðða*), √ *reydh-*. *στέγ-ω* 'I cover': Skr. *sthaḡ-a-ti* (grammarian's word), Lat. *teg-ō*. *ἔχ-ω* 'I hold, have': Skr. *sáh-a-tē* 'overcomes' (on *sáh-a-ti* see § 480 Rem. p. 29). *ζέ-ω* 'I seethe, boil': Skr. *a-yas-a-t*, O.H.G. *jis-u gis-u*, √ *jes-*. *αἶθ-ω* 'I burn', √ *aīdh-* (I § 93 p. 87, § 318 p. 237). *τήκ-ω* 'I melt' Dor. *τάκ-ω*, *λήγ-ω* 'I cease', √ *slēg-* (I § 565 p. 423).

Since the preterites *ἐγενόμην* 'I became' *ἔθρονον* 'I struck' *ἔλλον* 'I seized' were used as aorists, their infinitives and participles were accented like forms of Class II *B*: *γενέσθαι*, *ἰλῶν*, *θενῶν* instead of **γενίσθαι*, **ἔλων*, **θέκων*. As regards the aorists *ἔτεκον* 'I bore, begot' and Dor. Lesb. *ἔπετον* 'I fell' (*τεκεῖν*, *πετών*), these may possibly belong by rights to II *B*, and may have exchanged their *ə* for *e* (cp. Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. xvii 109). Compare § 527.

§ 519. Italic. Lat. *fer-ō*, cp. Umbr. conj. *ferar* 'let him bear' (*fertu* 'ferto' for **fere-tōd*?): Skr. *bhár-a-ti* etc., see § 514 pp. 80 f.). *col-ō* for **quel-ō* (I § 172.3 p. 152): Skr. *cár-a-ti* 'moves, goes', Gr. *πέλ-ε-ται* 'is in motion, versatur' (this should really be *τελ-*, but follows the analogy of *ἔ-πλ-ε-το* etc., see I § 427 *b* with Rem. 1, pp. 313 f.), √ *qel-*. Lat. *sonō* (inf. *sonere*) for **syen-ō* (cp. *colō*): Skr. *sván-a-ti* 'sounds, echoes'. *trem-ō*: (Gr. *τρέμ-ω* 'I tremble' (cp. § 488 p. 47). *ex-uō* for **omō* **emō* (cp. Umbr. *an-onihimu* 'induinimino' § 716). *serp-ō*: Skr. *sárp-a-ti* (Gr. *ἔρπ-ει* 'crawls'. *deic-ō* *dic-ō*, Umbr. *deitu* teitu 'dicio' (I § 502 p. 368), cp. Osc. *deicans* 'dicant': Goth. *ga-teiha* 'I announce, inform', √ *deiċ-*. Lat. *mējō* probably for **meihō* (I § 389 p. 291, § 510 p. 374): Skr. *méh-a-ti* Avest. *maezaii*, Armen. *miz-em*, A.S. *mīz-e*, √ *meiġh-*. *doucō* *dūcō* for **deyk-ō*: Goth. *tiuh-a* 'I draw' √ *deyk-*. *ed-ō*: (Gr. *ἔδ-ω* Goth. *it-a* (on Lith. *ėd-u* see § 480 Rem. pp. 28 f.). *tex-ō*: Skr. *tákṣ-a-ti* 'makes'; Gr. *τέκτων* prevents our deriving the

present from **tek-se-ti*, and putting it in Class XX; see I § 554 p. 408, Kretschmer, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxi 433. Lat. *ag-ō*, Umbr. *aitu aitu* Osc. *actud* 'agito' (I § 502 p. 368): Skr. *áj-a-ti* etc., see § 514 p. 81. Lat. *scab-ō*: Goth. *skab-a* 'I scrape, shave' (I § 346 p. 271).

§ 520. Keltic. Irish Presents of the 1st and 3rd conjugations (*o-* and *io-*stems) are so often confused that the distinction between them cannot be made of any practical use. This makes it quite uncertain whether the following specimens belonged to Class II originally or not.

O.Ir. *-biur ber-im* 'I bear, bring': Skr. *bhár-a-ti* etc., see § 514 p. 80. *cel-im* 'I hide': O.H.G. *hîl-u* 'I hide' (it is doubtful whether to add Lat. *oc-culō*, as being for **celō*, or to place it in II B). *mel-im* 'molo', √ *mel-* (O.C.Sl. *mel-jā* inf. *mlě-ti*). *con-dercar* 'conspicitur': Skr. *á-darś-a-t* etc., see § 517 p. 82. *reth-im* 'I run': cp. Lith. *rit-ù* 'I roll' (II B). *ē-rig* (Mid.Ir.) imper. 'raise yourself, rise': Gr. *ὀρίγ-ω* 'I reach', Lat. *reg-ō*. *lengim* 'I spring' 3rd sing. *lingid*: Skr. *rāh-a-tē* etc., see § 514 p. 81. *scendim* (Mid.Ir.) 'I spring', Mod. Cymr. *cy-chwynnaf* 'I spring up', pr. Kelt. **skyend-*: it appears to be connected with Skr. *skánd-a-ti* 'springs' Lat. *scandō*, but the vowels are not clear (cp. Kretschmer in Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxi 379, R. Schmidt Idg. Forsch. I 75 f.). *tiag-im* 'I go': Gr. *οἰτίζ-ω* 'I go', Goth. *steig-a* 'I climb', √ *steigh-*. *fed-im* 'I lead': Lith. *ved-ù* 'I lead' O.C.Sl. *ved-e-tū*, √ *vedh-*. *tech-im* 'I flee': Skr. *tak-a-ti* 'runs, pushes, shoves' (in the grammarians), Lith. *tek-ù* 'I run, flow' O.C.Sl. *teč-e-tū* 'runs, flows'. *can-im* 'I sing': Lat. *can-ō*.

§ 521. Germanic. Goth. *ga-tatra* O.H.G. *zir-u* 'I tear, destroy': Gr. *δέφ-ω* etc., see § 518 p. 82. O.H.G. *brim-u* 'I growl, roar': Lat. *frem-ō* (cp. Osthoff, M. U., V 93 ff., Per Persson Stud. zur Lehre der Wurzelerweiterung, 288). Goth. *ga-patrsa* 'I dry up': Gr. *τέρσ-ε-ται* 'dries'. O.H.G. *wirr-u* 'I mix up, confuse' (instead of **wirs-u* by analogy of *gi-worran* and other such, where *-rr-* comes from *-rz-*, cp. I § 582 Rem. 1 p. 435): Lat. *verrō* for **vers-ō* (also *vorrō*). O.H.G.

smīl-z-u 'I melt': Gr. μέλδ-ε-ται 'melts, liquefies'. Goth. *bind-a* O.H.G. *bint-u* 'I bind': Skr. *ā-bandh-a-t*, √ *bhendh-*, see § 515 p. 81. Goth. *leihv-a* O.H.G. *līh-u* 'I lend': Gr. λείπ-ω Lith. *lėk-ù* 'I leave', √ *leiḡ-*. O.H.G. *sīhu* 'I strain, filter': Skr. *sēc-a-tē* 'pours', √ *seḡ-*. Goth. *vis-a* O.H.G. *wis-u* 'I remain, linger': Skr. *vās-a-ti* 'lingers, dwells'. Goth. *qīþ-a* O.H.G. *quid-u* 'I say, speak'. Goth. *skáid-a* O.H.G. *sceid-u* 'I sever', √ *skhaḡt-* *skhaḡd-* scindere.¹⁾ Goth. *áuþ-a* 'I increase (trans. or intr.)', √ *aug-*. Goth. *lēt-a* O.H.G. *lāz-u* 'I leave': cp. Gr. ληθεῖν · κοπιᾶν, κεκμηκέναι Hesych. (Sütterlin, Habilitations-Thesen p. 3) and Lat. *lassu-s*; the *d* of *lēd-* is perhaps a root-determinative (§ 699).

§ 522. Balto-Slavonic. Lith. *gen-ù* 'I drive', O.C.Sl. *žen-e-tū* 'drives': Skr. *han-a-ti* Avest. *janaiti* 'strikes, kills' (§ 498 p. 58), Gr. ἔ-θεν-ο-ν θεν-εῖν 'strike' (§ 518 p. 83). O.C.Sl. *pīje-tū pije-tū* 'drinks' (inf. *pi-ti*) probably for **peḡ-e-ti* (cp. *poji-ti* 'to give to drink'): Skr. *páy-a-tē* 'swills, strains', cp. § 535. O.C.Sl. *slov-e-tū* 'is called' for **slev-e-tū*: Gr. κλέ(φ)-ε-ται 'celebratur', √ *kley-*. Lith. *kert-ù* 'I hew': Skr. *kartati* 'cuts' (instead of **cart-a-ti*, following *kṛt-a-* *kṛnt-a* etc.), √ *qert-*. O.C.Sl. *brězetū* 'cares for, tends' for **berg-e-tū* (I § 281 p. 224, § 464 p. 340): Goth. *batrg-a* 'I keep, preserve' O.H.G. *birg-u* 'I save, hide', √ *bhergh-*. Lith. *bred-ù* 'I wade', O.C.Sl. *bred-e-tū* 'wades'. Lith. *velk-ù* 'I drag, pull', O.C.Sl. *vlěč-e-tū* 'drags, pulls' (like *brězetū* above): Gr. ἔλκ-ω 'I drag, pull', √ *ḡelq-* *ḡelq-*. Lith. *les-ù* 'I pick': Goth. *lis-a* 'I pick, gather'. Lett. *strīg-u* 'I sink in' (= Lith. **strėg-ù*), O.C.Sl. *striž-e-tū* 'shears, shaves': O.H.G. *strīhh-u* 'I strike, stroke', √ *streḡ-*. Lith. *lėk-ù* 'I leave': Gr. λείπ-ω etc., see § 521 p. 85. O.C.Sl. *žid-e-tū* 'waits': cp. Lith. *geidžiu* 'I desire after' (Class XXVI). O.C.Sl. *bljud-e-tū* 'observes': Skr. *bódh-a-ti* etc., see § 515 pp. 81 f. Lith. *deg-ù* 'I burn', O.C.Sl. *žež-e-tū* 'burns' for

1) Not *sqhaḡt-*, as assumed in I § 553 p. 406. See Hübschmann, Zeitschr. deutsch. morg. Ges., xxxviii 424 f., Burg, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxix 367.

**geg-e-tū* and this for **deg-e-tū* (cp. Russ. *iz-gaga* 'heart-burn':¹⁾ Skr. *dāh-a-ti* 'burns', √ *dhegh-*. Lith. *pesz-ū* 'I pluck': Gr. *πείσ-ω* 'I shear'. Lith. *kós-u* 'I cough': Skr. *kás-a-tē* 'coughs'.

§ 523. Class II B: the Accent falls upon the thematic Vowel, and the Root is Weak.

This class may have been produced by adding a thematic vowel to forms of Class I with the weak stem; see § 491, page 50.

Pr. Idg. **grr-ō* 'I swallow' 3rd sing. **grr-é-t(i)*, √ *ger-*: Skr. *gir-āmi gil-āmi*, O.C.Sl. *žir-e-tū*. **mll-ō-* from √ *mel-* 'grind' (O.Ir. *melim*, II A, § 520 p. 84): Armen. *mal-em* 'I shatter, crush', Lat. *mol-ō*, Mod. Cymr. *mal-af* 'I grind'. **gmm-ō-* **gm-ō-* from √ *gem-* 'go, come' (Goth. *gim-a*): Skr. opt. *gam-ē-t* Avest. *g'm-a-p ym-a-p* O.Pers. mid. *a-gm-a-tā*, O.H.G. *cum-u* (I § 227 p. 193); whether Lat. conj. *ad-venat* (properly *-*vem-ā-t*, but changed by analogy of *veniō -ventu-s*, see I §§ 207, 208 pp. 174 f.) and Osc. indic. *kúmbened* 'convēnit' (-*n-* instead of -*m-* as in Latin) should be placed here or in Class II A is uncertain; — and a parallel stem, Idg. **gém-ti* § 493 p. 51. **uyn-ō-* from √ *uen-* 'win, love': Skr. opt. 1st pl. *van-ē-ma* (conj. *van-ā-ti*), Goth. *un-vunands* 'not rejoicing'.²⁾ **ym-ō-* from √ *nem-* 'take': Lat. *emō*, Lith. *imù* O.C.Sl. *imq*; see I § 219 Rem. 2 p. 187, § 238 p. 199; Solmsen in Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxix 81; Brückner, Arch. slav. Phil., x 183 (not so Fick, Wtb. I⁴ 363, Wiedemann Lit. Praet. 118). **bhuu-ō-* **bhu-ō-* from √ *bhey-* 'become, be': Skr. 3rd sing. *á-bhuv-a-t bhúv-a-t* (for the accent, see § 525)

1) Vol. I § 379 Rem. p. 286, should be corrected. It can hardly be right to separate *žegq* from *degù*, as Miklosich does (Etym. Wörterb. 407).

2) A comparison of *un-vunands* with forms like *kunnum* = Idg. **gñ-nu-més* (§ 646) shews that *n* and *m* following *ṽ* and *ṽ* as transition-consonants or consonant glides were pronounced more weakly than when they had their ordinary value. Thus it would be better to write **uṽṽ-ō-*, and on the same principle **bhu*-o-* (= Skr. *bhúv-a-t*), **du*ō* (= Gr. *δύω*) rather than **bhuu-o-* **duu-ō*. The difference is seen in pr. Gr. **hek*etwǝ* = *ἥκται* an (*h*)*ikwos* = *ἵππος*.

Avest. 3rd sing. *bv-a-p* 3rd pl. *būn* i. e. *buv-e-n*, Lat. aor. (perf.) *fui-t* (compare conj. Osc. *fuid* = **fu-ē-t* and O.Lat. *fu-ā-s*) fut. *-bō- bunt* for **-fy-o-* (§ 899) Osc. indic. aor. *aa-mana-ffed* 'mandavit' = Avest. *bv-a-p* (§§ 874, 899), O.Ir. *no charub* for **cara-b(y)ō* (*cara-*? § 899), O.C.Sl. 3rd pl. injunct. *ba* for **by-o-nt* (§ 727); it is not certain that Gr. *φύω* belongs to this class, as it may be derived from **φv-λω* (we have in Aeolic *φύω* § 527 Rem., § 707). **qrt-ó-* from *√qert-* 'cut': Skr. *á-kṛt-a-t*, O.C.Sl. *črŭ-e-tŭ*. **dṛk-ó-* from *√derk-* 'see': Skr. 3rd pl. *á-dṛś-ā-n* opt. *dṛś-ē-t*, Gr. *ἔ-δραx-o-v* inf. *δραx-εῖν*. **mlġ-ó-* from *√melġ-* 'stroke, milk': Skr. *mṛj-á-ti* 'strokes off, cleans', Mid. Ir. *blegain* 'I milk', O.C.Sl. *mlŭz-e-tŭ* 'milks'. **dñk-ó-* from *√deñk-* 'bite': Skr. *dás-a-ti* (for the accent, see § 516 p. 82, § 525), Gr. *ἔ-δax-o-v* (I § 224 p. 192). **rud-ó-* from *√reyd-* 'lament': Skr. *rud-á-ti* Lat. *rud-ō* O.H.G. 2nd sing. pret. *rugg-i* for **rut-i-z* (§ 893). **uid-ó-* from *√ueid-*: Skr. *á-vid-a-t* 'he found' Avest. Gathic *vīd-a-p*, Armen. *e-git* 'he found', Gr. *ἴ-δov* Lesb. *ἔ-ῥω-o-v* 'I saw' inf. *ἴ-δ-εῖν*, inf. Goth. *vit-an* O.H.G. *wizz-an* 'know'. **s-ó-* from *√es-* 'be': Lat. *s-u-m s-u-mus s-u-nt*, partic. Gr. *ῶν* Lat. *sōns* O.Icel. *sannr* Lith. *sąs* O.C.Sl. *sy*, see § 493. **dh-ó-* from *√dhē-* 'τίθεται': Skr. *dh-a-t*, Lat. *con-dō*, see § 493 pp. 52 f. Goth. *magan* 'be able' partic. *magands*, O.C.Sl. *moga* 'I can', beside Gr. *μῆχος* 'help, remedy' (*η* = *ā*), cp. § 887.

§ 524. Aryan. Skr. *sphur-á-ti* 'pushes away, accelerates', *√sper-*; Avest. *sparaiti* may belong either to II A or II B (cp. I § 290 p. 232). Skr. *tir-á-ti tur-á-ti* 'presses or passes through', *√ter-*. 3rd pl. *r-a-ntē*, *√er-* 'set in motion'. Imperative: *jñ-a*, *√ġen-* 'know'. Optative: *san-ē-t*, *√sen-* 'win', cp. I § 231. *kṣiy-á-ti kṣy-á-ti* 'lingers, dwells'. *a-khy-a-t* 'he looked' (in composition), variant stem *khy-ā-* § 736. Optative: 1st pl. *huv-ē-ma* pret. *á-hv-a-t* from *hā-* 'call to', *√ġheṃ-*. *dhuv-a-ti* 'shakes': is Gr. *θύω* 'I offer' the same as this, or does it come from **θv-λω*? see § 527 Rem. *suv-á-ti sv-á-ti* 'begets creates'. *syj-á-ti* 'sends forth', Avest. *her*z-aiti*. Skr. *bhṛj-á-ti* 'roasts' (perf. *babhrája* and *babhárja*): Gr. *φρίγ-ω* Lat. *frīg-ō*,

Idg. **bhr̥zg-é-ti* or *bhr̥gg-é-ti* (cp. Thurneysen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxx 353). *á-vrt-a-t*, √ *uert-*: does Lat. *vortō* (beside *vertō*) come from pre-Italic **uirt-ō*? 3rd pl. *spūrdh-d-n* beside *spārdh-a-tē* 'strives', *spūrdh-* = **sp̥rdh-*, cp. partic. *sp̥rdh-ānā-s*. 3rd sing. (aor.) *bhraś-a-t* 'fell' beside pres. *bhrāś-a-tē*. *viś-ā-tē* 'enters', Avest. *vis-aitē*. Skr. *á-sic-a-t* 'he poured out': O.H.G. *sīg-u* 'I fall down, trickle' pr. Germ. **sīkō*, √ *seiq-*. Partic. *diś-ā-māna-s*, √ *deik-*: cp. O.Icel. *tega* 'to show' (beside *tja* = Goth. *teihan*, II A). *bhuj-ā-ti* 'bends, pushes away', Avest. *būj-a-p* 'pushed away': Gr. *ἔφυγον* 'I fled' inf. *φυγ-εῖν*, A.S. *būz-e* 'I bow', √ *bheug-* *bheug-*. Skr. 2nd sing. *druh-a-s*, Avest. *dru-žaiti*, √ *dhreygh-* 'deceive, lie'. Skr. *gūh-a-ti* 'hides' (for accent see § 525) 2nd sing. *guh-a-s*, Avest. mid. *ā-guz-ē*. From √ *dō-* 'give' Skr. *āda-t* (*a* + *a-d-a-t*), Avest. 2nd sing. opt. *dōi-š*: Lat. *red-dō*, see § 493 pp. 53 f. From √ *stā-* 'stand' Skr. *āstha-t* Avest. *a-xšt-a-p*, see § 493 p. 54. Skr. *-h-a-ti* in *ujha-ti* 'lets go' for **ud* + *jhati*, beside *jā-hā-ti* 'leaves'.

§ 525. Many forms of this class have in Sanskrit the accent of II A; as *dāś-a-ti* √ *deñk-*, *gīr-āmi* beside *gīr-āmi* (§ 523 p. 86), *bhūv-a-t* (p. 86), *kṛp-a-tē* 'laments'. Compare § 516, page 82.

Remark. After what has been said in I § 313 p. 251 and other places, it must seem doubtful whether such a word as Skr. *pāc-a-ti* 'coquit' represents original **pēq-e-ti* (II A), or orig. **peq-é-ti* (II B) with weak grade stem and secondary accent, the word accent having been afterwards retracted. I hold that Bartholomae is right in allowing only *ə* as the weak grade with secondary accent for roots of the form *peq-* (Bezz. Beitr., xvii 109 ff.), which brings presents like *pāc-a-ti* under II A. Bartholomae, page 117, conjectures that an Ar. **sid-d* = **səd-ō-* from √ *sed-* 'sit' is contained in Avest. *hiđ-a-iti*.

§ 526. Armenian. *mal-em* 'I crush, shatter' √ *mel-*: Lat. *mol-ō* etc., see § 523 p. 86. *barj-i* 'I raised' (pres. *barnam* for **barj-na-m*): Skr. *bṛh-a-ti* 'strengthens, lifts up', √ *bhergh-*. *e-git* 'he found' (pres. *gt-anem*): Skr. *á-vid-a-t* etc., see § 523 p. 87. *e-liḱ* 'he left' (pres. *lḱ-anem*): Gr. *ἔλιπον* inf. *λιπ-εῖν*, √ *leiḱ-*. *e-tuk* 'he spewed' (pres. *tḱ-anem*).

§ 527. Greek. Here the original distinction of accent between II *A* and II *B* is seen in the infinitive, but hardly anywhere else; e. g. *λείπ-ειν* : *λιπ-εῖν* (cp. I § 676 Rem. 1 p. 541). But in Greek this distinction was seized upon and connected with the distinction between present and aorist; so much so, that when verbs of II *A* were used as aorists, or verbs of II *B* for the present, their accent was changed; thus we have *γεν-ί-σθαι*, not **γέν-ε-σθαι* (see § 518 p. 83), and *γράφ-ε-σθαι* *γλύφ-ε-σθαι* instead of **γραφ-έ-σθαι* and **γλυφ-έ-σθαι* (cp. § 775 Rem.). In the finite verb, the original accent of II *B* remained in a few imperatives like *ἰθ-έ*, see § 958. It is difficult to judge whether the old accent remains in words whose root has ceased to form a separate syllable, as 3rd sing. *σχ-έ-το* conj. *σχ-ῶ* from *√ seǵh-*, because the accent must rest on this syllable in any case (cp. I § 676 Rem. 1 p. 543).

Remark 1. The same cause which changed **γραφῶν γραφεῖν* to *γραφῶν* and *γράφειν*, acted upon all other classes of thematic stems where the thematic vowel originally carried the accent, causing a change of accent whenever these stems were used as imperfect-presents. Thus we have *δάκνων* instead of **δακ-νών* cp. Skr. *gṛ-ñd-ta* (§ 611), *τινῶν* instead of **τιν-ων* cp. Skr. *ṛ-ñd-ti* (§ 652), *ἰσκων* instead of **ισκῶν* **φικ-σκῶν* cp. Skr. *ṛ-chā-ti* (§ 673), *βαίνων* instead of **βαινῶν* **βαν-κῶν* cp. Skr. *-gam-yā-tē* (§ 713), *ἄττων* instead of **ἄττων* **φαι-φικ-κῶν* cp. Skr. *vē-vij-yā-tē* (§ 730), *λαίνων* instead of **λ(σ)-αν-κῶν* cp. Skr. *iṣ-an-yā-ti* (§ 743). This applies to all denominative verbs (Class XXXI), as *ὄρεων ὀρεῖν φιλεῖν* *φιλῶν*¹⁾ *κοιῶν* *φίττων* *ὀνομασίων* *ἀγγέλλων* instead of **ὄρεων* **φιλεῶν* etc., compare Skr. *pṛtanā-yā-ti* *vasna-yāti* *arāti-yā-ti* *gātu-yā-ti* *vṛṣan-yā-ti* *adhvar-yā-ti*. For these denominatives another fact has to be taken into account. In proethnic Greek, verbs in *-τω* like *φιλέω* had become indistinguishable from verbs of Class XXXII, in *-εῖω*, as *φορέω* = Skr. *bhārāyāmi* (§ 801); and even before the accent was seized upon to help in distinguishing aorist from present, **φιλεῶν* may have become *φιλεῖων* by analogy of *φορέων*, and then the verbal nouns of other denominative classes may have been drawn into the same circle of attraction.

ἔ-πταρ-ο-ν 'I sneezed' *πταρ-εῖν* from *√ pster-*. *ἔ-βαλ-ο-ν* 'I threw' *βαλ-εῖν* from *√ gel-*. *ἔ-πλ-ε ἔ-πλ-ε-το* 'versabatur' from

1) Observe that the circumflex of these contracted nom. sing. masc. forms, *ὄρεῶν φιλῶν*, supports the theory of a change of accent here set forth. The old accentuation of the thematic vowel would have produced **ὄρον* **φιλῶν* like *ἑταῖ;* for *ἑταῖω;*.

✓*qel-*. ἔ-ταμ-ο-ν 'I cut' ταμ-εῖν from ✓*tem-*. ἔ-θαν-ο-ν 'I died' θαν-εῖν instead of *φαν-, beside ἔ-θeno-ν from ✓*ghen-* (I § 429 Rem. 1 p. 317): Russ. *žnu* 'I cut off' for **gīn-a*, see § 534. ἔ-κταν-ο-ν 'I killed' κταν-εῖν from κτεν-, beside 1st pl. ἔ-κτα-μεν Class I § 502 p. 64. ἀν-οίγω 'I open' for *ὀ-φιγ-ω, cp. Hom. ὠ-ίγ-νυ-ντο and Lesb. inf. ὀ-είγ-ην (§ 643). ἔ-πι-ο-ν 'I drank' πι-εῖν beside πῖ-θι Class I; κλύ-ω 'I hear' beside κλῦ-θι Class I, § 498 p. 59 (cp. W. Schulze, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxix 240); it is not certain, I freely admit, that these stems in -ι-ο- and -ν-ο- are rightly classed here; see the Remark. βραχ-εῖν· συνιέναι ('grasp') Hesych.: Skr. *mṛś-ā-ti* 'touches, grasps'. γράφ-ω 'I scratch in, incise, write', ✓*gerph-* (A.S. *ceorfan* 'cut, carve' Mid.H.G. *kerben* to notch, indent *kerve* 'a notch'). Dor. τραπ-ω 'I turn' (Att. τρέπ-ω II A), Att. ἔ-τραπ-ο-ν τραπ-εῖν. ξάφω 'I dry up, wither', beside Lith. *skreb-iù* 'I grow dry'. ἔ-λακ-ο-ν 'sounded, cried, spoke' λακ-εῖν: Lat. *loqu-or* (cp. Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. xvii 121). ἔ-παθ-ο-ν 'I experienced' παθ-εῖν, beside πένθ-ος. ἐ-πίθ-ε-το 'he obeyed, listened to' πιθ-έ-σθαι, ✓*bheidh-*; on Goth. *us-bida* (Romans 9. 3), see § 722. ἰκ-έ-σθαι 'to arrive' beside pres. ἵκ-ω. ἔ-στιχ-ο-ν 'I climbed, went' στιχ-εῖν, ✓*steigh-*. γλύφ-ω 'I dig in, engrave, incise': A.S. *clūf-e* 'I cleave, split' (O.H.G. *chliub-u*, II A); on Lat. *glūb-ō* see § 529. ἐ-πύθ-ε-το 'he learnt' πυθ-έ-σθαι: Skr. 3rd pl. *budh-ā-nta*, ✓*bheidh-* (§ 513 p. 79). ἦλνθ-ο-ν aor. 'I came' beside fut. ἐλεύσομαι. κρύθ-ε 'he hid' beside κεύθ-ω. ἔ-σχ-ο-ν 'he held, had' σχ-εῖν, beside ἔχ-ω, ✓*segh-*. ἔ-πτε-ε-το 'he flew' πτε-έ-σθαι beside πέτε-ε-ται. Partic. μαικ-ών 'bleating, crying' beside μῆκάομαι.

With the secondary ending of the 2nd sing. middle: ἰ-σχ-ε-ῖς beside ἰ-σχ-ε-το; ἐρρέθης εἰρέθης i. e. **e-ur-e-thēs* from ✓*uer-* 'say' (εἶρω), see § 589. Whether these very forms were some of the original types which produced the whole series of aorists in -θην, is of course doubtful; -*thēs* seems originally to have belonged only to non-thematic stems (§ 1047. 2).

Remark 2. It is hard to classify forms in -ω -ιο-ν and -ω -ο-ι, along with which forms in ἱ and ῖ are common. There is nothing *a priori*

against assuming that these have the suffix *-iō-* (Class XXVI), and that *-i-* fell out between vowels; indeed, this must be done for forms like Lesb. *φύλω* (I § 130 p. 118). *πίομαι πίμεν* beside *πίουαι ἔπιον* may be illustrated by Skr. *pī-yá-tē, śvā* beside *śvū* by Skr. *dhū-yá-tē, lūw* beside *lūw* by O.Icel. *lǫ-ja* 'destroy, crush' (see § 707, and Osthoff, M. U. iv 12 ff.). But *i* and *ū* may come from forms of Class I, by presents passing from this class into the thematic conjugation, cp. for example *πι-έ-μεν* thematic and *πι-θ-* non-thematic, *λέω* thematic and *λῶ-το* not (also *λύ-το*, for *λέω* cp. Lat. *luō so-luō so-lvō*), *ὤ-ειν* 'I roar' (also variant *ὤρεω*, cp. Skr. *ruv-á-ti*) but Skr. opt. *rū-yā-t* (Lat. *rū-mor* Goth. *rū-na*). Then these *i-* and *ū-* forms would naturally be compared with *ῥεοιτο* beside *ῥε-σθ-*, *ῖ-μολο-ν* beside *ῖ-βλω*, and other such, see § 497 p. 57. Another possibility is that the long vowel came in by analogy of other tenses, *λέω* following *λῶ-σθ-*, *ῥέω* following *ῥύ-σθ-*, just as we see Att. *γένω* (not **γέω*) by analogy of *γέυ-σθ-* (the Author, Gr. Gr.³ p. 31), and Lesb. *ἄδικῃ* (instead of *ἄδικει*) by analogy of *ἄδικῃ-σθ-* (§ 775).

§ 528. Italic. Lat. *vol-ō vol-u-nt*, *✓uel-*, see § 493 p. 51. *mol-ō*: Armen. *malem* etc., see § 523 p. 86. *tul-ō* O.Lat., *✓tel-*. *-bō*, future ending, for **bhū-ō*, see § 523 pp. 86 f. *lu-ō so-luō so-lvō*: cp. Gr. *λύ-ω* 'I loose' § 527 Rem. *currō* doubtless for **cors-ō*, cp. *ac-cersō* § 662. *nivit* (O.Lat.) for **nigv-i-t* (with variant *ningu-i-t*, Class XVI): Gr. *νίφ-ει* 'it snows' (also *νειφ-ει*, II A), O.Ir. *snigid* 'it drops, rains', *✓sneigh-*.¹⁾ *dī-vidō* (Umbr. vetu 'dividitō' II A, see the Author, Ber. sächs. Ges. Wiss., 1890, p. 211), beside Skr. *vidh-* 'to become empty of, to lack' pres. *vindhá-tē* Class XVI. *rudō*: Skr. *rud-á-ti*, see § 523 p. 87. *sūg-ō*: O.Ir. *sūg-im* O.H.G. *sūg-u* A.S. *sūg-e sūc-e* O.C.Sl. *sūsā* 'I suck'; we must suppose a root *seuk-* or *seuġ-*.²⁾ Lat. Osc. *s-u-m* Lat. *s-u-mus s-u-nt*, *✓es-*, see § 523 p. 87. *co-inquō* probably for **in-squō*, beside *secāre*. *pac-i-t* O.Lat. (beside *pang-ō* Class XVI), *✓pak-* *pāġ-*; *tag-i-t* O.Lat. (beside *tang-ō* Class XVI), cp. *te-tigi-t* Gr. *τε-ταγ-ών* 'grasping' Class VI (§ 564).

1) Since only the 3rd sing. *nivit* occurs, there is the possibility of its being a denominative *nivire* (Thurneysen, Über die Herkunft und Bildung der lat. Verba auf *-iō*, p. 8).

2) The *✓seuġ-*, discussed by Osthoff in Paul-Braune's Beitr. VII 279 f., must be kept quite distinct.

Then again, it is probable the 3rd sing. and 1st pl. of certain Latin perfects, which were originally thematic aorists, belong to this class of forms. *tuli-t tuli-mus*, see *tulō* above. *fidi-t fidi-mus*: Skr. opt. *bhidēy-am* beside *á-bhēt* 'he split'. *scidi-t scidi-mus*: Skr. *á-chid-a-t* 'he cut off'. Compare § 867.

§ 529. In Italic it is often doubtful whether a verb belongs to II A or II B; as in the following instances. Lat. *oc-culō*, which may represent either *-*celō* (cp. O.Ir. *cel-im* O.H.G. *hil-u* § 520 p. 84) or *-*cllō*. *ad-venat* Osc. *kúm-bened* 'convēnit', see § 523 p. 86. Lat. *glūb-ō*, cp. O.H.G. *chliubu* and A.S. *clafe* § 527, p. 90 (cp. p. 79 footnote 1, on *īcō rūdō*). This doubt is most common with verbs in -*uō*, because -*uō* in unaccented position may come from *-*ouō* (*-*euō*) or from *-*ayō* (I § 172.1 p. 152). Thus *clu-ō* 'I am called, pass for' (Gr. *κλύω* and *κλέι(F)ομαι*), '*ru-ō* 'I snatch, tear, carry off, root up' (Gr. *ῥύω* 'pull, draw' O.C.Sl. *rŭv-e-tŭ* 'evellit' and Skr. *rāv-a-ti* 'he dashes to pieces'), '*nu-ō* (Skr. *nāv-a-tē* 'moves'), '*clu-ō* 'I purify' (Skr. *śrūv-a-ti* 'melts'), *in-gruō* (Litt. *griūvū* 'I break down' § 535), *plu-i-t* (cp. *plovē-bat* § 514 p. 80). Lastly, some verbs may belong to the *īō*-class, as *suō* cp. Goth. *siu-ja* etc. § 707.

§ 530. The quality of the thematic vowel should be observed in the 1st pl. *sumus sīmus* (*possumus possīmus*), *volumus volīmus*, *quaesumus* as contrasted with *ferīmus* etc. In these *u* and *i* are used to represent a sound between the two (as in *māgnuficus māgnificus*, *maxumus maximus*), which was here the regular descendant of Idg. -*o-* (cp. Gr. *γίγ-ο-μεν*). The assumption that -*i-* in *leg-i-mus* is due to the analogy of *leg-i-tis*, and replaced *u i*, is not supported by *ferimus* beside *fertis* as compared with *volumus* : *vultis*. *sumus* must in time have got a distinct *u* (by analogy of *sum* and *sunt*, where *u* is regular for *o* in a closed syllable); for the Romance languages show sometimes a form which must come from *sumus* (Span. Port. *somos* etc.), sometimes one which must come from *sīmus* (Roumanian *semū* etc.). On the whole subject see L. Havet, *Mém. Soc. Ling.* vi 26 f.

§ 531. Keltic. Compare the general remarks in the beginning of § 520, on page 84; whence it follows that some of the examples here given may really belong to the *io*-class (§ 719).

O.Ir. *marim* 'I remain' (also conjugated in the *a*-class), ground-form **sm̥r-ō* ✓ *smer-*. *ad-gaur* 'convenio' *for-con-gur* 'I command', ground-form **grr-ō*, cp. Skr. *gtr-* 'voice'. Mod. Cymr. *malaf* 'I grind, grind to powder' ✓ *mel-*: Armen. *malem* etc., see § 523 p. 86).¹⁾ Mid.Ir. *blegaim* 'I milk': Skr. *m̥j-á-ti* etc., see § 523 p. 87. O.Ir. *dligim* 'I earn, have a claim', cp. Goth. *dulg-s* 'debt, guilt'. *ar-fiuch* 'I fight' for **uikō*, cp. O.H.G. *upar-wihit* § 532. *nigim* 'I wash' *do-fo-nug -nuch* 'I wash off', cp. Gr. *νίω* 'I wet, wash', Class XXVI, ✓ *neig-*. *snigi-d* 'it drops, rains': O.Lat. *nivi-t* § 528 p. 91.

§ 532. Germanic. In pr. Germanic the accent still lay upon the thematic vowel, which is proved by a number of forms like O.Icel. *veg* as contrasted with Goth. *veiha* from ✓ *ueiq-* (§ 513 p. 79). Also the West-Germ. ending of the 2nd sing. O.H.G. *-is* A.S. *-es* as contrasted with Norse *-r* (for *-z*), and the A.S. ending of the 3rd sing. *-eð*, which point to pr. Germ. **-i-si* and **-i-pi*, are in some cases to be referred to verbs which in pr. Germ. belonged to Class II B; see § 990. 1. § 998. 1.

Goth. *skulan* O.H.G. *scolan* 'to owe', partic. Goth. *skulands* O.H.G. *scolant-i* (indic. *skal*):²⁾ Lith. *skylù* 'fall in debt' instead of **skil-ù* (§ 535), ✓ *skel-* in Lith. *skelù* (i. e. **skel-jù* 'I owe something'. Goth. *vulands* 'seething, boiling', cp. O.H.G. *walm* 'heat, glow'. O.H.G. *cum-u* O.Icel. *kem kem* (inf. *koma*) 'I come': Skr. opt. *gam-é-t*, ✓ *gem-*, see § 523 p. 86. Goth. A.S. *munan* 'to think' (indic. *man*): Lett. *úf-minu* 'guess at, hit upon', ✓ *men-*.

1) For Cymric, much the same is true as for Irish (above, § 520 p. 84). Cymric does not enable us to decide whether **malō* or some such form as **maliō* was original.

2) The latest discussion of forms with *s-* instead of *sk-*, as O.H.G. *sulen*, is by Johansson in Paul-Braune's *Beiträge* xiv 295.

Goth. *un-vunands* 'not pleased': Skr. opt. *van-ē-ma*, √ *ven-*, § 523 p. 86. O.H.G. *chiuw-a* 'I chew': O.C.Sl. *čiv-e-tū* 'chews' for **gjuv-e-tū*, groundform **giuv-ō*. Goth. *trud-a* O.Icel. *trœð* (inf. *trœða*) 'I step, tread' as contrasted with O.H.G. *trit-u* II A. Goth. *ga-daúr-san* 'to dare' (indic. *ga-dars*): Skr. *dhṛṣ-á-nt-* 'daring', √ *dhers-*. O.H.G. *scalt-u* 'I thrust, hit' ground-form **skl̥dh-ō* as opposed to O.H.G. *scilt-u* 'I scold' II A. Goth. *gagga* O.H.G. *gangu* 'I go' ground-form **gh̥gh-ō*, cp. Lith. *ženg-iù* 'I stride'. Goth. *blanda* O.H.G. *blantu* 'I mix' ground-form **bhl̥dh-ō*, cp. Goth. *blind-s* 'blind', Lith. *blendžiù-s(i)* 'I darken myself' (of the sun); O.C.Sl. *blęd-q* 'I wander' for **bhlendh-* or **bhl̥dh-* (§ 535). O.H.G. *upar-wihit* 'exsuperat' inf. *-wehan*, O.Icel. *veg* 'I conquer, kill' inf. *vega* (pret. *vā*, transferred to the *e*-series): O.Ir. *ar-fuch* 'I fight', √ *ueiq-*, cp. Goth. *veih-a* 'I fight' II A; the O.H.G. is a contamination of **uiz-ō* and **uēiz-ō*. Goth. *vitān* O.H.G. *wizzan* 'to know' partic. *vitands wizzanti*: Skr. *á-vid-a-t* etc., see § 523 p. 87; add 1st pl. injunctive A.S. *wuton* for **witon* followed by the infinitive = 'let us . . .', cp. *witan* 'to take heed, follow a direction, prepare to start' (O.Sax. *wita* § 1029). Goth. *bi-leiba* O.H.G. *bi-libu* 'I remain': Skr. *á-lip-a-t* 'he anointed, smeared', Lith. *li-pū* 'I climb, clamber' O.C.Sl. *pri-lipū* 'adhaesi', √ *leip-*. O.Icel. *sef sef* 'I sleep' inf. *sofa*: cp. A.S. *swefan* II A, √ *suep-*. Goth. *lūk-a* O.H.G. *lūhh-u* 'I shut': Skr. *ruj-á-ti* 'breaks open, breaks to pieces'. O.H.G. *brūhh-u* A.S. *brūc-e* 'I use, enjoy': Lat. *fruor* for **frugv-ōr*. A.S. *đūt-e* 'I utter a sound': Skr. *tud-á-ti* 'pushes'. A.S. *sōð* O.Icel. *sannr* 'true' pr. Germ. **s-a-nþ-a-*, beside indic. **es-ti* 'is', see § 523 p. 87. O.Icel. *tek* 'I take' inf. *taka*, cp. Goth. *tek-a* II A. O.H.G. *bahh-u* 'I bake', cp. Gr. *φάγω* 'I roast' II A. O.H.G. *wat-u* O.Icel. *veð* (inf. *vaða*) 'I wade', cp. Lat. *vad-ō* II A.¹⁾

To this class also belongs the West Germ. 2nd sing. preterite: — O.H.G. *wurti* A.S. *wurde* 'became': Skr. *á-vṛt-a-s*,

1) For these and other Germanic examples I refer to Osthoff, Paul-Braune's Beitr. VIII 287 ff.; Burghauser, Idg. Präsens-Bildung im Germ. pp. 28 ff.; Bremer, Zeitschr. deutsch. Phil. XXII 495 f.

O.H.G. *mulki* 'milkedst': Skr. *á-mṛj-a-s*, O.H.G. *biggi* A.S. *bite* 'bitedst': Skr. *á-bhid-a-s*, O.H.G. *zigi* 'pullest': Skr. *á-diś-a-s*, *sigi* 'strainedst': Skr. *á-sic-a-s*, *bi-libi* 'remainedst': Skr. *á-lip-a-s*, *ruzzi* 'criedst': Skr. *á-rud-a-s*, *kuri* 'chosest': Skr. *á-juṣ-a-s*. See § 893.

§ 533. As pr. Germ. *i* may come from either *ī* or *eī* in Indo-Germanic, we cannot tell whether to place in *A* or *B* Goth. *fra-veita* 'I avenge' and O.H.G. *wīz-u* 'I punish, reprove' (1/ *ueīd-*), with not a few others.

§ 534. Balto-Slavonic. In Slavonic this class is much larger than in Baltic.

O.C.Sl. *žir-e-tū* 'devours': Skr. *gir-ā-ti*, see § 523 p. 86; similarly *tīretū* 'terit' 1/ *ter-*, *mīretū* 'dies' 1/ *mer-*, *stīretū* 'stretches' 1/ *ster-*, and others. Lith. *pil-ù* 'I shed' 1/ *pel-* 'I fill', cp. Skr. imper. *pūr-dhī* Class I. Lith. *im-ù* 'I take' O.C.Sl. *im-e-tū* 'takes', ground-form **ym-ō*, see § 523 p. 86. O.C.Sl. *žim-e-tū* 'presses', cp. Gr. *γίμω* 'I groan' II *A*. Lith. *gin-ù* 'I keep off, avert', Russ. *žn-e-tū* 'cuts off, reaps' for pr. Slav. **žin-e-tū* **gñn-e-tū* (I § 36 p.): Gr. *ἐ-θαρ-ο-ν*, see § 527 p. 90. Lith. *pin-ù* 'I plait, twist', O.C.Sl. *pñn-e-tū* 'stretches, hangs', 1/ (*s*)*pen-*. O.C.Sl. *po-činetū* 'begins', 1/ *qen-*, cp. *po-konī* 'beginning'. O.C.Sl. *rūv-e-tū* 'evellit': Gr. *ἐρύω* etc., see § 529 p. 92. O.C.Sl. *živ-e-tū* 'chews' for **gñv-e-tū*: O.H.G. *chiuv-u*, see § 532 p. 94. O.C.Sl. *plživ-e-tū* 'spews' for **(s)pñv-e-tū*: Lat. *spu-ō* (cp. *su-ō* § 529 p. 92); *blživ-e-tū* 'vomits, breaks wind' for **bljñv-e-tū*, *klživ-e-tū* 'pecks, picks' for **kljñv-e-tū*; on the Lith. *blūv-ù* *klūv-ù*, which answer to the last two, see § 535. O.C.Sl. *vriz-e-tū* 'binds, shuts', 1/ *uergh-* (Lith. *verž-iū* 'I fasten, confine'). O.C.Sl. *vrž-e-tū* 'throws' 1st sing. *vrīg-a*, 1/ *uerg-*, Goth. *vairp-a* 'I throw' II *A*. O.C.Sl. *vrš-e-tū* 'thrashes, threshes' 1st sing. *vrīch-a*, 1/ *uers-*, Lat. *verr-ō* II *A*. O.C.Sl. *mlūz-e-tū* 'milks': Skr. *mṛj-ā-ti* etc., see § 523 p. 87. O.C.Sl. *dlūb-e-tū* 'sculpit', 1/ *dhelbh-*, O.H.G. *bi-tilbu* 'I bury', II *A*. O.C.Sl. *řic-i* 'I say' 2nd sing. opt., ground-form **rḡo-ī-s*, beside indic. *reč-e-tū* 1st sing. *rek-a* II *A*, in

Czech also indic. *řku* for **řk-a*; by analogy of *řic-i* were formed *řic-i píc-i řiz-i* from *tek-a* 'I run' *pek-a* 'I bake' *řeg-a* 'I burn' (cp. § 686 on Lith. *gistu* instead of *gestù*). Lith. *suk-ù* Russ. *sk-u* (for **sük-a*) 'I turn, twist'. Lith. *pis-ù* 'coeo': Skr. *á-piš-a-t* 'trod, beat, ground', $\sqrt{peis-}$. Lith. *sus-ù* 'I become scabby' Lett. *sus-u* 'I become dry': Skr. *á-śuṣ-a-t* 'dried up, wore away' (I § 557. 4 p. 413). O.C.Sl. *žid-e-tŭ* 'waits' beside *žid-e-tŭ* II A, § 522 p. 85. O.C.Sl. *šup-e-tŭ* 'sheds, strews', inf. *su(p)-ti*. Lith. *plak-ù* 'I strike, whip', $\sqrt{plaq-}$ *plag-plangere*, cp. Goth. *flōk-a* 'I bewail' II A.

§ 535. In Lithuanian, *i* and *u* in the root syllable were often lengthened. *skylù* 'I fall in debt' instead of **skil-ù*, compare Goth. *skulan*, see § 532 p. 93; *kylù* 'I raise myself' instead of **kil-ù*, $\sqrt{gel-}$; *svyrù* 'I get the better' instead of **svir-ù*, $\sqrt{sver-}$. *griuvù* 'I break down' instead of **griuō-ù*: Lat. *in-gruō*, see § 529 p. 92; *blūvù* 'I break out into bellowing or bleating' *klūvù* 'I stick fast to anything, hang on to' beside O.C.Sl. *bljŭ-e-tŭ kljŭ-e-tŭ*, see § 534 p. 95. See Leskien, Arch. slav. Phil. v 530, and Wiedemann, Lit. Prät. 71 ff., where the pretty conjecture is offered that on the analogy of pairs of forms like pres. *gyjù* (*gy-jù*): pret. *gijaũ* (*gij-aũ*), a present *skylù* was formed for *skilaũ*, a present *griuvù* for *griuvaũ*, and so forth.

In Slavonic, it is often doubtful whether a verb belongs to A or B. This is the case with *pīj-e-tŭ* 'drinks', *bīj-e-tŭ* 'strikes', whose *-īj-* may be orig. *-iŭ-* or orig. *-eŭ-* (I § 68 p. 60); cp. Leskien as above cited, pp. 501 ff.; Skr. *páy-a-tē* supports the derivation of *pīj-e-tŭ* from **peŭ-e-ti* (§ 522 p. 85). The same doubt meets us in forms with *-eŭ-* in the root syllable, since this may be orig. either *-ŭ-* or *-en-*, e. g. **blēd-e-tŭ* 'wanders' from $\sqrt{bhleñdh-}$ (see § 532 p. 94); cp. *lēc-e-tŭ* 'bends', § 637.

Class III.

Reduplication ending in *-ī* or *-ā* + simple Root forming the Present Stem.

§ 536. We begin with words from roots containing *i* or *u*, which have the same vowel in the reduplication; see § 469, page 14. Next follow stems which have *i* in the reduplication, but some other vowel in the root; see § 473 pages 17 ff.

Class IV, non-thematic, bears the same relation to this as Class II to Class I (§ 491 p. 50).

§ 537. Roots with *i*- and *u*-vowels. Only in Aryan and Germanic.

Pr. Idg. **bhi-bhāi-mi* 'I quake, am afraid' 1st pl. **bhi-bhi-més* 3rd pl. **bhi-bhī-ṇti*: Skr. *bi-bhē-mi* 3rd dual *bi-bhi-tas* *bi-bhī-tas* 3rd pl. *bī-bhy-ati*, and O.H.G. *bi-bē-m*, which fell under the influence of verbs in which *-ēm* was a suffix, and so lost the gradation of its stem.¹⁾ Conjunctive: Skr. *bī-bhay-a-t*. Optative: Skr. *bi-bhi-yā-t*. — With thematic vowel Skr. 3rd sing. *bi-bhy-a-ti*.

Aryan. Skr. *ci-kē-mi* 'I observe, notice' 3rd sing. imper. mid. *ci-ki-tām* 2nd sing. imper. act. *ci-kī-hi*; conj. Avest. *ci-kay-a-p*. Skr. *á-dī-dhē-t* 'he looked' 1st pl. *dī-dhi-mas* mid. pres. *dī-dhy-ē* pret. *á-dī-dhī-ta*; conj. *dī-dhay-a-t*. Skr. *á-dī-dē-t* 'he appeared' 3rd pl. *dī-dy-ati* imper. *dī-dī-hī* *dī-dī-hī*; conj. *dī-day-a-t*; — with thematic vowel Gr. *δī-ζο-μαι* 'I seek, strive' (orig. 'look out for something') for **δī-δζο-μαι* (see § 469 p. 14, § 549). Skr. *dī-* and *dhī-* both became *dī-* in Avestic ep. Avest. *dadāiti* = Skr. *dádhati* and *dádati*, § 540): *dī-ḍaṇiti*; — with thematic vowel imper. *dī-ḍy-a*, ep. conj. *dī-ḍy-a-p*. Skr. *vi-vēṣ-ṭi* 'works' 1st pl. *vi-viṣ-mas*, conj. 2nd sing. *vī-vēṣ-a-s*. *iy-ē-ti* 'goes' only found in the 2nd sing. pret. *āiy-ē-ṣ*, Avest. 3rd pl. conj. *yeyan* = Ar. **iī-ai-ā-n* (§ 473 p. 19).

1) Cp. § 465 p. 12, § 469 p. 14, § 739 on O.H.G. *rērēm* and Goth. *reira*.

Skr. *ju-hō-mi* 'I offer, sacrifice' 1st pl. *ju-hu-más* 3rd pl. *jú-hv-ati*, conj. 2nd pl. *ju-hav-a-tha*, opt. 1st pl. *ju-hu-yā-ma*. 1st pl. *ju-hā-mási* from *hā-* 'call'. 3rd pl. *sú-ṣv-ati* from *su-* 'press'.

Sometimes a strong stem has got into the place of the weak (cp. § 499 p. 62), as Avest. 2nd sing. mid. *jī-yaē-ša* from *jī-* 'live', Skr. 2nd pl. *ju-hō-ta* from *hu-* 'offer, sacrifice', 2nd sing. *yu-yō-dhi* 2nd dual *yu-yō-tam* from *yu-* 'keep off'.

Remark. *k* in Skr. *ci-kē-mi* (✓*gei-*), and *γ* in Avest. *jī-yaē-ša* (✓*gei-*) are taken from the perfect, where they were regular before *o* in the sing. indic. active (I § 445 ff. pp. 331 ff.). In considering *jī-ghar-ti* (§ 540), if its root belonged to the *e*-series, we must remember that one of the stems of this verb is *jighr-*, and *gh* was regular there; so with *jā-gar-ti* from ✓*ger-* we must remember the stem *jā-gr-* (§ 560).

§ 538. Roots with other Vowels.

In Aryan, roots with a long *a*-vowel have generally in the reduplication *a* = Idg. *e* instead of *i*, when the weak stem in the root syllable had not *i*. Examples: Skr. *dā-da-ti* mid. *dā-t-tē* from ✓*dō-* 'give', *jā-ha-ti* pl. *ja-hi-mas* from Ar. *zhā-* 'leave, give up'. But on the contrary *śi-śa-ti* imper. *śi-śī-hi* mid. *śi-śī-tē* from ✓*kō-* 'whet, sharpen'. In the latter word we see the Idg. root-determinative *i*, which so often forced its way into the place of Ar. *i* = Idg. *ə* (see § 498 pp. 61 f.); and this *i* is regularly echoed by *i* in the reduplicator; compare *śi-śī-hi* with *dī-dī-hi* from *dī-* 'appear'. Skr. *ja-hī-tam* beside regular *ja-hi-tam* (see Whitney, Sanskrit Roots, p. 204) has been altered by the influence of the mid. *jī-hi-tē* (§ 540), similarly *ra-rī-dhvam* by that of *ri-rī-hi* (*rā-* 'give').

So too the ✓*dhē-* 'place' in Balto-Slavonic reduplicates with *e*, as Lith. 2nd pl. *dē-ste* like O.H.G. *da-tthá*.

These forms with *e* belong to Class V, not like Gr. *δί-δωμι* *τί-θημι* etc. It seems to me impossible to decide whether in Idg. the same present stem had both *i* and *e* in its reduplicated forms, as **dhi-dhē-ti* and **dhe-dhē-ti*, or whether *e* only came in by analogy of Class V, and is of later date than the parent language. If the latter, then the influence of perfects with *e* in the reduplicator must be taken into account (§ 555).

Compare Gr. ἔλαθι = *σι-σλα-θι and Lesb. ἔλλαθι = *σε-σλα-θι § 542.

Under these circumstances, I cite Aryan and Balto-Slavonic forms both in Class III and Class V.

§ 539. Pr. Idg. *bhi-bher-mi 'I bear' 1st pl. *bhi-bhγ-més 3rd pl. *bhi-bhr-ṛti: Skr. *bī-bhar-mi* 2nd dual *bī-bhγ-thās* 3rd pl. *bī-bhr-ati*, Gr. 1st pl. *πί-φρα-μεν inferred from inf. ἔσ-πιφράναι. Conjunctive: Skr. *bī-bhar-a-t*. Optative: Skr. *bī-bhγ-yā-t* (cp. *ca-kr-iyā-t*). — With thematic vowel Skr. partic. mid. *bī-bhr-a-māṇa-s* 3rd pl. imperf. *á-bi-bhr-a-n*.

*pi-pel-mi 'I fill': Skr. *pī-par-mi* *pi-pr-más*, Gr. -πί-πλα-μεν (on the singular -πί-πλη-μι, see § 542). — With thematic vowel Skr. 3rd sing. mid. *á-pi-pr-a-ta*.

*ni-nes-mi from √nes- 'go towards' (Gr. νέ-ο-μαι Skr. *nás-ā-tē*): Skr. 3rd pl. mid. *nīs-atē* 'they touch their bodies, kiss' partic. *nīs-āna-s*. — Gr. νίσομαι 'I go back, return' for *νι-νσ-ο-μαι (the Author, Gr. Gr.² § 45.5 p. 61) contains a stem *νι-νσ- or *νι-νσ-ο- (see § 733).

*dhi-dhē-mi 'I place' 1st pl. *dhi-dh-més and doubtless *dhi-dhā-més¹⁾ 3rd pl. *dhi-dh-ṛti: Skr. *dā-dhā-mi* *da-dh-más* (cp. 2nd pl. mid. *da-dhi-dhōē*) *dā-dh-ati*, Gr. τί-θη-μι τί-θε-μεν, O.H.G. *te-ta* O.Sax. *de-da* perhaps for *dhi-dhē- (§§ 545, 886), Lith. 2nd pl. *dēste* i. e. *de-d+te. Optative: Skr. *da-dh-yā-t*. — With thematic vowel Skr. *dā-dh-a-ti* Lith. *de-d-ù*.

*si-sē-mi 'I send forth, let go, throw, sow' 1st pl. *si-s-més and doubtless *si-sā-més: Gr. ἵ-η-μι ἵ-ε-μεν (Lat. *serimus* for *si-sa-mos? § 543). — With thematic vowel Lat. *serō* for *si-s-ō.

*di-dō-mi 'I give' 1st pl. *di-d-més and doubtless *di-dā-més, 3rd pl. *di-d-ṛti: Skr. *dā-dā-mi* *da-d-más* *dā-d-ati*, Gr. δέ-δο-μι δέ-δο-μεν, 2nd pl. Lith. *dūste* and O.C.Sl. *daste* instead of *deste (§ 546). Optative: Skr. *da-d-yā-t*. — With thematic

1) This form may be due to the analogy of *dhā-mé(m)*, cp. ἵ-θε-μεν. But it does not follow, as some have said, that the form cannot be original.

vowel Skr. *dá-d-a-ti* Sabell. (Vest.) *di-d-e-t* 'dat', cp. Lith. Lett. *dādu* and O.C.Sl. partic. *dady* gen. *dadašta* § 546.

**si-stā-mi* 'I place, sisto': Gr. ἵστανμι ἵσταμεν, O.H.G. *se-stō-m*. Skr. 1st sing. *tī-ṣṭhāmi* may be added, and perhaps Lat. *sistimus* (§ 543). — With thematic vowel Skr. *tī-ṣṭh-a-ti* Lat. *si-st-ō* Umbr. *se-st-u*.

Idg. **pi-pō-mi* 'I drink' is implied by such forms as Skr. mid. 3rd pl. *pi-p-atē* partic. *pi-p-and-s*; to this may be referred Falisc. *pipafo* 'bibam' (§ 594 Rem.). With thematic vowel Skr. *pi-b-a-ti* Lat. *bibō* instead of **pi-b-ō* O.Ir. 3rd sing. *ibid* for **pi-b-e-ti*, although the *-b-* of these words is certainly obscure (cp. I § 325 p. 263). Perhaps the 2nd sing. imper. **pi-b-dhi* and 2nd pl. mid. **pi-b-dhy-*, forms which must have had a place among the original non-thematic persons, caused some confusion in the sound.¹⁾ In these *-b-* was regular, because *-p-* had been assimilated to the following voiced sound. On the same principle we have explained the variants **dekṃt-* (Skr. *daśat-*) and *dekṃd-* (Gr. δεινάδ-), as being due to cases which had a *bh*-suffix, such as the instr. pl. **dekṃd-bhi(s)* (II § 123 p. 392). Then *p* must have levelled out *b* in the non-thematic conjugation (Skr. *pi-p-atē*), because this was closely associated with **pō-ti* (Skr. *pā-ti*), and was especially exposed to the influence of the reduplicated perfect (Skr. *pa-p-ē* Gr. πέπομαι). Similarly, Gr. πόσσω 'I feed, tend' may be connected with Skr. *pā-ti* 'tends' through the imperative **b-dhi*.

§ 540. Aryan. Skr. *jī-ghar-ti* 'smells' 3rd pl. *jī-ghr-ati*; with thematic vowel *jī-ghr-a-ti*: on *gh*, see § 537 Rem. p. 98. Skr. *tī-tar-ti* 'gets over', partic. *tī-tr-at-*. Skr. *īy-ar-ti*, for its reduplication see § 473 p. 19. Skr. 2nd and 3rd sing. *dī-dhar* 2nd pl. *dī-dhy-tā* from *dhar-* 'hold fast'. Skr. imper. *pi-prg-dhi* from *parc-* 'to mix'.

1) There is no reason that I know of why we should suppose that our prehistoric ancestors had this imperative very often on their lips. But be it remembered that from the one imperative form *dāhi* 'give' in Pali, the whole of the present tense, *dēmi dēsi* etc., has sprung into existence (E. Kuhn, Beitr. zur Pali-Gramm., 98).

Skr. *śi-ṣak-ti* Avest. *hi-ṣax-ti*, √*seq-* 'accompany' (cp. Skr. 2nd pl. *sá-śc-ati*, Class V, § 555). Skr. *vī-vak-ti* from √*ueq-* 'speak'. Avest. 2nd pl. injunct. *nista* = **nīsta* i. e. **ni-nd+ta* from *nad-* 'roar, abuse'; — with thematic vowel Skr. 3rd sing. *nī-nd-a-ti* § 550. Avest. 3rd sing. injunct. *di-das* from *das-* 'consecrate, offer up'.

Roots in Ar. -*ā* reduplicate with *i* in Sanskrit when the weak forms have *i* as root-determinative (§ 538 p. 98). √*mē-* 'measure' mid. 3rd sing. *mī-mī-tē* 3rd pl. *mī-m-atē*; — with thematic vowel opt. *mī-m-ē-t*. √*kō-* 'sharpen, whet' *śi-ṣā-ti* imper. *śi-ṣi-hi*; — with thematic vowel 3rd pl. *śi-ṣ-a-nti*. *jī-hi-tē* 'yields, departs' 3rd pl. *jī-h-atē* beside act. *jā-ha-ti* *ja-hi-mas* (*ja-hi-tam* and other forms have *i* by analogy of the middle, see § 538 p. 98).

√*dhē-* 'place' and √*dō-* 'give' (almost indistinguishable in Iranian, because of the change of *dh* to *d*, I § 481 p. 355): Skr. *dā-dha-ti* *dā-dā-ti* Avest. *da-dā-iti* O.Pers. pret. *a-da-dā*. 1st pl. Skr. *da-dh-mās* *da-d-mās* Avest. *da-d-mahi*, in the Gathas *da-d-mahī*; mid. 3rd sing. Skr. *dhattē* Avest. *dazdē* from *dhē-* (I § 482 Rem. 1 p. 356), Skr. *dattē* Avest. *dastē* from *dō-*. Imperative: Skr. *dhēhi* for pr. Ar. **dha-z-dhi* from *dhē-*, and *dēhi* for pr. Ar. **da-z-dhi* from *dō-*, Avest. *da-z-di*; Skr. has also the re-formate *daddhi* instead of *dhēhi* and of *dēhi* both (I § 476 p. 351, § 482 Rem. 1. p. 356). In Skr. we also find *da-dhi-* (cp. Gr. *τι-θε-*), e. g. *da-dhi-dhvē* *da-dhi-ṣvā* beside *dha-d-dhvē* *dha-t-sva*. 3rd pl. Skr. *dā-dh-ati* *dā-dh-atē* *dā-d-ati* *dā-d-atē* (Avest. *da-p-enti* *da-d-entē*, cp. § 500 p. 63, § 1018. 1. b). Optative: Skr. *da-dh-yā-t* *da-d-yā-t* Avest. Gath. *daidyā-p*. — With thematic vowel *dā-dh-a-ti* *dā-dh-a-tē* *dā-d-a-ti* *dā-d-a-tē*, Avest. *da-p-a-iti* *da-p-a-itē*, which forms are also conjunctive (§§ 931 f.)

§ 541. Confusion of Strong and Weak Stem.

Strong instead of Weak: Skr. 2nd pl. *īy-ar-ta*, imper. *śi-ṣā-dhi*, 2nd pl. *dā-dha-ta* *ā-da-dha-ta* *dā-dā-ta* *ā-da-dā-ta*.

Weak instead of Strong: Skr. Ep. *da-d-mi* Avest. 3rd sing. *dazdī* (√*dhē-*) and *dasti*. These forms are due to the analogy

of *ád-mi át-ti* and the like, the reduplication having been lost sight of in the (pr. Ar.) forms **dhadh-mas(i) *dad-mas(i)* opt. **dhadh-yā- *dad-yā-* conj. **dhadh-a- *dad-a-*, which were conceived to be simple roots (cp. the end of § 540). This also produced the forms Skr. pass. *dad-yá-tē* partic. *dat-tá-s* from $\sqrt{d\bar{o}}$, and Avest. inf. *dastē* from $\sqrt{d\bar{o}}$ - and inf. *dazdē* from $\sqrt{dh\bar{e}}$ - (cp. Bartholomae, Ar. Forsch. III 48).

§ 542. Greek. From roots ending in *-r* and *-l* we have only the weak stem, the strong forms following Class XI. Thus *-πίπλα-μεν* 'we fill' *-πίπλα-ται*: Skr. *pi-pṛ-más*; **πίφρα-μεν* 'we bring': Skr. *bi-bhṛ-más* (§ 539, p. 99). But *-πίπλη-μι* instead of **πι-πेल-μι* from the stem **pl-ē-*, cp. unreduplicated Skr. *prā-si á-prā-t* Gr. *πλή-το* Lat. *im-plē-tur*. *-πίπρου-μεν* 'we kindle', sing. *-πίπρω-μι*, $\sqrt{per-}$ (Mod. Slov. *perēti* 'moulder' O.C.Sl. *para* 'steam'). The nasal in *πίμ-πλαμεν* *πίμ-πραμεν* comes from *πιμπλάνω*, see § 621. *ἔλαθι* 'be gracious' *ἔλατε* *ἔλαμαι* for **σι-σλα-* (I § 565 p. 422), $\sqrt{sel-}$, cp. Lesb. *ἔλλα-θι* for **σε-σλα-θι*, Class V.

τί-θη-μι 'I place' *τί-θε-μεν* *τί-θε-ται*, *ἵ-η-μι* 'I send forth' for **σι-ση-μι* *ἵ-ε-μεν* *ἵ-ε-ται*, *δί-δω-μι* 'I give' *δί-δο-μεν* *δί-δο-ται*, *ἵ-στη-μι* 'I place' *ἵ-στα-μεν* *ἵ-στα-ται*, see § 539 p. 100. Hom. 3rd sing. *δί-δῃ* imper. 3rd sing. *δι-δέ-ντων* from $\sqrt{d\bar{e}}$ - 'bind'. In the stems *τι-θε-* *ι-ε-* *δι-δε-* *δι-δο-*, *ε* and *ο* have taken the place of a previous *α* = Idg. *ə*, as in *ἔ-θε-μεν* *ἔ-δο-μεν* § 493 p. 53, and in *τέ-θε-ται* *δέ-δο-ται* § 856: cp. Skr. *da-dhi-dhvé ja-hi-mas*. The loss of forms without *ə*, answering to the Skr. *da-dh-más* etc., is a consequence of the different forms which some of the persons of this tense assumed in due course; we should have by rule **τιθμεν* **θιστε*; **διδμεν* **διστε*, **ίμεν* **ίστε*. 3rd pl. Dor. *τίθεντι* *δίδοντι* instead of **τι-θ-ατι* **δι-δ-ατι*, see § 1020. Sometimes the strong stem prevails, or words follow the analogy of Classes X and XI: Hom. partic. *τι-θή-μενος* instead of *τι-θέ-μενος*, imper. *δί-δω-θι* (like Pali *da-da-hi*). On the analogy of verbs in *-τω -ω -αω*: pres. *τιθεῖ* *διδόω*, imperf. *ἐτίθει* *ἔει* *ἐδίδου*, imper. *τίθει* *δίδου* *ἴστα*, inf. *τιθεῖν* *συν-αῖν*, partic. Delph. *διδέουσαι*; and then again *ἐτίθεις* *-ει* and

ἔεις -ει produced the 1st sing. *ἔτιθεν* and *ἔειν* after the model of *ἦειν* 'I went' as compared with *ἦεις ἦει*.

As regards *νίσσομαι* beside Skr. 3rd pl. *nīś-atē*, see § 539 p. 99, § 733.

§ 543. *Italic*. There are no forms at all which can be certainly placed in this class. The conjugation was thematic, that of Class IV; as 1st sing. Lat. *si-st-ō* Umbr. *se-st-u*. However, as we must regard *red-dimus red-ditis*, notwithstanding *reddunt*, as descended from **red-dāmus *red-dātis* (§ 505, p. 71), so we may regard *serimus seritis, sistimus sistitis* as derived regularly from **si-sā-mos *si-sā-tes* (Gr. *ἴ-ε-μεν -τε*), **si-stā-mos -tes* (Gr. *ἴ-στα-μεν -τε*).

§ 544. *Keltic*. The thematic type is seen in O.Ir. *i-b-i-d* (§ 554), and the extension with *-io-* in *-airissiur* (§ 733).

a-conjunctives are the future Mid. Ir. *gignid* 'nascetur' for **gi-gen-ā-ti*, O.Ir. *fo-didmae* 'patieris' 3rd pl. *fo-didmat* (from pres. *fo-daim* 'patitur'), see Thurneysen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxi 77 ff. They have the look of conjunctives belonging to thematic Class IV A. But probably the conjunctive vowel *a* had here taken the place of older *-o-* *-e-* (by association with the unreduplicated conj. imperf., *-genad*, and the reduplicated conjunctive of Class IV B or Class VI, *bēra*); then the forms will originally have been like Skr. *bi-bhar-a-t*, and *gignid* must be closely connected with Avest. *zī-zan-a-ḥ zī-zan-a-nti* Skr. *ā-jī-jan-a-t* (§ 548).

§ 545. *Germanic*. O.H.G. *se-stō-m* 'sisto, I arrange, design', *√sta-*, with gradation lost, see § 539 p. 100. Whether O.H.G. *te-ta* O.Sax. *de-da* 'did' is an imperf. like Gr. *τι-θεν* or an old perfect, remains doubtful; see § 886.

§ 546. *Balto-Slavonic*. A few relics are the presents of *√dhē-* 'set, place' and *dō-* 'give', but with *e* in the reduplicator (§ 538 p. 98).

In pr. Balto-Slavonic the forms were **dhe-dh-mi* and *de-d-mi*, which may be compared with Skr. *da-d-mi* and Avest. *dazdī dasti* (§ 541 pp. 101 f.). But they did not, as these did, arise only by the weak stem spreading into the singular, but from

this and another cause together; the other cause was, that the 2nd sing. middle, which originally had the weak stem, had got an active meaning (see § 991 on Lith. *desē-s dāsi* O.C.Sl. *dasi*). And since **dhe-dh-mi* became **dedmi* in pr. Balto-Slav. (I § 549 p. 402), the two verbs were confused in the present, and the same forms served for both (cp. Avest. *dađaiti* = Skr. *dādhati* and *dādāti*, § 540 p. 101).

However, it was only in the meaning of 'I lay' that **dedmi* survived for any time. Lith. sing. 1st pers. *dēmi* for **dedmi*, 2nd reflex. *desē-s* for **de-t-sē-s*, 3rd *dēsti dēst*, 2nd pl. *dēste*. Now the verb is mostly thematic, *de-d-ū dedī dēda* etc. And *dēmi* 3rd sing. *dēsti* too took *ē* from non-present forms *dējau dēsiu* and the like, just as Gr. Lesb. *ἀδινῶ* instead of *ἀδινέω* follows *ἀδινῆ-σω*, and *γεύω* instead of **γέω* follows *γεύσω* etc. (§ 775). But in Slavonic we have *deždetŭ* = **de-d-je-tŭ*, following the *jo*-class (§ 733).

In the meaning 'I give', **dedmi* was changed to **dōdmi* in pr. Balto-Slavonic by analogy of non-present forms with **dō-*. There is a reason why the vowel of the root got into **dedmi* 'I give' and not into **dedmi* 'pono'. It is that the difference between the vowel of the first syllable of the present and that of the other tenses was in **dedmi* 'pono' only one of quantity, but in the other it was a difference of quality also; **dedmi*: aor. **dē-s-* was backed up by such verbs as **tekō*: aor. **tēk-s-* (O.C.Sl. *teką tēchŭ*), but there was no parallel for **dedmi*: aor. **dō-s-*. Lith. sing. 1st pers. *dŭmi*, 2nd *dāsi* for **dū-t-si*, 3rd *dŭsti dŭst*, pl. 1st *dŭme*, 2nd *dŭste*; *dŭmi dŭme* for **dūdmi *dūdme*. Now generally thematic, *dŭdu* etc. (also Lett. *dūdu*). O.C.Sl. *damŭ dasi dastŭ damŭ daste dadętŭ*; *damŭ damŭ* have *-m-* for *-dm-*. Partic. thematic *dady* (*da-dašta*) like Lith. *dŭ'dās*. As regards 1st dual Lith. *dŭ'va* O.C.Sl. *davě*, see I § 547 p. 401.

Remark. The forms of the 2nd pl. found in old Lith. books, *destit(e)* and *dŭstŭt(e)* instead of *dēste* and *dŭ'ste*, were derived from the 3rd sing. and pl. on the analogy of *tŭri-i(e)*: *tŭri*, to distinguish more clearly 2nd plural from 3rd singular and plural.

Class IV.

Reduplication ending in *-ĩ* or *-ũ* + Root + Thematic Vowel, forming the Present Stem.

§ 547. This class, like Class II, falls naturally into two sections, according as the root has the strong or the weak grade. The strong form, as in Class II, is the same as that of the non-thematic Conjunctive. Compare § 513 pp. 78 ff.

§ 548. A. Strong Root Syllable.

In Aryan, this section includes a large class of forms, the Sanskrit Causative Aorist; an aorist formation which generally is found along with the present formed by *-áya-* (§§ 795 ff.). As to the varying quantity of the reduplicating vowel, see § 473 pp. 17 f.

Skr. 3rd pl. mid. *á-bī-bhay-a-nta* beside *bi-bhē-ti* 'fears'. Imperative: mid. *pi-práy-a-sva* beside *á-pi-prē-t* 'he satisfied, pleased'. *á-cu-cyav-a-t* beside 3rd pl. *á-cu-cyav-ur* from *cyu-* 'to move, stir'.

Skr. *á-ti-tar-a-t* Avest. *ti-tar-a-p* from Skr. *ti-tar-ti* 'gets over or beyond'. Skr. *pī-par-a-t* from *pī-par-ti* 'fills', *á-dī-dhar-a-t* beside 2nd and 3rd sing. *dī-dhar* from *dhar-* 'hold fast'. Avest. *bī-bar-ami* (cp. Skr. conj. 2nd sing. *bi-bhar-a-si*) beside Skr. *bī-bhar-mi* 'I carry'. Skr. *a-jñ-jan-a-t* 'was born' Avest. *zī-zan-a-p* 3rd pl. *zī-zan-a-nti*, √ *gen-*.

Skr. *á-pī-pat-a-t*, √ *pet-* 'fly', *á-sī-śad-a-t*, √ *sed-* 'sit'.

On the Irish conjunctive, used for the future, of which we have an example in *gignid* 'nascetur' for **gi-gen-a-ti*, see § 544, page 103.

Germanic. Apparently we have a form of this sort in Goth. *rei-rái-p* 'moves, trembles', connected with Skr. *lē-lāy-a-ti* 'wavers, trembles'; it may come from pr. Germ. **rī-rēi-ō* (§ 469 p. 14, § 708). But this is not a certainty, because it has not yet been made out to what vowel series the root belongs (in Sanskrit we see a pret. *á-lē-lē-t*, § 568).

§ 549. B. Weak Root Syllable.

Roots with *i-* and *u-* vowels. Avest. imper. *di-ḡy-a* (conj. *di-ḡy-a-p*), Gr. *διζομαι* for **di-ḡk-o-mai* beside Avest. *diḡaḡiti*, see § 537 p. 97; *di-ḡh-mai* (Class XI): *di-ḡ-o-mai*: Avest. *diḡaḡiti* = *-ni-nḡh-mi*: Skr. *á-pi-pr-a-ta*: Skr. *pi-par-ti*. Skr. *ji-ghy-a-ti* 'drives on' beside *hi-nō-ti* Class XVII; *gh* instead of *h* (I § 445 p. 331, § 454 p. 335) answers to *k* in the 3rd pl. *ct-ky-ati*, see § 537 Rem. p. 98. Also Skr. aorists such as *á-ḡi-ḡriy-a-t* from *ḡri-* 'lean' (cp. *á-ḡi-ḡrē-t*), *á-ci-kṣip-a-t* from *kṣip-* 'throw', *á-rī-riṣ-a-t* from *riṣ-* 'take hurt', *á-ḡu-ḡruv-a-t* from *ḡru-* 'hear', *á-cu-krudh-a-t* from *krudh-* 'grow angry', *á-dū-duṣ-a-t* from *duṣ-* 'grow bad, go to rack and ruin'.

§ 550. Roots with other vowels.

Pr.Idg. **ḡi-ḡn-ō*, √ *ḡen-* 'gignere': Gr. *γί-γν-ο-μαι* Lat. *gi-gn-ō*, cp. **ḡi-ḡen-o-* § 548. **si-zd-ō*, √ *sed-* 'sit': Skr. *sīdati* instead of **sīd-a-ti* (I § 591 p. 447, § 593 p. 449, compare Bartholomae in Bezz. Beitr. xvii 117), Gr. *ἴζω* i. e. *hizdō* (I § 593 p. 449), Lat. *sīdō* (I § 594 p. 450).¹⁾ **ni-nd-ō* 'I scold, blame' beside Skr. *nad-* 'shriek, roar' Gr. *ὀνοοῦε* 'ye blame, scold' for *ὀνοδ-* (cp. Avest. 2nd pl. *nista* = **nīsta*, § 540 p. 101): Skr. *nind-a-ti* 'scolds, abuses', with which became associated *nīd-* 'reviling, rebuke' *á-nēd-ya-s* 'blameless' and other similar words, Gr. **nīndō*, whence *ὀνειδος* 'blame'.²⁾ **si-st-ō*, √ *stā-* 'stare': Skr. *tī-ṣṭh-a-ti* Lat. *si-st-i-t*; **pi-b-e-ti*, √ *pō-* 'drink': Skr. *pi-b-a-ti* Lat. *bi-b-i-t* O.Ir. *i-b-i-d*, see § 539 p. 100.

1) Bechtel does not convince me that I am wrong in supposing the Idg. form to be **si-zd-ō* (Bechtel, Hauptprobl. der Idg. Lautlehre, 254). That *aizd-mai* comes from *aizd-* or *aids-* is unproven. Compare Idg. Forsch. I 171 f.

2) This conjecture (cp. Osthoff, Perf. 394 f., and Bartholomae, Ar. Forsch. II 84, Bezz. Beitr. xvii 116) seems to me more likely than that suggested by others (as Fick, Wtb. I⁴ 96), namely, that Skr. *nind-a-ti* was formed from a √ *neḡd-* on the principle of Class XVI. The Skr. re-formation perf. *ni-nind-a* etc. may be compared with perf. *sīd-atur* fut. *sīd-iḡya-ti* beside *sīd-a-ti*.

§ 551. Aryan. Skr. 3rd pl. *á-bi-bhr-a-n* partic. *bī-bhr-a-māna-s* from *bī-bhar-ti* 'bears', cp. Avest. *bī-bar-ami* (§ 548 p. 105). Skr. 3rd sing. *á-pi-pr-a-ta* from *pī-par-ti* 'fills'. Skr. *jī-ghr-a-ti* from *jī-ghar-ti* 'smells'. Skr. *jī-ghn-a-tē* from *han-* 'strike, slay'. Skr. *pī-bd-a-tē* 'becomes firm, strong', √ *ped-*. Skr. *tī-ṣṭh-a-ti*, Avest. *hi-št-a-iti* O.Pers. mid. *a-i-št-a-tā*: Lat. *si-st-ō*, § 550. Skr. 3rd pl. *mi-m-a-nti* from *mī-mā-ti* 'roars' opt. *mi-mī-ya-t*.

Another group of forms which comes in here is composed of such Skr. aorists as *á-vi-ryt-a-t* from *vart-* 'vertere', *á-cī-kṛp-a-t* from *kalp-* 'help', *á-pi-sprś-a-t* from *sparś-* 'touch', *á-ci-krad-a-t* from *krand-* 'roar'. A great many others were cast in the same mould as these; for instance, *á-mī-mṛṇa-t* from *mṛ-ṇā-ti* 'crushes'.

§ 552. Greek. *γί-γν-ο-μαι*, see § 550. *μῖ-μν-ω* beside *μέν-ω* 'I remain'. *ἔ-σχ-ω* beside *ἔχ-ω* (**σεχ-ω*) 'I hold, have', √ *segh-*. *πί-πτ-ω* 'I fall'; whether *ι* was original (cp. Skr. *á-pī-pat-a-t*, § 548 p. 105) is very doubtful; see § 473 p. 18. *τίκτω* 'I beget' for **τι-τε-ω* beside *ἔ-τεκ-ο-ν*, cp. the Author, Gr. Gr.² § 62 p. 74. *λάχω* 'I cry out, shriek' for **ῥι-ῥαχ-ω*, cp. *δυσ-ηχῆς* (cp. W. Schulze, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxix 230 ff.).

On present stems extended by the suffix *-io-* see § 733.

§ 553. Italic. Lat. *gi-gn-ō*, see § 550. Lat. *sīdō* for **si-zd-ō*, the second sibilant of which is kept in Umbr. *ander-sistu* 'intersidito' for **-sīzd(e)tō* (cp. *ander-sesust* 'intersederit'): ¹⁾ Skr. *sīd-a-ti* etc., see § 550. Lat. *serō* 'I sow' for **si-s-ō*, beside Gr. *ἵ-η-μι*, § 539 p. 99. Lat. *bibō* instead of **pi-b-ō*: Skr. *pī-b-a-ti* etc., see § 539 p. 100; for the assimilation of *p-* to *-b-*, cp. Umbr. *řeře* 'dedit' instead of **teře* (fut. perf. *teṛust dīrsust*). Vest. *dī-d-e-t* 'dat' (Pelign. *dīda* 'det' Umbr. *dīrsa dērsa* *teṛa* 'det' *dīrstu* *teṛtu* 'dato'), beside Gr. *δί-δω-μι*, § 539 p. 99. Compare § 871, on Osc. *fi-fik-us*.

1) For this explanation of the Umbrian form I have to thank a former pupil, Dr. von Planta. See now his dissertation, *Vocalismus der osk.-Umbr. Dialekte*, Strassburg 1892, pp. 214, 277, and his *Grammatik*.

§ 554. O.Ir. *i-b-i-d* 'bibit' for **pi-b-e-ti*: Skr. *pi-b-a-ti* etc., see § 539 p. 100. As to *-airissim -airissiur* 'I stand, remain standing, exist', see § 733.

Futures like *do-bēr* 'I will give' may be also added; they were originally *a*-conjunctives of this class. See § 565.

Class V:

Reduplication in *-e* (*-ø*) + simple Root, used for the Present Stem.

§ 555. This class has a very close connexion with the Perfect. The two are distinguished in the indic. present by different personal endings (cp. Skr. 3rd pl. *sá-śc-ati*: perf. 3rd pl. *sa-śc-úr*, from $\sqrt{\text{seq-}}$ 'be with, accompany'), and in the vocalisation of the singular, as 3rd sing. Idg. **se-seq-ti* (Skr. **sa-sak-ti*): perf. **se-soq-e* (Skr. **sa-sāc-a*). But there was no difference at all between the Preterite of Class V and the Preterite of the Perfect Class (pluperfect), nor between their Conjunctive, Optative, and Imperative moods. Perhaps there was originally only Class VI, which now appears complementary to the fifth class (Skr. *sá-śc-a-ti* Gr. *ἔσπ-ο-ι-το*), but then had the same relation to the perfect as Class II to I, Class IV to III; and then perhaps the indic. present forms of the fifth class were coined on the analogy of classes I and III.

§ 556. Aryan. Skr. *ja-ján-ti* (grammarians), Avest. *za-zan-ti* 'gignit' (Bartholomae, Ar. F. II 82); cp. *á-ji-jan-a-t* *zā-zan-a-p* § 548 p. 105. Skr. 3rd pl. *sá-śc-ati*, see § 555; cp. *st-śak-ti* § 540 p. 100. *bá-bhas-ti* 'chews, eats' 3rd pl. *bá-ps-ati*, conj. *ba-bhas-a-t*. *á-ja-kṣ-ur* 'they ate', imper. *jagdhi* for **ja-gṣ-dhi*, partic. *ja-kṣ-at-* from *ghas-* 'eat' (there is a re-formed 3rd sing. *jakṣi-ti* on the lines of Class IX); with thematic vowel *ja-kṣ-a-ti*. Partic. *já-kṣ-at-* from *has-* 'laugh'. Avestic *ni-šarḥasti* for **sa-sasti* Idg. **se-sed+ti*, $\sqrt{\text{sed-}}$ 'sedere'; — perhaps a parallel thematic by-form is Gr. *ἔζομαι* i. e. *É-zō-o-μαι* (§ 563).

Skr. *dā-dhā-ti* 'places' *dā-dā-ti* 'gives' Avest. *da-ḍa-iti*, see § 540 p. 99. Skr. *jā-hā-ti* 'leaves, gives up' 1st pl. *ja-hi-mas* 3rd pl. *ja-h-ati*, Avest. *za-zā-iti*; — with thematic vowel, Skr. *ja-h-a-ti*.

§ 557. Greek. Lesb. ἔλλαθι 'be gracious' for σε-σλα-θι, pl. ἔλλατε, beside ἴλαθι Class III, § 542 p. 102. κέ-κλυ-θι 'hear', pl. κέ-κλυ-τε: but Skr. *á-śu-śrav-ur* belong to Class III. εἰπ-α 'I spoke' (Cret. Gort. προ-φειπάτω) contains a stem *ue-μq- (as regards φειπ- for *μῆμq-, see the Author, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxv 306, Gr. Gr.² p. 157; Wackernagel, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxix 151 f.; Meillet, Mém. Soc. Ling. vii 60); this weak stem eventually ran right through (cp. Skr. *da-d-mi* § 541 p. 101, Lith. *dēmi* for **de-d-mi* § 546 p. 104); the -α of εἰπ-α-ς εἰπ-α-τε is to be explained as in ἔχενας, see § 504 p. 67; — with thematic vowel, Skr. *á-vṛc-a-t* Gr. ἔ-ειπ-ο-ν, see § 661.

§ 558. Keltic. Original Conjunctives of this class (cp. Skr. *ba-bhas-a-t*) are the Irish reduplicated futures, Mid.Ir. *ge-gn-a* 'vulnerabo' O.Ir. *do-gega* 'eligam' etc. They originally had the thematic vowel, which they exchanged for *a* in the same way as did the future of which *gignid* is an example, Class III § 544. However, the *e* of the reduplicator is doubtless, as Thurneysen says, a mutation of *i* (Kuhn's Zeitschr., xxxi 77 f.); then the forms are not different from *gignid* and others of that kind.

§ 559. Balto-Slavonic. Lith. *dēsti* 'lays' for **dhe-dh+ti* instead of **dhe-dhē-ti*, Lith. *dā'sti* O.C.Sl. (Russ.) *dastī* 'gives' for **dō-d+ti* instead of **de-dō-ti*, see § 546 pp. 103 f.

§ 560. Forms with Idg. *ē* instead of *e* in the Reduplication (§ 472 p. 17). These are Intensives in Sanskrit; e. g. Skr. *dā-dhar-ti* beside (*dar-dhar-ti*) from *dhar*- 'hold fast', 3rd pl. *nā-nad-ati* from *nad*- 'shriek, roar'; cp. Avest. partic. *pā-per't-āna*- neut. used as a subst. 'fighting'.

Skr. *jā-gar-mi* 'I watch' 3rd pl. *jā-gr-ati* imper. *jā-gr-hi*, and an irregular form with weak stem, *jā-gr-mi*; — thematic

jā-gr-a-ti. Compare perf. *jā-gār-a* Gr. ἐγγή-γερ-μαι. On the *g* of *jā-gar-mi*, see § 537 Rem. p. 98.

Remark. The fut. *jāgarīṣyati* perf. *jājāgāra* may be compared with *laṣiṣyati lalāṣa* beside *laṣati* for **le-ls-e-ti*, with *jahiṣyati dījahat* beside *ja-h-a-ti* (§ 562), and others like them; see § 752.

A Greek intensive of this sort is Hom. δη-δέχ-αται 'they welcome, greet' imperf. δη-δεκ-το (read δη-, not δει-, — so J. Wackernagel), from δέχομαι δέχομαι 'I receive'.

Class VI.

Reduplication in *-e (-ē) + Root + Thematic Vowel* forming the Present Stem.

§ 561. On the relation of this class to the last, see § 555.

Pr. Idg. **ghe-ghn-o-* from √ *ghen-* 'strike, kill': Skr. partic. *ja-ghn-a-nt-* (cp. *ji-ghn-a-tē* § 551 p. 107), Gr. ἔ-πε-φν-ο-ν inf. πε-φν-έ-μεν; conj. Avest. *ja-γν-ā-ḥ*. **ue-uq-o-* from √ *ueq-* 'speak': Skr. *á-vōc-a-t*, Gr. ἔ-ειπ-ο-ν inf. εἰπ-εῖν (on *Feip-* for **ue-uq-* see § 557). **se-sq-o-* from √ *seq-* 'be with, accompany': Skr. *sá-śc-a-ti*, Gr. ἔ-σπ-ε-το opt. ἔ-σπ-ο-ι-το inf. ἔ-σπ-έ-σθαι. Skr. *dá-dh-a-ti* 'places', Lith. *de-d-ù*, √ *dhē-*.

§ 562. Aryan. Skr. partic. *ja-ghn-a-nt-*, Avest. 3rd pl. *ja-γν-e-nti* conj. *ja-γν-ā-ḥ*: Gr. ἔ-πε-φν-ο-ν etc., see § 561. Skr. *á-vōc-a-t*, Avest. *vaoc-a-ḥ* imper. *vaoc-ā*: Gr. ἔ-ειπ-ο-ν, see § 561. Skr. *yēṣ-a-ti* 'boils' for pr. Ar. **ḡa-ḡs-a-ti* ground-form **je-js-e-ti* from √ *jes-* (Skr. *yás-ya-ti* Gr. ζέω), cp. with *ḡo*-extension Avest. *yaṣṣyeiti* § 733; Skr. *á-yēṣ-a-t* served as model for *á-nēṣ-a-t* from *naṣ-* 'to be destroyed' (Avestic has *nāsa-ḥ*, regular), and the perfect *nēṣ-úr* follows *sēd-úr yēm-úr*, unless it is preferable to derive *á-nēṣ-a-t* directly from the perfect stem, and regard it as a pluperfect (§ 854). Skr. *laṣa-ti* 'desires' probably for **la-lṣ-a-ti* (I § 259 p. 212), cp. *lā-las-a-s* 'covetous' Gr. λιλᾶσμαι 'I desire' for **li-las-ḡo-μαι* (§ 733). Skr. *á-pa-pt-a-t*, √ *pet-* 'shoot through the air, fly'. Skr. *sajjatē* 'hangs to something, sticks' for **sa-zj-a-* (I § 591

pp. 448 f.), $\sqrt{\text{seg-}}$ (Lith. *seg-ù* 'I fasten'). Skr. *dá-dh-a-ti* 'places' *dá-d-a-ti* 'gives' Avest. *da-p-a-iti* from $\sqrt{\text{dhē-}}$ and $\sqrt{\text{dō-}}$, see § 540 p. 99, § 561. Skr. *ja-h-a-ti* 'leaves, gives up'; see § 556 p. 109. Skr. *rā-r-a-tē* from *rā-* 'pour', cp. 2nd pl. *ra-rī-dhvam* (§ 538 p. 98).

With *a* = Idg. *ē* in the reduplication (cp. § 560) Skr. *ja-gr-a-ti* 'wakes' and Avest. 3rd sing. conj. *vāuraīitē* (for **vā-vr-*) from *var-* 'choose' (cp. Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. xiii 79 f.).

§ 563. Greek. *ἐ-πε-φν-ο-ν*, *ἐ-ειπ-ο-ν*, *ἐ-σπ-ε-το*, see § 561. This type of aorist was fertile in the Homeric dialect, and in the poetic style developed out of it (cp. Curtius, Verb., II² 29 ff.). We may add: *ἐ-κί-κλ-ε-το* from *κέλ-ο-μαι* 'I call, summon, ask', *πε-παλ-ών* from *πάλλω* 'I swing, brandish' ($\sqrt{\text{pel-}}$), *τε-τάρπ-ε-το* from *τέρπω* 'I satisfy, refresh, please', *πε-πίθ-ο-ι-το* *πε-πιθ-ών* from *πείθω* 'I persuade', *πε-πύθ-ο-ι-το* from *πεύθω* 'I learn'. *λέ-λαθ-ο-ν* from *λήθω* 'I am hidden'. *τε-ταγ-ών* 'grasping'.

In the later language we find presents in connexion with these aorists, as *πέφνω*, *κέκλωμαι*. *ἔζομαι* is one of this sort; for *ἐ-zd-ο-μαι*, from $\sqrt{\text{sed-}}$ 'sit' (§ 556 p. 108), unless the form comes from **ἐδ-ιο-μαι* = O.H.G. *sizzu* Class XXVI (§ 721).

§ 564. Italic. Lat. *tendō* Umbr. *ostendu* 'ostendito' (I § 499 p. 366) is often derived from **te-tñ-ō* ($\sqrt{\text{ten-}}$),¹ to which Gr. *τι-ταινώ* would be related in the same way as *λαλαίωμαι* to Skr. *laṣati* (§ 562), cp. Skr. *ta-tán-a-t*; others analyse *ten-dō*, and refer it to class XXV (cp. II p. 161 footnote 2, IV § 696); and now R. S. Conway identifies it with Gr. *τεινώ* for **ten-īō* (Class. Rev., v 297), as G. Curtius had done before him.

More certain examples may be found among the Latin perfects, as *te-tig-i-t*, *te-tig-i-mus*: Gr. *τε-ταγ-ών*, *pe-pul-i-t*: Gr. *πε-παλ-ών*. See § 867.

1) Bartholomae (Stud. idg. Spr. II 95) assumes that **te-tñō* by analogy of forms with *ten-* became **tentñō*, and hence *tendō*.

§ 565. Keltic. In this class we may place the Irish *a*-conjunctive with future meaning. O.Ir. *dobēr* 'I will give' 1st pl. *do-bēram* for **bhe-bhr-a-*, *✓bher-* 'ferre'. *fris-gēra* 'respondebit' beside pres. 3rd sing. *fris-gair*. *nad-cēl* 'quod non celabo' beside pres. *celim*. Mid.Ir. *fo-dēma* 'patietur' beside *fo-daim* 'patitur'. As regards the compensatory lengthening in these forms, see I §§ 523, 526 pp. 380 f. It is true that the Irish sound-laws do not make it certain that *e* was the original reduplicating-vowel of this conjunctive. It may have been *i*, and Thurneysen (Kuhn's Zeitschr., xxxi 81) assumes this in view of *gignid* etc. (§ 544 p. 103). Since in the reduplicated present both *e* and *i* have always been used side by side (cp. Skr. *ja-ghn-a-nt-* and *ji-ghn-a-tē* § 561 p. 110), it is hardly possible to draw the line.

§ 566. Balto-Slavonic. Lith. *de-d-ù* 'I lay': Skr. *dá-dh-a-ti*; Lith. *dū-d-u* 'I give' O.C.Sl. partic. *dad-y* 'giving'. See § 546 p. 104.

Class VII.

Complete Reduplication + Root forming the Present Stem.

§ 567. On the form of reduplication used in this and the following thematic Class see §§ 465—467, 470, 474.

§ 568. Roots beginning in a Consonant. Certain examples only in Aryan (Intensive Verbs).

Skr. *car-kar-mi* imper. *car-ky-tad*, Avest. 1st pl. *car'-ker'-mahī* from *kar-* 'think of, remember'. Skr. 2nd sing. *dār-dar-ṣi* imper. *dar-dṛ-hi*, Avest. opt. *dar'-dair-yā-p* from *dar-* 'split';¹⁾ — with thematic vowel *dar-dir-a-t*. Skr. 3rd sing. mid. *sar-sṛ-tē* *sar-sr-ē* from *sar-* 'flow'. Skr. *jāṃ-ghan-ti* conj. *jaṃ-ghān-a-t*

1) The second syllable of the Avestic form shows irregularly the strong grade, unless **-dṛ-ṣē-t* (I § 306 pp. 241 f.) is to be assumed for the ground-form (cp. Skr. *dir-yā-t á-dar-dir-ur dar-dir-a-t*).

from *han-* 'strike, kill'. Skr. *ā-lē-lē-t* from *l-* 'oscillate'. Skr. 1st pl. *nō-nu-mas* from *nu-* 'shriek, cry, call'; — with thematic vowel 3rd pl. mid. *nō-nuv-a-nta*. Skr. partic. mid. *jō-huv-āna-s* from *hū-* 'call'; — with thematic vowel Skr. *jō-huv-a-t*. Avest. *zao-zao-mi* 'I pour out, consecrate'. Skr. *vār-vart-ti* 3rd pl. *vār-vrt-ati* from *vart-* 'vertere'. Skr. mid. 3rd sing. *dē-diṣ-ṭe* 3rd pl. *dē-diṣ-atē* Avest. *daē-dōiš-t* from Ar. *diś-* 'show'; — with thematic vowel Skr. *dē-diṣ-a-m*.

Sanskrit has also some forms with *ī* after the reduplication (§ 467 p. 13). *barī-bhar-ti* 3rd pl. *bhāri-bhr-ati* from *bhar-* 'ferre'. Partic. *ghāni-ghn-at-* beside *jān-ghan-ti* (p. 112). *nāvī-nō-t* beside *nō-nu-mas* (see above). *varī-vart-ti* beside *vār-vart-ti* (above). *kāni-kranti* for *kāni-krad-at-* from *krand-* 'roar'.

§ 569. Roots beginning in a Sonant.

Skr. *āl-ar-ti* 'raises itself'.

Gr. *ἤν-εγχ-α* 'I brought' partic. mid. *ἐν-εγχ-άμενο-ς*, Idg. **en-eh₂-*. With *ἤνεγχε-ας -ατε* etc. compare *ἔχενας εἰπας* etc. § 504 p. 67. Whether the Skr. 2nd and 3rd sing. *anaṣ* 3rd dual *anaṣ-ṭām* conj. 1st pl. *anaṣ-a-mahāi*, which belong to the same root, are reduplicated or not, is a question. *anaṣ-* may be derived from **en-eh₂-*, or from **enek-* (cp. Gr. *δι-ηνεχ-ής*).

Class VIII.

Complete Reduplication + Root + Thematic Vowel
forming the Present Stem.

§ 570. Roots beginning in a Consonant.

Certain examples only in Aryan (Intensives), compare § 568. Skr. shows injunctives like *dar-dir-a-t*, *nō-nuv-a-nta*, *jō-huv-a-t*, *dē-diṣ-a-m*, see above. Avest. *naṣ-niṣ-a-iti* 'washes' beside Skr. *nē-nēk-ti* mid. *nē-nik-tē*: cp. conj. *vōi-vīd-a-iṭ* beside Skr. partic. *vē-vid-ana-s* from *vid-* 'find'.

§ 571. Roots beginning in a Sonant.

Armen. *ar-ar-i* aor. of *ar-ne-m* 'I make', Gr. *ἤρ-αρ-ο-ν* inf. *ἀρ-αρ-εῖν* aor. of *ἀρ-αρ-ίσκω* 'I fit'. Skr. *am-am-a-t* aor. of

am- 'injure' (pres. *amī-ti*) Gr. ἄγ-αγ-ο-ν ἄγ-αγ-εῖν from ἄγ-ω 'I lead'.¹⁾ 3rd pl. ἄν-άγ-ο-ντο from ἄν-αγ-ίζομαι 'I am troubled'. ἄλ-αλκ-ε 'I warded off'. ἤν-εγκ-ο-ν 'I brought'. ἐν-εγκ-εῖν beside ἤν-εγκ-α (§ 569). Compare § 470.

Skr. *ānin-a-t* (*prāṇina-t*) from *an-* 'breathe', *arjij-a-t* from *arj-* (*xj-*) 'direct, procure', *aubjij-a-t* from *ubj-* 'keep down', and other examples, only found in the grammarians. Gr. ἐρῶν-ο-ν from ἐρῶ-ω 'I hold back', ἡνίπαν-ο-ν from ἐνίπ-τω 'I address'. Compare § 474 p.

B. CLASS IX.

ROOT + *-ə* OR ROOT + *-i*, WITH OR WITHOUT REDUPLICATION, FORMING THE PRESENT STEM.

§ 572. We have here two classes of forms to deal with; examples of which are (1) Skr. *vāmi-ti* Gr. ἄγα-μαι, and (2) Skr. *amī-ti*.

The first has *ə* after the root. Whether this *ə* was part of the root, as some scholars too confidently assert, or a true suffix (I § 14 p. 17), is doubtful. In Greek along with *α* are found both *ε* and *ο*. Bartholomae seems to be right in seeing here the Idg. *e* and *o* (Bezz. Beitr. xvii 109 ff.).

-ə was never found except before personal endings which begin with a consonant; cp. Skr. *rōdi-ti* pl. *rud-anti*.

Forms with *-i* are only found in Aryan. This vowel, Idg. *i*, was certainly a suffix of some kind (root-determinative); a general discussion of it has been given above, § 498 pp. 61 f. Used in the same way we find *ai* in Sanskrit (*āj-ai-ṣ*), perhaps the same as *ei* in Gr. ἄγ-ει-ς ἄγ-ει (see p. 61 footnote). But it cannot be made in the least probable that *-i* was ever confined to the plural and dual active and the middle of all three numbers, or *-ai-* to the singular active, like Skr. *kṛ-nu-más* etc. as contrasted with *kṛ-nō-mi*; *-i* is particularly common in the singular active in Sanskrit.

¹⁾ On Benfey's Skr. *āj-ij-a-t*, see Hübschmann, Idg. Vocalsyst., 66; Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. xvii 116 f.

The spread of *-ī-* in Sanskrit was due in great part to a confusion with *-i-* = *-a-*. We have therefore to compare, say, *śami-śva* : *śamī-śva* with Skr. *á-dhi-mahi* : *á-dhī-mahi*.

It is not always possible to say whether *-ī-* was attached to a form in pre-Aryan times, or took the place of *i* = *a* in Aryan itself. Thus *-a-* and *-ī-* may here be comprehended in one class.

§ 573. To forms without Reduplication we cannot point with any confidence except in Aryan and Greek. But Bugge conjectures that some such are contained in the Arm. 2nd aorist mid., e. g. *cnay* from pres. *cnani-m* 'pario, gigno, nascor': *cna-* for **genə-* (cp. § 583 p. 125). See Bugge, Indogerm. Forsch., I p. 439.

§ 574. Sanskrit. Forms with *-i-*. *vámi-mi vámi-ti* (3rd pl. *vam-anti*, pret. *á-vam-ī-t*), beside Gr. *ἐμέω. áni-ti* 'breathes' 3rd pl. *an-ánti* (pret. *án-ī-t*). Imper. *stani-hi* from *stan-* 'thunder'. Imper. *śami-śva* from *śam-* 'take pains'. *rōdi-ti* 'laments, cries'. 1st pl. *rudi-mas* 3rd pl. *rud-anti* imper. *rudi-hi* (pret. *á-rōd-ī-t*). *svápi-ti* 'sleeps'. *śvasi-ti* 'snorts' imper. *śvasi-hi* instead of **śuṣi-hi* cp. mid. *śuṣ-ē* (pret. *á-śvas-ī-t*). Also *śy-ṇv-i-ṣé* beside *śy-ṇv-i-ré* like *ja-jñ-i-ṣé* beside *ja-jñ-i-ré*. On *iṣ-i-tē* beside *iṣ-ṭē*, see § 853.

-i- in these Verbs is not usually confined to the present stem. Compare *śami-śva* with *śami-tá-s á-śami-ṣ-ṭa* (Gr. *κάμα-ro-s*), *jáni-śva* with *jani-tár- jani-ṣyá-ti* (Gr. *γενί-τωρ* Lat. *geni-tor*).

To these I add a few forms which both Indian grammarians and European scholars call parts of the *iṣ-* aorist, to wit: 2nd sing. *varti-thās* from *vart-* 'vertere', *á-jay-i-t* from *ji-* 'conquer', *á-tāri-ma* from *tar-* 'move across, place or pass over', and like forms, along with the 2nd pl. mid in *-idhvam* instead of *-idhvam* (§ 839) given by the Indian grammarians, e. g. *ábōdhi-dhvam*. It is true the popular feeling associated these with the *s*-aorist, as it did the forms *á-dhi-thās á-dhi-ta á-kṛ-thās á-kṛ-ta*; but neither of the two kinds had any real

connexion in form with it (§ 816).¹⁾ Perhaps this apparent connexion was cemented by the original 2nd sing. of the *iṣ*-aorist, ending in **-iṣ* (for **-iṣ-ṣ*) which may have been unconsciously analysed into **-i-ṣ* (§ 839); cp. *ándit* following *ándiṣ* for **a-naiṣ-ṣ* (§ 816).

-ī is commonest in the 2nd and 3rd sing. pret. active (cp. the above examples). *am-ī-ti* 'injures' (3rd pl. *am-ánti*) imper. *am-ī-ṣva*. Imperative: *śam-ī-ṣva -dhvam* beside *śami-ṣva* (p. 115). *taṇ-ī-ti* 'thrives, is strong'. 3rd dual *á-grh-ī-tām* 'they seized' mid. 2nd sing. *grh-ī-thās* *grh-ī-ṣva*, 3rd sing. *á-grabh-ī-t*, cp. *gybh-ī-tā-s* *grah-ī-ṣya-ti* *á-grabh-ī-ṣ-ur*. *ds-ī-t* 'erat'.

The verb *bráv-ī-ti* 'says' has *-ī* only in those persons which elsewhere have *-i-*, and obviously follows the *i*-verbs: thus *bráv-ī-mi* *-ī-ṣi* *-ī-ti*, *á-brav-ī-ṣ* *-ī-t*, but *á-brav-am* *brū-más* *bruv-ánti*. Compare Avest. *mraom* i. e. *mrao-em* = *á-brav-am*, mid. *mrūyē* i. e. *mrūv-ē* (Bartholomae, Handb. § 92 p. 40) = *bruv-é*, *mrūitē* *mrū-ta* = Skr. *brū-tē* *á-brū-ta* and *mrao-ṣ* *mrao-ḥ* as contrasted with *á-brav-ī-ṣ* *-ī-t*, like Skr. 3rd sing. *ds* contrasted with *ds-ī-t*; but Avestic itself has a similar *ī*-form in *vyā-mrōita* (Y. 12. 6.), if Bartholomae rightly takes this as 3rd sing. mid. imperf. (see Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxviii 37, Stud. Idg. Spr. II 127). By levelling we have Skr. imper. *bravi-hi* instead of *brū-hi*, and *brū-mi* instead of *bráv-ī-mi*.

From presents in *-aya-ti*: Skr. *anay-ī-ṣ* from *āna-ya-ti* 'leaves unfulfilled', *dhvanay-ī-t* from *dhvanaya-ti* 'envelops', cp. opt. mid. *kamay-ī-ta* § 951.

This *i*- and *ī*-inflexion spread widely in Sanskrit because it often served to renew distinctions which had been worn away by phonetic change: *dstṣ* *dstt* are clear; *ds* for 2nd and 3rd person both, is not.

On the place which preterite forms in *-ī-ṣ* *-ī-t* filled in the *s*-aorist, see § 839.

1) *d-jayi-t*: 3rd pl. *á-jayiṣ-ata* = Gr. *ἐ-κρίμα-το* (*κρίμα-το*): 2nd sing. mid. *ἐ-κρίμασ-θης* (*κρίμασ-το-ς*), see § 840.

§ 575. Greek. The *ə*-flexion holds ground in the middle voice. *κρέμα-μαι* 'I hang' (cp. fut. *κρεμά-ω*, *κρεμά-θρᾱ* 'hanging basket'). *ἄγα-μαι* 'I revere, honour'; *ἀγα-* doubtless for **ηγə-*, from the root of *μέγα*; then *ἄγα-μαι*: a possible **μεγα-μι* as Skr. *rudi-mas* : *rōdi-mi*. Aor. *ἐπριά-μην* 'I bought' beside Skr. *kri-ñā-ti* 'buys' fut. *krē-ḡyá-ti* O.Ir. *cre-nim* 'I buy' conj. 3rd sing. *-cria* for **cri-ā-t*.

The active forms perhaps became thematic in prehistoric times: *ἐμέω* 'I spew' instead of **φεμε-μι*: Skr. *vámi-mi*, cp. *ἔμε-σσα*; *δαμάω* 'I subdue' instead of **δαμα-μι*, cp. *δάμα-σσα παν-δαμά-τωρ*; *ἐλάω* 'I drive' instead of **ἐλα-μι*, cp. *ἐλα-σσα ἐλα-τήρ*; *ἀρόω* 'I plough' instead of **ἀρο-μι*, cp. *ἀρ-ηρο-μένο-ς ἦρο-σα ἄρο-τρο-ν*. On *-ε-* and *-ο-* beside *-α-* see § 572 p. 114. But the *σσ*-aorist makes it possible to regard these forms as originally ending in *-εσ-ω* *-ασ-ω* *-οσ-ω*, and answering to Skr. *tarás-a-ti* *arcas-ē*. See §§ 661, 842.

Remark. Many other forms seem to be of this group, but their explanation is obscure. See, for example, § 550 p. 106 for *δνο-σαι* *δνο-νται*, Osthoff Perf. 371, 409 for *πίτα-μαι*, the Author in Kuhn's *Zeitschr.* xxiii 587 ff. for *ἱεα-μαι*. On *ἱ-χια-*; *ἱ-χία-μεν* and the like, which some scholars place in this category, see § 504 p. 67.

§ 576. In Latin, Germanic and Balto-Slavonic *-ə-* and Idg. *-o-* (in Latin, Idg. *-e-* as well) must necessarily run together into the same sound. Thus it is always possible that verbs which in these languages belong to Class II originally had *-ə-* and belonged properly to the ninth class. Lat. *vomi-t* *vomi-mus* cp. Skr. *vámi-ti*. Goth. *-anan* 'breathe, blow' cp. Skr. *áni-ti* (1st pl. *-ana-m* like *ani-mas*), O.H.G. *riozan* 'cry, weep' cp. Skr. *rōdi-ti*, A.S. *swefan* O.Icel. *sofa* 'sleep' cp. Skr. *svápi-ti*. Lith. 3rd sing. *raūda* 'cries, weeps' Lett. *rāud*, beside O.H.G. *riozan* and Skr. *rōdi-ti*. Certainty is very far from possible here; indeed, even in Sanskrit these roots can be inflected like Class II: *vam-a-ti*, *án-a-ti* *an-ā-ti*, *rōd-a-ti* *rud-a-ti*, *sváp-a-ti*.

§ 577. Forms with Reduplication only found in Sanskrit; all have *-i-*.

-ī- in the 2nd and 3rd sing. of some preterites which are usually called pluperfect: as *ā-ja-grabhī-t* (1st sing. *ā-ja-grabh-am*) from *grabh-* 'seize', *ā-bu-bhōjī-ṣ* from *bhuj-* 'bend'.

Intensive: *vā-vadī-ti* from *vad-* 'speak', *pā-patī-ti* from *pat-* 'fly'. Compare § 560 pp. 109 f. Intensive: *dar-darī-ti* from *dar-* 'split' beside *dār-dar-ṣi*, *tar-tarī-ti* (and with irreg. strong stem, 2nd dual *tartarī-thas*) from *tar-* 'step over', *nan-namī-ti* from *nam-* to 'bow, bend oneself', *rā-ravī-ti* from *ru-* 'roar, cry', *jā-havī-ti* from *hā-* 'call'. Compare § 568 p. 113. The root syllable is never followed by -ī- when the reduplication ends in ī: cp. § 467 p. 13.

C. CLASSES X AND XI.

ROOT + *-ā-*, *-ē-*, OR *-ō-* FORMING THE PRESENT STEM.

§ 578. We have here to examine forms such as Gr. *ē-δρ-ā-ν*, *ē-βλ-η-ν*, *ē-σβ-η-ν*, *ē-γν-ω-ν*. These vowels¹⁾ -*ā-*, -*ē-*, and -*ō-* never had any gradation, and the long vowel always runs right through all numbers of active and middle in the Indicative. But some modifications have arisen by a certain law affecting the European languages, by which long vowels were shortened before *n* or *i* + consonant; as Gr. 3rd pl. *ē-γνον* for **ēγνω-ν(τ)*, opt. 1st pl. *γνοῖμεν* for **γνωκ-μεν* (I §§ 611, 612, 614, 615 pp. 461 ff.).

Originally the root had always its weak grade. In the aorists here cited it has ceased to be a syllable. But a syllable it still is in some forms, as **bhuu-ā-*: Lat. (conj.) *fuā-s* Lith. *būvo* (beside **bhu-ā-* in Lat. *-bā-s*); **iḡ-ē-*: Skr. *iy-ā-t*, cp. perhaps Goth. *iddja*, whose *i-* may also be an augment (*e-*) (beside **i-ē-* in Skr. *y-d-ti*); **myn-ē-*: Gr. *ē-μάρη* Lith. *mīnē*; **liq-ē-*: Gr. *ē-λίπη* Lat. *lice-t*; Gr. *ē-βάλ-η* (beside *ē-βλ-η*).

These suffixes had properly nothing to do with either aorist or present meaning. This is clear because they never have been confined to one particular stem. We find them in

1) The newest theory on "Root-Forms in *ā-*" may be seen by referring to Kretschmer, Kuhn's *Ztschr.* xxxi 408 ff.

the Perfect, as Skr. *pa-prāú* Gr. *πέ-πλη-νται*; in the Aorist, as Skr. 3rd sing. *á-prā-s* Gr. *ἔ-πλη-σ-α*; in the Participle, as Skr. *prā-tá-s* Lat. *im-plētu-s*; and in the Present, Skr. 2nd sing. *prā-si* Lat. *im-plē-s* from stem **pl-ē-* 'fill' \checkmark *pel-*. Often it is just in the present stem that the stems formed with these suffixes do not occur; for instance, we have Skr. fut. *hv-a-sya-tē* O.C.Sl. aor. *zūv-a-chū* Skr. *hv-a-tar-* O.C.Sl. *zūv-a-telī* 'caller', but pres. Skr. *hāv-a-tē* O.C.Sl. *zov-e-tū* 'calls'; Skr. *jñ-ā-ti-ṣ* 'near kinsman' Gr. *κασί-γνητο-ς γν-ω-ρό-ς* 'kinsman, brother' Goth. *knōþs* (Stem *kn-ō-di-*) 'stock, tribe' from \checkmark *ġen-* 'gignere'; Gr. *ἐνι-σπή-σω* 'I will say' O.Icel. *skald* 'poet' for pr. Germ. **skē-ālā-* (Lidén, P.-B. Beitr. xv 507) from \checkmark *seq-* 'say' pres. *ἐν-έπω*.

These forms with *-ā-* in Italic, Keltic, and Slavonic are also used for the Conjunctive. Besides Lat. *fuā-s* given above we may cite *tulā-s* (cp. Gr. Dor. *ἔ-τλā-ς*). It is no more strange to find these suffixes in two moods than to find *-e-* and *-o-* in both indicative and conjunctive.

So with the *-ē-* which meets us in Italic future and conjunctive series, as Lat. fut. *so-lv-ē-s* conj. *ī-r-ē-s* Osc. *sakraīter fusíd* (§ 926), must be identified with *-ē-* in *ἔ-βλ-η-ν ἰ-μάν-η-ν*; compare Lat. *ed-e-t* with Lith. pret. *ėd-ė*, Osc. *fu-i-d* 'sit' (*i* = *ē*) with Gr. pret. *ἔ-φύ-η*.

Greek, in the mood answering to the Latin *a*-conjunctive, has a variation, sometimes *-η-* and sometimes *-ω-*; as *λίπη-τε λίπω-μεν*. Perhaps there were originally two sets of conjunctive forms, one with *-ē-* and one with *-ō-*; and from these a mixed paradigm was made, *-ē-* or *-ō-* being taken according as the corresponding indicative form had *-e-* or *-o-*. If so, the conjunctive *λίπη-τε* must be really the same as the aorist passive (*ἔ*)*λίπη-τε*, Lat. *fuā-s* the same as *-bās*, *tulā-s* the same as Gr. (*ἔ*)*τλā-ς*. There was a closer connexion between *-ē-* and *-ō-* than either of them had with *-ā-*, as is proved by such forms as **ġi-ē-* Gr. ζῆ: **ġi-ō-* ζώ-ω, **bhs-ē-* Gr. βῆ: **bhs-ō-* ψω-ρό-ς (other examples in § 587).

It would probably be much easier to thread our way through this labyrinth if we knew which of the three sounds

is represented by the *-ā-* of Aryan conjunctives. In the indicative forms, non-Aryan languages often give the clue; thus we derive Skr. *prā-si* from **plē-si* because Greek has *πλή-ρο* and Latin *-plē-s*, but *drā-ti* we derive from **dr-ā-ti* because of Greek *ἔ-δρα-ν*.

Such of these forms which serve for the Conjunctive will be left for examination together when we come to the Conjunctive, §§ 918 ff. (cp. § 489 pp. 47 f.).

As has already been mentioned (§ 487 p. 41), I believe that this *-ā-* suffix is the same as the feminine suffix *-ā-*; compare Skr. perf. *ji-jyāu jyā-sya-ti* Gr. Ion. *βε-βίη-ται βίη-σασο* with the fem. Skr. *jyā-*, *jiyā-*, Gr. *βία*, from *√gei-* subdue, force' (Skr. *jāy-a-ti ji-nā-ti*). This is no bolder than to suppose that indic. *ἄγ-ο-μεν* and conj. *εἰδ-ο-μεν* contain the same *-o-* as *ἀγ-ό-ς*. And some verbal stems with *-ē-* are actually used as nouns, as Gr. *χρ-ή* 'necessity' beside *κέ-χρη-μαι χρ-ῆ-σθαι*; Hom. *όμο-κλή*, 'loud cry or call' beside Cret. partic. *ἀνα-κλή-μενος*; Lat. *qui-ē-s* abl. *quīē* beside perf. *quīē-vi*; Skr. *ps-ā-* 'food' beside *ps-ā-ti* cp. *ψῆ* for **ψη-ιει*. The same *-ē-* nouns are seen in Lat. *plē-bam*, *licē-bat*, *arē-bat*, *are faciō*, O.C.Sl. *bē-achū žirē-achū* and the like (§ 896 Rem., §§ 899, 903).

Verbs made with these suffixes are often extended by *-iō-*; as beside Skr. *sn-ā-ti* 'washes, bathes' Lat. *nā-s nā-mus* we have Skr. *snā-ya-tē* Lat. *nō* for **nā-(i)ō* O.Ir. 3rd sing. *snāid*; and it is impossible to draw a distinct line between the older inflexion and that with *-iō-*. Thus we must make frequent comparisons with the *iō-* conjugation of Class XXVIII.

In one other respect it is difficult, if not impossible, to draw a hard and fast line. The class of verbs to which grammarians mostly restrict the term Denominative are often inseparable from this tenth class and its *iō-* extension; as Lat. *plantō* (for **plantā-(i)ō plantā-s* etc. from *plantā-* 'plant' like *nōnās* etc., Gr. Lesb. *ἱ-τίμα-μεν ἱ-τίμα-τε* from *τίμα-* 'honour' like *ἔ-δρα-μεν ἔ-δρα-τε*, Armen. *jana-m jana-mk̄* like *mna-m mna-mk̄*. That these denominatives had originally only *-iō-* (or

-*īo*) in all persons cannot be proven (cp. § 487 p. 42); and in view of the great number of forms like Lat. *plantā-s plantā-mus* without -*īo* in the Idg. languages, it is very improbable.

Class X.

Unreduplicated Root + -*ā*- -*ē*- or -*ō*- forming the Present Stem.

§ 579. Root + -*ā*-.

Pr. Idg. **dr-ā-ti* 'runs' (cp. Skr. *dr-āva-ti dr-ama-ti* etc., § 488 p. 47): Skr. *drā-ti* imper. *drā-hi*, Gr. ἔδρα-ν ἔδρα-μεν. **tr-ā-ti* (cp. Skr. *tar-* 'press through, pass over'): Skr. *trā-ti* 'rescues, saves' (orig. 'lets go through, or gets happily out of') mid. *trā-sva trā-dhvam* (*trā-ya-tē*), Lat. *in-trā-s -trā-mus* (1st sig. -*trō* for **trā-īō*) and *trans* Umbr. *traf trahaf* 'trans' (orig. nom. sing. of the participle, see Thielmann, Arch. Lat. Lex. iv 248 ff., 358 ff.).¹⁾ **sn-ā-ti* 'washes, bathes' intr. (cp. Skr. *sn-āu-ti* 'trickles' partic. *sn-u-ta-s*, Gr. ν-έω fut. ν-εῖ-σομαι): Skr. *snā-ti* 3rd dual *snā-tas* (*snā-ya-tē*), Lat. *nā-s nā-mus* (1st sing. *nō*), cp. Gr. νάω 'I flow' νά-μα. **bhū-ā- bhūy-ā-* from √*bhuy-* 'become, be': Lat. -*bā-s -bā-mus*, O.Ir. 3rd sing. *bā ba* (conj. and fut.), Lith. *būvo* 'was' *būvo-me*; variant **bhū-ē- bhuy-ē-*, see § 587. **sruy-ā-* from *srey-* 'flow': Gr. Epidaur. ἔρρῶα 'flowed', Lith. *pa-srūvo* 'flowed'; variant **sruy-ē-* Gr. ἔρρῶη § 589. **g-ā-t *e-g-ā-t* 'went' (cp. **g-em-*, § 497 Rem. p. 57): Skr. *ā-gā-t ā-gā-ma*, Gr. ἔ-βη ἔ-βη-μεν. Sometimes verbs which originally belonged to Class I, and had gradation, were absorbed into this class and lost it: see § 495 p. 55.

Examples of similar conjugation in later denominative verbs from *ā*-stems: 1st pl. Armen. *jana-mē*, Gr. Aeol. τῖμα-μεν, Lat. *plantā-mus*, O.Ir. *no chara-m*, Lith. *jū'sto-me*.

It is naturally often doubtful whether an *ā*-verb belongs to the Primitive or the Denominative class, to use the terms

1) *intrāre extrāre* were clearly regarded by the Romans as derived from *intrā extrā*. But *trāns* makes it quite as probable that they are compounds of **trāre*. F. D. Allen, Am. Journ. Phil. i 143 ff., does not convince me.

in their received sense. For example, Lat. *forō forās*, O.H.G. *borōm borōs* 'I bore', common ground-form **bhgr-ā-*, beside O.H.G. *bora* f. 'borer' (cp. § 769).

§ 580. Aryan. Besides those mentioned in § 579, there are few Aryan verbs which can fairly be supposed to have original *-ā-*, to judge from the cognate languages. Skr. *śr-ā-ti* (gramm.) beside *śrā-ya-ti* 'cooks, roasts' from $\sqrt{\text{ker-}}$ (Gr. $\kappa\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\alpha\iota$, Skr. *śr-tá-s*); cp. Gr. $\mu\iota\text{-}\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\mu\iota$ 'I mix' Class XI, perf. $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\iota$, $\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ 'unmixt' (= Skr. *śrā-tá-s*). Skr. *ml-ā-ti* 'softens, slackens, decays' 3rd pl. *ml-ā-nti* (beside *mlā-ya-ti*) from $\sqrt{\text{mel-}}$ 'molere', cp. Gr. Dor. $\beta\lambda\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\xi$ $\beta\lambda\eta\text{-}\chi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ 'slack, flabby' (O.Ir. *mlāith blāith* 'soft, tender' perhaps with \int , I § 306 p. 243). Skr. opt. *mnā-ya-t* 'commemoret' 3rd pl. *mnā-y-ur* from $\sqrt{\text{men-}}$ 'think', cp. Gr. Dor. perf. $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\mu\nu\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\tau\alpha\iota$. Skr. *dhy-ā-ti* beside *dhyā-ya-ti* 'thinks of' (perf. *da-dhyāu*) beside *ā-dī-dhē-t* § 537 p. 97, cp. Gr. $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha$ $\sigma\eta\mu\alpha$ = Skr. *dhy-ā-man-* II § 117 p. 370.¹⁾

We subjoin a few more of the forms with *-ā-* whose suffix may be either Idg. *-ā-* or Idg. *-ē-* or *-ō-*: *ghr-ā-ti* 'smells' (perf. *ja-ghrāu* partic. *ghrā-tá-s*) beside *jī-ghar-ti* Class III (§ 540 p. 100); *dr-ā-ti* 'sleeps' (*da-drāu drā-ṇa-s*) beside Gr. $\delta\alpha\rho\text{-}\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ Lat. *dor-miō* (cp. the Author, M. U., I 43); *dhm-ā-nt-* 'blowing' (*da-dhmāu dhmā-tá-s*) beside *dhām-a-ti* Class II A; *khy-ā-ti* 'looks, seems, makes known' (*ca-khyāu khyā-tá-s* beside *ā-khy-a-t* Class II B (see footnote).

Remark. Denominatives from *ā-*stems of the later stratum in Aryan form the present in *-ā-ya-ti*, not *-ā-ti*, see § 766. Forms like *mālā-ti* 'he is like a wreath' (*mālā-*) are an artificial product of a late period.

§ 581. Armenian. *mna-m* 'I remain, await' 1st pl. *mna-mē* (aor. *mna-çi*), from the root of Gr. $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\text{-}\omega$ 'I remain', and probably connected directly with Skr. *mn-ā-* Gr. $\mu\nu\text{-}\acute{\alpha}$ - (§ 580). *kea-m* 'I live' ground-form **gi-ā-mi* (Bartholomae, Stud. Idg. Spr., II 134) or **gīyā-mi* (cp. Skr. *jīvā-tu-ṣ* 'life', beside Skr. *jīva-ti* 'lives' Lat. *vīvō*, which was derived from

1) Fick, Wtb. I⁴ 32, connects $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha$ with Skr. *khyā-ti*, for which see below.

✓ *gei-* by the suffix *-μο-*, but was regarded very early as a verb of Class II; cp. § 488 p. 47). *orca-m* 'I break wind, belch' for **oruc-a-m*, cp. O.C.Sl. *ryga-jā* 'ructo'.

Denominatives with *-ā-* of the newer stratum are inflected just as these are; as *jana-m* 'I take pains, strive' 1st pl. *jana-mē* (*jan* 'pains, excitement, diligence'), *olba-m* 'I bewail' 1st pl. *olba-mē* (*olb* 'lament'). *xroxta-m* 'I am haughty, defiant' 1st pl. *xroxta-mē* (*xrox* 'haughty, defiant').

§ 582. Greek. *ἔδρα-ν* 'I ran' 1st pl. *ἔδρα-μεν* 3rd pl. *ἔδρα-ν*: Skr. *drā-ti*, see § 579 p. 121. *ἔτλη-ν* Dor. *ἔτλα-ν* 'I endured' 1st pl. *ἔτλη-μεν* 3rd pl. *ἔτλα-ν*, imper. *τλή-θι*, from ✓ *tel-* (*τολ-μή*, *τελάσσαι*). Hom. *πλή-το* 'drew near' (cp. Dor. *ἄ-πλά-το-ς* *πλά-τιο-ν*), beside *πελάζω* 'I bring near'. *ἔβη-ν* Dor. *ἔ-βᾶ-ν* 'I went': Skr. *á-gā-t*, see § 579 p. 121. Att. *ἔ-γηρά-ν* 'I grew old' inf. *γηράναι* from pres. *γηράσκω*. Epidaur. *ἔξ-ερρά-ν*: Lith. *pa-srūvo* 'I flowed'. Hesych. *ἐφθιά*: *ἀπέθανεν* (cod. *ἐφθιά*). Other forms of the same kind collected by Fick in the Gött. Gel. Anz. for 1881, pp. 1430 ff., and Bartholomae, Stud. Idg. Spr., II 128 f.

Denominatives with *-ā-* belonging to the newer stratum were conjugated in this Class in the Aeolic dialect; e. g. pl. *τίμα-μεν* *τίμα-τε* (but att. *τιμῶμεν* *τιμᾶτε*). The 1st sing. in *-αιμι* is a re-formation in place of *-ᾶμι*, and *-οιμι* instead of *-ωμι*. Cp. §§ 589, 775.

Forms passing from Class I to Class X: *ἔ-στη-μεν* instead of **ἔ-στᾶ-μεν*, *ἔ-φθη-μεν* instead of **ἔ-φθᾶ-μεν* (but the middle keeps *φθᾶ-*, as *φθᾶ-μενο-ς*). See § 495 p. 55.

Remark. Hom. *πλήντο* instead of **πλᾶντο* following *πλήμην* etc., so *ἄνηται* *ἐμπλήντο* instead of **ἄνενται* **πλᾶντο*. Similarly opt. *ἔμ-πλήντο* and *μεμνήμην* *κεκλήμην*, see § 944. But some are regular, aot. *ἄεισι* *ἄεντες*; *δράντες* (on *ἔδρα-ν* *ἔγρον* see § 1020. 2). Compare I § 611 Rem. p. 462.

§ 583. Italic. The 1st sing. pres. in **-ā-mi* is lost; in its place Latin had always **-ā-iō*, which became *-ō*. Lat. *trāns* Umbr. *traf trahaf*, Lat. *in-trā-s* *-trā-mus*: Skr. *trā-ti*; Lat. 1st sing. *in-trō* beside Skr. *trā-ya-tē*, see § 579 p. 121. Lat.

fl-ā-s fl-ā-mus, cp. O.H.G. *blāu* 'I blow' for **bhl-ē-īð* and Gr. *q.λ-ύω* 'I abound'. Lat. *n-ā-s n-ā-mus*: Skr. *sn-ā-ti* 'washes, bathes', see § 579 p. 121. Ital. **fā-* for **fū-ā-* from $\sqrt{bhey-}$ 'become, be', pret. **fā-m*: Lat. *amā-bā-s -bā-mus*, Osc. *fu-fans* 'erant' (§ 899), cp. Lat. conj. *fu-ā-s*: O.Ir. *bā ba* etc. (§ 579 p. 121). Lat. *hi-ā-s hi-ā-mus*, 1st sing. *hiō* = Lith. *žiō-ju* 'open the mouth', cp. Lat. *hī-scō*, O.H.G. *gi-nō-m gei-nō-m* 'I gape'. Lat. *inquam* for **en-sq-ā-m* injunctive, $\sqrt{seq-}$ 'say', cp. *in-qui-t in-qui-nt* (Class XXVI § 717) Gr. *ἐν-σπ-ε* (Class II B) *ἐν-σπ-ή-σω*.

d-ā- from $\sqrt{dō-}$ 'give' is found not only as a conjunctive (Lat. *ad-dā-s*, Osc. *da-dad* 'reddat'), but as indicative too, Lat. *dās dat*. The last two are doubtless injunctive forms (*dat* instead of **dā-d*), and *d-ā-s*: *ad-dā-s* = *-bā-s*: *fuā-s*, *tulā-s*: Gr. *ἐ-τλā-ς*.

era-m erā-s is to *es-t* what *ea-m* (used for conj.) is to *i-t*. The use of the injunctive **fū-ā-* = Lat. *-ba-m* for the imperfect certainly had something to do with the use of the injunctive *erā-* as imperfect. Some scholars (the latest is Bartholomae, Stud. Idg. Spr. II 187 f.) connect *eram* with Ion. *ἐῖην ἔησθα*; *ἦην* would be the augmented form; for another possible explanation see § 858. 2.

Other Verbs belonging to this class are: Lat. *juvā-s* (partic. *-jūtu-s* perf. *jūvī*) for **djugu-ā-s*: Lith. *džiūgo-s* 'he broke out into rejoicing' (pres. 1st sing. *džiungū-s*); *lav-ā-s* (beside *lav-i-s*), cp. perf. *lavī*; *dom-ā-s cub-ā-s mic-ā-s ē-legāns* (beside *ē-ligere*) *sec-ā-s* (Umbr. *pru-sekatu* 'prosecato') and others, cp. perf. *domuī cubuī micuī secuī*. Doubtless we should also place here certain stems which have *-ā-* all through the verb, as *arā-s* perf. *arāvī* partic. *arātu-s*, cp. Gr. *ἀράω* 'I plough' (Hom. 3rd pl. *ἀρόωσι* Heracl. *ἀράσσοντι*, Sütterlin, Zur Gesch. der Verba denom. im Altgr., I 22), O.C.Sl. *ora-* 'to plough' in the aor. *ora-chŭ* partic. pret. act. *ora-vŭ* inf. *ora-ti*.

In Latin, there are a number of verbs which have the *ā*-flexion when compounded, but some other when not. Examples: *oc-cupāre*: *capiō*, *suspiciārī*: *speciō*, *prōfligāre*: *fligō*, *com-*

-pellāre : pellō, aspernārī : spernō. This difference had probably something to do with a difference of meaning; the compound as contrasted with the simple verb often had a perfect (aorist) meaning. The *a*-formation gave an aoristic meaning, and *occupāre* stands to *capiō*, much in the same relation as Gr. *μαρῆναι* to *μαίνομαι*, *prōflīgāre* to *flīgō* as *λιπῆναι* to *λείπομαι*. The indic. pres. *occupā-t* is then an aorist formation, like *lic-et* (Gr. *ἐλίπη*) beside *linquō* (§§ 590, 708), conj. *ad-venās ē-venās* (beside Osc. *kúm-bēned* 'convenit') beside *veniō*, *tag-i-t* beside *tangi-t*, and the like. This *a*-aorist seems to be as old as the *ē*-aorist: cp. Gr. Epidaur. *ἔρρῶ* 'he flowed', Lith. *pa-srūvo* 'he flowed' *kūlo* 'he raised himself'; perhaps to this class belongs the Armenian *a*-aorist, as *cn-a-y* 'genui, natus sum' (Bartholomae, Stud. Idg. Spr., II 130, cp. § 573). Compare further § 708 Rem.

In the whole range of Italic dialects, the later group of denominatives with *-a-* went hand in hand with the present flexion of this tenth Class. Lat. *planta-s -a-mus* 1st sing. *plantō* like *in-tra-s* etc. Umbr. *furfant* 'februant' imper. *portatu* 'portato', Osc. *faamat* 'habitat' *sakarater* 'sacratur' imper. *deivatud* 'iurato'. Compare §§ 738, 777.

§ 584. Keltic. Irish has only one monosyllabic present stem of the same kind as Idg. *tr-a-*, to wit, **bhū-a-*. This stem is certainly attested in conjunctive and future use (cp. Lat. *fu-a-m*), as 3rd sing. *ba ba* = **bhū-a-t*. Whether it acted also as the preterite copula (cp. Lat. *-bam*), is doubtful, because its 3rd person singular appears after particles as *-bu -bo* (e. g. *robu robo*), which looks like original **bhū-t* (Gr. *ἔ-φῑ*). Most likely the 1st and 3rd sing. *ba* and 3rd pl. *batir*, which still have those forms even in Old Irish, should be derived from a preterite **bhū-a-*.

Then there are a few dissyllabic present stems, as O.Ir. *scarā-* 'sunder, part from' for **skyr-a-* (I § 298. 3 p. 237), *scar'im scar'i scar'id scarmme scarthe scar'it* for **scarā-mi -a-si* etc., also *no scaru* for **scarā-iō* like Lat. *juvō*. And

again, the same inflexion is used with the later group of denominative verbs, as *com-alnaim* 'I fill up' (§ 778). Even more clearly than in Irish we see this *ā*-flexion in the British dialects; 3rd sing. O.Brit. *-ot* (with *o* = *ā*), e. g. O.Bret. *cospitiot* 'titubat' *crihot* 'vibrat'.

Remark. Remarkable forms of the verb *-tau -tō* 'I am' (= Idg. **stā-īō*, Class XXVI § 706) are the 3rd sing. *at-tā* and the plural *-tam -tad -tat*, which may correspond to Lat. *sta-t* and *stā-mus stā-tis sta-nt*. That *at-tā* comes from **-stā(ī)e-t* can hardly be proved, and the unaccented *-tam -tad -tat* need not be shortened by-forms of accented *at-taam*, *ataād* *ataaith*, *at-taat*, which may be secondary re-formates. Still I do not believe that we need assume, parallel to *stā*-, an original stem *st-ā*, i. e. an extension of the root by the *ā*-suffix of this tenth class; but I think that in Italic as in Keltic there was a tendency for verbs to pass from Class XXVI into this, caused by parallel present stems like *tr-ā*- and *tr-ā-īo*-. Compare § 505 pp. 71 f., §§ 706, 716, 719.

§ 585. Germanic. No monosyllabic stems of the first stratum, without *-īo*-, are found at all; unless indeed it be represented by O.H.G. *tuō-m* from $\sqrt{dhē}$ - (see § 507 p. 74). But the said inflexion has many representatives amongst disyllabic stems (mostly denominatives of the later stratum), cp. Goth. *mitō-s* 'thou measurest' *salbō-s* 'thou anointest', *mitō-p* *salbō-p*, *-ō-m* *-ō-p*, *-ō-nd*, O.H.G. *borō-m* *-ō-s* and so forth (cp. §§ 739, 781).

§ 586. Balto-Slavonic. Monosyllabic stems are declined in Class XXVIII; as Lith. *ži-ō-ju* 'hio' *žiō-ji* *-j(a)* *-ja-me* *-ja-te*, O.C.Sl. *tr-a-jā* 'I last, endure' *tra-je-ši* *-je-tū* *-je-mū* *-je-te* *-jatū* (cp. § 740). But imperatives like Lith. *žiō-k* = Lat. *hia* (§ 957) should be classed here.

Dissyllabic stems without *-īo*- spread very widely in Baltic. To this class belong a very numerous group of preterites in *-au*, as Lith. *buvau* 'I was' *buvai buvo buvo-me buvo-te*: Lat. *-b-a-s*; *pa-srūvo* 'flowed': Gr. Epidaur. *ἐρρῶ* (§ 582 p. 123); *džiug-au-s* 'I broke out into rejoicing': Lat. *juv-ā-s* (§ 583 p. 124); *gij-au* 'I revived' (cp. Avest. *jyāiti-s* 'life' Gr. ζῆν 'lives' for **gi-ē-īe*-, from \sqrt{gei} -); *kil-au* 'I raised myself', *vilk-au* 'I dragged', *snig-o* 'it snowed'. With augment *ėj-au* 'I went'

(§ 480 p. 28): Lat. *eā-* for **eġ-ā-* as conjunctive. Also presents; as *bij-aũ-s* 'I fear', *lind-au* 'I am stowed away somewhere'.

These forms had originally secondary personal endings, *-ā-m -ā-s -ā-t* etc., like Lat. *-bam bās*. But the 1st and 2nd sing. were transformed, the ending of *suk-ū suk-i* being added to *-ā-*. See on this point § 991. 1.

In verbs like *bij-aũ-s lind-au*, *-ā-* was carried through the whole verb (fut. *bijó-siũ-s lindo-siu* etc.). Thus they were related to the *ā*-preterite (*buv-aũ* beside fut. *bú-siu*, *džiug-aũ-s* beside fut. *džiūk-siũ-s*), as Lat. *ar-ā-* to *juv-ā-* (§ 583 pp. 124 f.).

O.C.Sl. has only one present of this sort, *im-a-mĭ* 'I have' *im-a-ši -a-tŭ -a-mŭ -a-te*; parallel stem *im-ē-* in partic. pret. act. *imē-vŭ* etc., cp. Lith. pret. 3rd sing. *ĕm-ē*.

Amongst the later Lithuanian denominatives those in *-au* with inf. *-yti*, as *jũ'stau* 'I gird' (*jũ'styti*) from *jũ'sta* 'girdle', see § 782. 4. Another group of later denominatives from stems in *-ā-* has *-o-ju -o-ti*; e. g. *dovanó-ju* 'I present', inf. *dovanó-ti*, from *dovanà*, see §§ 769, 783.

§ 587. Root + *-ē-* or *-ō-*.

Pr. Idg. **gl-ē-ti* from $\sqrt{\text{gel-}}$ 'fall' (cp. Gr. *βέλ-ος* 'missile' *βολ-ή* 'throw'): Skr. *gl-ā-ti* 'falls off, loses strength' (*glā-ya-ti*), Gr. *ἐ-βλη-ν* 'I received a blow, I was struck', 1st pl. *ἐ-βλη-μεν* mid. *ἐ-βλη-το*, opt. *βλείην βλείμεν*. **pl-ē-* **pl-ō-* from $\sqrt{\text{pel-}}$ 'fill' (Goth. *fil-u* 'much' etc.): Skr. 2nd sing. hortative *prā-si* aor. *á-prā-t*, Gr. *πλη-το* *πλη-ντο* (§ 582 Rem. p. 123), Lat. *im-plē-s -plē-mus -plē-tur* (1st sing. *plēō* for **plē-ġō*); parallel stem **pġl-ē-* in Lith. *pýlē* 'he shed' instead of **pilé* (§ 593); **pl-ō-* in Lat. *plōrāre* Goth. *flō-du-s* 'flood', and doubtless in Gr. *ἐπ-έπλων* 'I sailed over' pres. *πλώ-ω* partic. *πλω-τό-ς*. **(s)n-ē-* **(s)n-ō-* 'weave, spin, sew' (**(s)n-ē-* in O.C.Sl. *ni-tŭ* 'thread'? cp. Per Persson, Stud. Lehr. Wurzelersw., 64): Gr. 3rd sing. *ἐ-ννη* Herodian II 507 22 L. (*νέω* from **snē-ġō*), Lat. *nē-s nē-mus* (cp. O.H.G. *nāu* 'I sew' for **(s)nē-ġō*); **sn-ō-* in O.Ir. *snā-the* 'thread' O.H.G. *snuo-r* 'cord, band'; Skr. *snā-van-* Avest. *snā-var*

'band, sinew' may be derived from **sn-ē-* on the strength of Gr. *νεῦρο-ν* 'sinew' (for *(σ)νη-*f-ro-ν*). **gn-ē-* **gn-ō-* 'learn, know' from √*gen-* (Avest. *ā-zainti-š* 'information' Lith. *pa-žinti-s* 'knowing, knowledge', Skr. 2nd sing. imper. *jñ-a* Class II B): Skr. opt. *jñā-yā-t* and *jñēyā-t* (§ 940), Gr. *ἐ-γνώ-ν* *ἐ-γνώ-μεν* opt. *γνοῖ-μεν*, cp. O.H.G. *knāu* for **gnē-īō*, O.C.Sl. *znajetŭ* for **gnō-īe*.¹⁾ **mṇ-ē-* from √*men-* 'think' (Gr. *μέν-ος* 'mind' etc.): Gr. *ἐ-μάνη* *ἐ-μάνη-μεν*, Lith. *min-ė* *min-ė-me*, cp. Goth. 3rd sing. *munaiþ* for **mun-ē-īi-đi* (§§ 708, 739); also **mn-ā-* § 580 p. 122. **ī-ē-* **ī-ō-* 'go' from √*ei-* 'go' (Gr. *εἰ-μι*): Skr. *yā-ti* *yā-mās* mid. *yā-mahē*, Goth. 2nd sing. *iddjē-s* (§ 478 p. 26), cp. Goth. *j-ēr* 'year' and Gr. *ὥ-ρος* 'year' *ὥ-ρᾱ* 'season' O.C.Sl. *ja-rŭ* 'spring'; Lith. *jó-ju* 'I ride' and Lat. *jā-nu-s* *janua* doubtless from **ī-ā-*, from the same √*ei-* (cp. Lat. conj. *e-ā-s*). **bḥu-ē-* **bḥu-ō-* from √*bḥeu-* 'become, be' (Skr. *bhāv-a-ti*): Gr. *ἐ-φύη* *ἐ-φύη-μεν*, O.C.Sl. 2nd and 3rd sing. imperf. *bě* for **bḥuē-s-t* (beside *běchŭ* *běchomŭ* etc. like *želěchŭ* etc. beside *želě*, *dělachŭ* etc. beside *děla* and the like), the same stem in Lat. *fē-tu-s*; **bḥu-ō-* perhaps in Gr. *φω-λεό-ς* O.Icel. *bō-l* 'resting-place, position'; cp. **bḥu-ā-* **bḥu-ō-* § 579 p. 121. **u-ē-* **u-ō-* 'to blow' (cp. the Author, M. U. I 27 ff., Per Persson, *op. cit.*, 91, 225): Skr. *vā-ti* pl. *vā-nti* (*vā-ya-ti*), Gr. *ἄη-σι* mid. *ἄη-ται*, Lat. *ventu-s* Goth. *vind-s* 'wind' for **uē-nt-o-* like Gr. *ἄ-εντ-* for **āFη-ντ-* (I § 612 p. 462, § 614 p. 464), cp. Goth. *vaia* for **uē-īō* O.C.Sl. *vě-je-tŭ*; **uō-* in Gr. *ἄω-το-ς* 'down, piece of wool' (Goth. perf. *vai-vō* is doubtless a re-formate following *sai-sō* from √*sē-* *sō-*, see §§ 883, 884). **bhs-ē-* **bhs-ō-* (cp. I § 552 p. 403) 'pound small, chew, grind up' beside Skr. *bā-bhas-ti* Class V (§ 556 p. 108): Skr. *psā-ti*, cp. Gr. *ψῆ* for **ψη-ξει*; **bhs-ō-* in Gr. *ψά-ω* *ψά-χω* 'I grind or rub to powder' *ψω-ρό-ς* 'scabby'. **liq-ē-* from √*leiq-* 'leave' (Gr. *λείπ-ω* etc.): Gr.

1) It is true that O.H.G. *knāu* is not an unexceptionable example for **gn-ē-*. It might be assumed that this present was formed in connexion with a perfect Goth. **kai-knō* and on the analogy of **sē-īō* (Goth. *saiā* O.H.G. *sāu*): *sai-sō* from √*sē-* (*sō-*).

ἐ-λίπ-η-ν -η-μεν, Lat. *lic-e-t*.¹⁾ Lat. *tac-ē-s -ē-mus*, O.H.G. *dag-ē-s* 'thou art silent'. Lat. *scat-ē-s -ē-mus*, Lith. *su-skat-ē* 'he leapt up'.

With dissyllabic stems in *-ē-*, in which the root remained a separate syllable, the *ē*-suffix does not appear in so many different parts of the verb as with monosyllabic stems. In a number of verbs, especially intransitive verbs, of the European languages, a firm connexion sprang up between present formations with the suffix *-jo-* and forms with *-ē-*, as Gr. *μαίνομαι ἐμάην* = O.C.Sl. *mīnja mīnē-ti*. See § 708.

§ 588. Aryan. Almost all the Sanskrit forms which can with any kind of certainty be placed in this class have been mentioned in § 587. Beside *yā-ti* we have Avest. *yāiti*; beside *vā-ti*, Avest. *vāiti* 3rd pl. *vā-nti*.

In this class was conjugated Ar. *pā-* 'protect', whose *-ā-*, in view of Gr. *πῶν* 'herd' (II § 104 p. 315, § 105 Rem. p. 318) seems to look like Idg. *-ō-*: 2nd sing. Skr. *pā-si*, Avest. *pā-hi*, imper. 3rd sing. Skr. *pā-tu* Avest. *pā-tū* O.Pers. *pā-tūw* 2nd sing. Skr. *pā-hi* O.Pers. *pā-dīy* 2nd pl. Skr. *pā-tā* Avest. *pā-ta*, opt. Avest. *pā-yā-ḥ*. On *πῶν ποι-μήν*, compare now Per Persson, in the work so often cited, 118.

§ 589. Greek. Of monosyllabic stems may be further mentioned (cp. § 587): *φρ-η-* 'bring' from $\sqrt{\text{bher-}}$ (*φέρ-ω*): *ἐκ-φρ-η-ται* 'is let out' partic. *ἐπ-εισ-φρεῖς* infin. *εἰσ-φρῆναι* (forms like imper. *φρέε* come by analogy of *ἴημι* and the like, see the Author, Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 1880, 217 ff.). *χρ-η-* 'wish, desire' beside Skr. *hár-ya-ti* 'desires': 2nd sing. *χρῆ-σθα*, cp. *χρῆ* for **χρ-η-μει* (Mekler, Beitr. zur Bildung des gr. Verb., pp. 23 f.). *κλ-η-* 'call' beside *καλέω*: Cret. part. *ἀν-κλή-μενο-ς* beside *ἀνα-καλέω* (Th. Baunack, Philologus XLIX 593 f.), cp. *όμο-κλή*

1) Bersu (Die Gutturalen, p. 154) denies that *licet* and *linguē* are connected, because *licet* has *c*, and *qu* would be expected. I conjecture that there was once a form **liciō* (Skr. *ric-ya-tē* Gr. *λίσσωμεν* § 707), which came regularly from **licy-īō* (as *farcīō* comes from **farcy-īō* § 715). Hence *licet*. Compare § 708.

(Hom. ὀμοκλόμεν). σβ-η- 'quench' beside σβ-εσ- (§ 643) √ *seg-*: ἔ-σβ-η-ν ἔ-σβ-η-μεν. We must also mention in this place, although it is true they are not all old formations, some forms of the 2nd sing. aor. in -θης = Skr. -*thās* (see below), as ἐ-βλή-θης beside ἔ-βλη-το, ἐ-νή-θης beside ἔ-ννη, see § 587 p. 127; ἐ-ρρή-θης beside ῥρ-η- 'speak' ῥη-τό-ν = Avest. *urvāte-m* 'determination, command' (I § 157 p. 141) from √ *uer-* (Gr. εἶρω Lat. *ver-bu-m*);¹⁾ ἐ-κλή-θης beside κλ-η- 'call' ἀν-κλή-μενο-ς κέ-κλη-μαι ὁμο-κλή (see above).

Of dissyllabic stems we have already mentioned ἐ-μάν-η-ν, ἐ-φύ-η-ν, and ἐ-λίπ-η-ν in § 587. This *ē*-formation, with intransitive meaning, became fertile (this is what the grammars call the "strong aorist"); a few further examples are ἐ-δάρ-η-ν 'I was flayed' √ *der-*, ἐ-ρρύ-η 'flowed' √ *srex-*, ἐ-τάρπ-η-ν ἐ-τάρπ-η-ν 'I enjoyed myself, was glad' √ *terp-*, ἐ-κλάν-η-ν 'I let myself be deceived, was deceived' √ *qlēp-*, ἐ-μίγ-η-ν 'I mixed myself' √ *meik-*, ἐ-ζύγ-η-ν 'had myself yoked, was joined' √ *jeug-*, ἐ-σάπ-η 'rotted' from σήπ-ω 'cause to rot', ἐξ-επλάν-η-ν 'I was frightened' from pres. ἐκ-πλήττω cp. Lith. *plāk-ė* 'he struck' (pres. *plak-ù*). There was a reason why this category should become very large. Medio-passive forms of the 2nd sing. in -θης, as ἐ-δό-θης = Skr. *ā-di-thās*, ἐ-κτά-θης = Skr. *ā-kṣa-thās* (Class I), ἐ-βλ-ή-θης beside ἔ-βλ-η-το (Class X), ἐ-σχ-έ-θης beside ἔ-σχ-ε-το (Class II B); and forms from the *s*-aorists, as ἐρείσθης beside ἐρείσατο (ἐρείδ-ω 'I support, press against'), ἐμίχθης = *ἐ-μεικ-σ-θης beside ἔμεικτο = *ἐ-μεικ-σ-το μίγ-νῦ-μι 'I mix');²⁾ — these were all regarded as being on a par with ἐλίπη-ς etc., and then, by analogy of ἐλίπη-ν ἐλίπη etc. we have ἐδόθ-η-ν ἐδόθ-η and so forth, that is, from this grew the whole series of the "weak aorist passive". Compare O.Ir. 1st sing. -*burt* by analogy of 3rd sing. -*bert*, where -*t* is the middle personal

1) ἐρρήθης εἶρέθης i. e. **e-ur-e-thās* follows Class II B (§ 527 p. 90), op. Skr. *d-khy-a-t* beside *khy-ā-ti*, imper. *jñ-a* beside *jñ-ā-sya-ti*, etc.

2) Compare § 836, on ἐ-κορέσ-θης; and § 840 on ἐ-κρεμάσ-θης.

ending *-to* (§ 506 pp. 72 f.), and Lith. 1st sing. *eiti* by analogy of 3rd sing. *ei-t* = Gr. *ἔλ-σι* (§ 686 Rem. 2).

Dissyllabic stems with *-σ-*, are rare in Attic (cp. *ἐ-γῆρα-ν* § 582 p. 123): *ἔαλω-ν* for **ἡ-χαλω-ν* (§ 479 p. 27) 'fell a prisoner, was captured' 1st pl. *ἔαλω-μεν* partic. *άλόντ-*; *ἐ-βίω-ν* 'I lived' 1st pl. *ἐ-βίω-μεν*.

The Aeolic dialect inflects the whole group of newly formed denominatives in *-έω* and *-όω*, and the Causatives in *-έω* (Class XXXII) as though belonging to Class X; e. g. Lesb. *φίλη-μι* 'I love, am wont' from *φίλο-ς*, *φόρη-μι* 'I carry' (Class XXXII), *στεφάνω-μι* 'I crown' from *στέφανο-ς* (Att. *φιλῶ* for *φιλέω*, *φορῶ* for *φορέω*, *στεφανῶ* for *στεφανόω*), 2nd pl. *φίλη-τε* *στεφάνω-τε*, 3rd pl. *φίλεισι* *στεφάνοισι* for **-ενσι* **-ονσι* (I § 205 p. 172), mid. *φίλη-μαι* *στεφάνω-μαι*. This was a new formation entirely, which came naturally because other tenses than the present were alike in the two classes, for instance *ἀήσεται* : *φιλῆσεται*, *γνώ-σεται* : *στεφανώ-σεται*, and because of the old Aeolic inflexion of *α*-stems (§ 578 p. 120); for verbs in *-ημι*, another factor in the change may have been reduplicated stems like *κί-χη-μι* Class XI (§ 594), and the singular indic. pres. of verbs in *-ημι* or *-ωμι* may have been influenced by *τίθη-μι* *δίδω-μι* respectively.¹⁾ However, it must not be forgotten that *φιλέετε* *στεφανόομεν* would regularly become *φίλητε* *στεφάνωμεν* in Aeolic.

Remark. As regards *η ω* in forms like *ἄνται*, (Lesb.) *στεφάνωνται*, *ἔμ-πλῆτο* etc., see § 582 Rem. p. 123; and for the 3rd pl. act. pret. *ἔμικεν* *ἔγνω* etc. see § 1020. 2.

590. Italic. Of stems originally monosyllabic I mention a few others (cp. § 587): *fl-ē-s fl-ē-mus*, connected with O.H.G. *blāu* 'I blow' Gr. *φλ-έω φλ-ύω* 'I overflow, trickle' and doubtless with *fl-ō-s*. Compare also *spr-ē-vi spr-ē-tu-s*

1) Compare especially 2nd 3rd sing. *φίλης φίλη* like *τίθης τίθη*, variants *φίλεις φίλει*; and *στεφάνοις στεφάνοι* like *δίδοις δίδοι*. Similarly, we have *τίμαις τίμαι* like *ἰσταις ἰσται*. Then the diphthong passes to the 1st sing., giving *στεφάνοιμι τίμαιμι* (cp. *ἰσταιμι*).

from *sper-nō*; *qui-ē-scō qui-ē-vī*, connected with Avest. *šyēti-š* 'wellbeing, place of delight, home' (II § 100 p. 297) and Gr. *τε-τίη-μαι* 'I am frightened' (de Saussure, *Mém. Soc. Ling.*, VII 86 f.) beside Goth. *hwei-la* 'while, time' O.C.Sl. *po-koj-ī* 'rest'; (*g)n-ō-scō* (*g)n-ō-vī* beside Gr. *ἐ-γν-ω-ν* (§ 587 p. 128).

Dissyllabic stems, usually with intransitive meaning (cp. the Greek "passive aorist" in *-η-ν* § 589 p. 130). *lic-e-t*, Osc. *líkitud licitud* 'liceto': Gr. *ἐ-λίνη*, § 587 p. 129. *vid-ē-s vid-ē-mus*, cp. Lith. *pa-oydē-ti* 'invidere' O.C.Sl. *vid-ē-ti* 'to see'; *videō* for **uid-ē-iō* like Goth. *vitái-þ* 'looks towards something, observes'; notice Umbr. *virseto* 'visum'. *sil-ē-s*; with *sileō* cp. Goth. *silái-þ* 'silet'. *rub-ē-s*, cp. O.C.Sl. *rūd-ē-ti* 'redden, blush'. *fav-ē-s*, cp. O.C.Sl. *gov-ē-ti* 'religiose vereri', *ἐνλαβεῖ-σθαι*, *venerari*, *αἰδεῖσθαι* (see Ber. *sächs. Ges. Wiss.*, 1889, p. 47); *faveō* like *govējā*. *val-ē-s*, cp. Lith. *gal-ē-ti* 'to be able' (not so Bezzenberger in his *Beitr.* XVI 256). *tac-ē-s*: O.H.G. *dag-ē-s* 'art silent'; *tac-eō* like Goth. *þahái-þ*; observe Umbr. *tasez tases tasis* 'tacitus' pl. *tasetur* 'taciti'. *hab-ē-s*, Umbr. *habe* 'habet' habetu *habitu* 'habeto': O.H.G. *hab-ē-s* (✓ *khap- khab-* or *khabh- khab-*). Further, Lat. *clu-ē-s* ✓ *kley-*; *torp-ē-s* for **tʰp-ē-* (I § 303 p. 241); *cand-ē-s* doubtless for **qʷd-ē-* from ✓ (*s*)*gend-* (Skr. *ścand-rá- cand-rá-*, *cáni-ścad-a-t*); *liqu-ē-s* and others; Osc. *loufit* 'libet, vel' (Bréal, *Mém. Soc. Ling.* IV 145 f., 404 f.) beside Lat. *lubet*, closely connected with Goth. *lubáin-s* 'hope', and, as we shall see in § 708, with Skr. pres. *lúbh-ya-ti*; Umbr. *trebeit* 'versatur' from ✓ *treb-* 'build', which doubtless comes from **treb-ē-ti* rather than **treb-ī-ti* 1st sing. **treb-iō* (in Class XXVI, § 715). With nasal suffix, Lat. *langu-ē-s* from ✓ *slēg-* (§ 632). On this present in *-eō* compare § 708.

In the same way are inflected a late group of denominative verbs in *-eō*, and the Causatives in *-eō* (Class XXXII), e. g. *albēō albē-s* etc. from *albu-s*, and *moneō monē-s* etc. See §§ 777, 802.

§ 591. Keltic. I know nothing that can be classed here. *do-gniu* 'I do, make, work' 3rd sing. *gniith*, inflected just like

biu, which comes from **bhy-iǵō* (§ 719), is therefore from **gn-iǵō* not **gn-ē-iǵō*.

§ 592. Germanic. Goth. *iddja* 'I went' *iddjē-s* (pl. *iddjēdum* following *nasidēdum*): Skr. *á-yā-m*, see § 478 p. 26, § 587 p. 128, § 886 Rem. Goth. *vind-s* O.H.G. *wint* O.Icel. *vindr* 'wind': Lat. *ventu-s* contains the participle **μē-nt* 'blowing', see § 587 p. 128. Elsewhere, monosyllabic stems only have the *ǵō*-suffix (Class XXVIII), as Goth. *vaia* O.H.G. *waū* 'I blow' for **μē-iǵō*.

To this tenth class belong dissyllabic stems in *-ē-* as inflected in Old High German. *dag-ē-m* 'I am silent' *-ē-s -ē-t -ēm-ēs -ē-t -ē-nt*: Lat. *tac-ē-s* etc., *habē-m*: Lat. *hab-ē-s*, see § 590 p. 132. *dol-ē-m* 'I suffer, endure', cp. Lith. *tylė-ti* 'to be still, silent' (long *i* not original), common ground-form **tl̥-ē-* from √ *tel-*. *leb-ē-m* 'I live', cp. O.C.Sl. *pri-ŕpě-ti* 'hold or cleave to' Gr. *ἀλιφῆναι* from *ἀλείφω* 'anoint, smear' (for the derived meaning compare O.Icel. *lifa* 'be left over, live'). On these O.H.G. verbs in *-ēm* and their relation to Goth. verbs in *-a-áis* (as *dagēm*: *þaha*) see § 708.

§ 593. Balto-Slavonic. O.C.Sl. *bě* 'eras, erat' for **bhy-ē-s* **bhy-ē-t*, see § 587 p. 128. Lith. *ent-* 'going' perhaps for **i-ē-nt*, beside Goth. *iddj-ē-s* Skr. *y-ā-nt-*, see § 511 p. 77.

Then comes the Lith. preterite in *-ė* (3rd sing.), whose high antiquity in Baltic is vouched for by Pruss. *weddē* = Lith. *vėdė* 'he led'. *pylė*, *mīnė*, *su-skatė* were mentioned in § 587, *plākė* in § 590. Compare further *virė* from *vēr-du* 'I cook, boil', *mīrė* from *mīr-sztu* 'I die', *gimė* from *gem-ù* 'I am born', *ginė* from *gen-ù* 'I hunt, drive', *tāpė* from *tamp-ù* 'I become' (as to *ė* in the root-syllable of *vėmė* from *vemiù* 'I vomit', *gėrė* from *geriù* 'I drink' and the like, see § 894). These forms had originally secondary endings, **-ē-m* **-ē-s*; the 1st and 2nd sing., however, were transformed, the endings of *suk-ù* *suk-ł* being added to *-ē-*, and then *-ē-u* *-ē-i* became regularly *-iau* *-ei*, as *vedžiaũ* *vedėĩ*, *viriaũ* *vire*

(Wiedemann, Lit. Praet., 32, 184).¹⁾ Compare § 586 p. 126 on *buvaū duvaī*, and § 991. 1.

Lastly should be mentioned imperatives like *minē-k* 'think of' *pa-vyde-k* 'invade'; these answer to the Greek and Latin imperatives *μύνη-θι vidē* (§ 708).

Class XI.

Reduplicated Root + *-ā-*, *-ē-*, *-ō-*, forming the Present Stem.

§ 594. Reduplicator in *-i* (compare Classes III and IV).

Reduplicated Root + *-ā-*. Pr. Idg. **gi-g-ā-ti* 'goes' (cp. § 497 Rem. p. 57, § 579 p. 121): Skr. *jīgā-ti* 2nd pl. *jīgā-ta* (partic. *jīg-at-* in Class III), Gr. *βίβη-σι* 3rd pl. Dor. *βίβα-ντι* (cp. G. Meyer, Gr. Gr.² p. 431), partic. *βιβᾶς*.

Gr. *κίγ-κρά-μι* 'I mix' imper. *ἐγ-κίρα*, beside Skr. *śr-ā-ti* Class X (§ 580 p. 122); cp. below, on *πίμ-πλη-μι*. Gr. *δί-ζη-μαι* 'I seek, strive' for **δι-δε-μαι* beside *δί-ζο-μαι*, Class IV B (§ 549 p. 106) and beside Skr. *á-dē-dē-t* Class III (§ 537 p. 97); **δα-* we infer from Aeol. *ζάττημι* (Att. *ζητέω*) and Dor. *ζάττω* from the partic. **δι-α-το-*.

Possibly Idg. *-ā-* is contained in Germ. **ti-tr-ō-mi* O.H.G. *zittarōm* 'I tremble' O.Icel. *titra* 'I tremble, shake', from *√der-* 'burst' (cp. Skr. *dar-* 'push apart, lose one's head, be frightened').

Reduplicated Root + *-ē-*. Gr. *-πί-πλη-μι* *πίμ-πλη-μι* imper. Hom. *ἐμ-πίπληθι* partic. *-πιπλεῖς* (Hesiod, Hippocrates) beside *πλ-ῆ-το* Class X § 587 p. 127. *-πί-πορ-μι* *πίμ-πορ-μι*

1) I hold Wiedemann's explanation of *-iau* to be correct, notwithstanding Streitberg to the contrary (Idg. Forsch., I 267). Streitberg has overlooked one fact: to wit, that the diphthong *-ēu* in these words first appeared in Baltic, and is not so old as the pre-dialect period of Balto-Slavonic.

'I kindle', $\sqrt{\text{per-}}$. ἔλγμι 'I am gracious' imper. Hom. ἔλγθι for *σι-σλγ-, $\sqrt{\text{sel-}}$. κί-χρη-σι 'lends, borrows' Dor. κίγ-χρη-τι, beside χρ-ή and χερ-νής 'needy, poor'. τί-τρον-μι 'I bore', $\sqrt{\text{ter-}}$ τέρ-ε-τρον; cp. O.H.G. *drāu* 'I turn' from the same stem *tr-ē-* (§ 739). The weak persons of these Greek verbs (and probably of κίγ-κρᾱ-μι too) usually follow Class III, as -πίπλα-μεν = Skr. *pi-pr-mās*, ἔλα-μαι τίτρα-μαι etc. (ἔλα-θι beside ἔλγ-θι, πιπλάς beside -πιπλείς); this was due to present tenses like ἴστημι ἴσταμεν; Sanskrit offers a parallel in forms of the perfect system like *pa-pr-ā pa-pr-āu* : *pa-pr-vās-* (§ 850). See § 542 p. 102, § 621, where too is given the origin of the nasal in the reduplicator of πίμ-πλημι κίγ-κρᾱμι etc.¹⁾

Gr. κί-χ-η-μι 'I reach, find, catch up' 1st pl. κί-χ-η-μεν partic. κ-χῆ-μενο-ς. Origin uncertain.

O.H.G. *wi-wint* 'whirlwind' beside *wint* (§ 592 p. 133) was perhaps reduplicated first as a substantive.

Remark. Some verbs of Classes III and IV have an *-ā*-suffix in Italic in non-present tenses. Umbr. *an-dirsafust a-teřa-fust* 'circumtulerit' for **di-d-ā-* from $\sqrt{\text{dō-}}$ 'give' pres. Umbr. Osc. 1st sing. **di-d-ō*; Falisc. *pipafo* 'bibam' op. Skr. 3rd pl. *pi-p-atē* Lat. *bi-b-i-t* § 539 p. 100, § 553 p. 107; Volsc. *sistatiens* 'statuerunt' from **sistā-tens* (Osthoff, Perf. 244) beside Lat. *si-st-ō*. These *ā*-stems are identical with the *ā*-conjunctives of these verbs (Pelign. *di-d-a* 'det', Lat. *bi-b-ā-s*, *si-st-ā-s*) and are proofs of the wide range which the *ā*-suffix originally had (see § 578 pp. 118 ff.).

§ 595. Fuller Reduplication (cp. Class VII). Skr. *dāri-drā-ti* beside *dr-ā-ti* 'runs', *yāyā-varā-s* 'walking or moving about' from a presumed **yā-yā-ti* connected with *y-ā-ti* 'goes'. Armen. *mṛ-mṛ-a-m* *mr-mṛ-a-m* 'murmuro, fremo, rugio', Lat. 2nd sing. *mur-mur-ā-s*, O.H.G. *mur-mur-ō-s* *murmulo-s* 'murmurest', beside Gr. μορμύρω for *μορ-μυρ-ω Class XXVII (§ 730). Lat. *tin-tinn-ā-s* *tin-tin-ā-s* beside *tin-tinn-iō* Class XXVII (§ 731). Lat. *ul-ul-ā-s*, Lith. imper. *ul-ūl-ó-k*

1) Is Thess. inf. ἰσ-κίχρῆμεν (Collitz, Samml. no. 1557) an adformate of τίχρῆμεν, or did it come from an indic. *κίχρω (cp. περᾶσσιμεν)?

indic. *ul-ul-ó-ju* (cp. § 735). The Lat. 1st sing., *murmurō tintinnō ululō* for *-ā-īō* (cp. Lith. *ul-ul-ó-ju*) in Class XXVIII (§ 741).

D. CLASSES XII TO XVIII.

NASAL PRESENT STEMS.

§ 596. Specimen types of words which belong to this section are Skr. *mṛ-nā-ti ṛ-ṇō-ti yunák-ti* with the thematic *mṛ-nā-ti ṛ-ṇō-ti yuñjā-ti*; and Skr. *kṛp-āṇa-tē*.

A few remarks are necessary on these nasal accretions, which beyond all doubt are closely connected together.

(1) Skr. *mṛ-nā-ti* : *mṛ-nā-ti mṛ-ṇ-ánti*, *ṛ-ṇō-ti* : *ṛ-ṇō-ti ṛ-ṇv-ánti*, *yuñjā-ti* : *yunák-ti yuñj-ánti* = *vidá-ti* : *vēt-ti vid-ánti*; that is, there seems to be a definite relation between thematic and non-thematic forms; the thematic stem may be derived from the other by adding the thematic vowel to its weak form. See § 491 p. 50.

(2) The suffix *-ney- -nu-* is made out of *-nā- -nə- -n-* (Skr. *mṛ-nā-mi* Gr. *μάρο-ρα-μαι* Skr. *mṛ-ṇ-ánti*) by adding the suffix or determinative *-ey- -u-*. This *-u-* has been discussed, § 488 pp. 44 ff.

We often find *-u-* and *-nu-* in the same root; as **str-u-* (Goth. *stráun-ja*) and **stṛ-nu-* (Skr. *stṛ-ṇō-ti* Gr. *στόρο-νῦ-μι*), from $\sqrt{\text{ster-}}$ 'sternere'; **hl-u-* (Skr. *śr-ō-ṣi śr-u-dhī*) and **kḷ-nu-* (Skr. *śṛ-ṇō-ti*) from a $\sqrt{\text{ka}^{\text{r}}\text{l-}}$, never found except with one of these extending suffixes; **uel-u-* (Gr. *ἐλ-ύω ἐλ-υ-τρο-ν* Lat. *vol-vō in-volūcru-m*) and **ul-nu- *uḷ-nu-* (Skr. *ṽṛ-ṇō-ti ūṛ-ṇō-ti*) from $\sqrt{\text{uel-}}$ 'turn, twist, wind'; Skr. *á-dbh-u-ta-s* 'undecentful, pure, genuine' and *dabh-ṇō-ti* from *dabh-* 'deceive'; **qs-u-* (Gr. *ξ-ύω*) and **qs-nu-* (Skr. *kṣ-nuv-ānā-s*) from $\sqrt{\text{qes-}}$ (II § 8 Rem. 2 p. 20); **pī-ṽ-* (Skr. *pī-vas-*) and **pi-nu-* (Skr. *pī-nv-a-ti*) from *pī-* 'swell, abound in'. The variant stems in Skr. *śr-ō-ṣi* and *śṛ-ṇō-ṣi* may be compared with those in Gr. *θρασ-ύ-ς* and Skr. *dhṛṣ-ṇú-ṣ* (1st pl. *dhṛṣ-ṇu-más*). Probably one of these parallel stems, say **qs-nu-*, is a contamination of the

other two, **qs-ŋ-* (Gr. ξ-αίνω ξ-άιν-ιο-ν) and **qs-u-*, and **stŋ-nu-* of **stŋ-n-* (Skr. *stŋ-ñā-ti* Lat. *ster-nō* etc.) and **str-u-*;¹⁾ but this must not be taken to imply that the contaminated suffix -*n-u-* arose in just these roots and no others.

Non-thematic *u*-flexion is very rare except in monosyllabic stems like Skr. *śr-ō-ṣi á-śr-ō-t śr-u-dhí*, where it was dominated by the analogy of verbs with *u* in the root proper. Examples of stems other than monosyllabic are Skr. *tar-u-tē* (cp. *táru-ṣantē taru-tar-*) beside *tár-a-ti*, Gr. ἔρ-υ-μαι (cp. ἔρ-υ-μα Skr. *var-ú-tra-m var-ū-tár-*) beside Skr. *vár-a-tē vŕ-ñō-ti* Goth. *varja*.²⁾ No proof is forthcoming that present stems of this kind were ever a numerous or productive class. It was not until *u* was joined to *n*, that the suffix ran through any large number of forms.

Remark. Some scholars, led by de Saussure, hold that **stŋneŋ-* is **steru-* with an *infix* or inserted element -*ne-*. That is all very well on paper, but under what principle of language known to us it can come passes my comprehension. They refer, of course, to *yunák-ti*, from *✓jeug- *jug-*, as a clear instance of inserted sounds. But I cannot admit that the nasal suffix has been *inserted* here any more than in the stem which I began with. See (5) below, pp. 139 f.³⁾

(3) After a root with final consonant *ŋn*, *en*, and doubtless *on* are found as variants for the initial *n* of -*nā-* -*no-* -*neŋ-* -*nyō-*.

1) Compare Lat. *pōpulneu-s* = *pōpulnu-s* + *pōpuleu-s*. A large collection of such mixed forms containing formative suffixes of a similar sort, is given by Per Persson, *Wurzelerw.* pp. 153 f.

2) On Skr. *tanōti*, which the Indians analysed as *tan-ō-ti*, see §§ 639, 640. *karōti* I still hold to be a later re-formate, although Per Persson, *op. cit.* p. 149, opposes this view. See § 640.

3) Fick is keenest about these "infixes". Thus in one place he speaks of the "repetition of infixed *s*" in Greek aorists in -*σα* and Sanskrit aorists in -*siṣam* (Gött. Gel. Anz., 1881, p. 1429). Page 1460: infixion is the "oldest and most powerful agent which causes word to grow out of word". Page 1462: "Almost always, where hitherto scholars have seen suffixes, that is, defining words added to the end of another, it is far better to speak of infixes". One question I should like to ask. Where did these infixed sounds come from, and what were they before they were infixed?

For *-nā- n(ə)* take the following: Avest. 1st pl. *fry-ān-maht* beside *fri-nā-iti* 'pleases, makes inclined', *hə-ān-maht* beside *hu-nā-iti* 'excites, produces'. For *-no-*: Skr. *iṣ-āṇa-t* 'let him set in motion' cp. *iṣ-ānyā-ti* = Gr. *laíwō* for **iō-av-ūw* (*-yno-*), Armen. *lē-ane-m* 'I leave' (*-yno-*), Gr. *xōd-áwō* 'I honour, glorify' (*-yno-*), Goth. *ga-vakna* 'I awake' (*-yno-*, *-eno-*, or *-ono-*), Lith. *kùp-inu* 'I heap, hoard' (*-yno-*), *gab-enù* 'I bring' (*-eno-*), O.C.Sl. *vrīg-nq-ti* 'to throw' (probably *-ono-*, see § 615 Rem.)

For *-ney- -nu-*: Skr. *vānanv-at-* 'liking' for **uy-ny-* beside indic. *vanō-ti* for **uy-ney-ti* from $\sqrt{\text{yen-}}$: Avest. 2nd pl. *debe-naotā* for **db-anau-ta* (*-anau-* instead of *-anu-* from the singular) beside Skr. *dabh-nō-ti* 'hurts'; Avest. partic. mid. *zar-anu-mana-* beside opt. *zar-anaē-mā* and Skr. *hṛ-ñī-tē* 'growls, grumbles'. For *-nyo-*: Avest. *xw-anva-inti* 'they drive on' *xw-ēnva-p* (pr. Ar. **sy-anya-*) beside *hu-nao-iti hu-nā-iti*: Avest. *sp-ēnva-p* 'proficiebat' doubtless the same as O.H.G. *sp-innu* 'I spin' for **sp-enyō* beside *spannu* 'I stretch' for **spə-nyō* and beside *spanu* 'I lure, attract' for **spə-nō* (§ 654); O.H.G. *tr-innu* 'I separate myself from' ground-form **dr-enyō* beside Skr. *dṛ-ñd-ti*. Greek examples are apparently Hom. *ix-áwō* for **ix-avfō* beside *ix-véō-mai* and *uxáwō* for **u-x-avfō*, whose ending doubtless comes from *-nyō* (see § 652), and *ξ-ένφο-ς* *ξείνο-ς* *ξένο-ς* from the root of Lat. *hos-ti-s* and Goth. *gas-t-s* (cp. the Author, Idg. Forsch., I 172 ff.).

Similar groups of suffixes, fuller and weaker, are found in other present classes. *-eno-* : *-no-* = *-eso-* : *-so-* (Class XX). *-yno-* : *-no-* = *-iō-* : *-iō-* (Class XXVI).

The only ones of these dissyllabic suffixes which were to any great extent productive were *-yno-* *-eno-* (*-ono-*). These we place in a class by themselves (Class XIV).

(4) In classes where the *n*-suffix comes after the root syllable, it is not always as described in (3), just above. The root often has attached to it some kind of determinative. Thus we see *-i-* *-ī-* (cp. § 498 pp. 61 f.), as in Skr. *r-i-ṇva-ti* Gr. Lesb. *ōq-i-vvō* beside Skr. *ṛ-ṇvā-ti* Gr. *ōq-vū-mi*; Gr. *πi-vū-*

-μῆνο-ς for *πῆ-ι-νν- beside νη-πύ-τιο-ς Skr. *pu-nd-ti*; Skr. *bhr-ti-nd-ti* (Avest. *brōi-p̄ra-* 'axe' O.C.Sl. *bri-ti* 'shear, shave') beside Gr. *φάγ-ο-ς* Lat. *for-are*; Skr. *śr-ti-nd-ti* beside *śr-tá-s*; Gr. Lesb. *κρ-ι-ννω* (Lat. *dis-crī-men*) beside Lith. *skir-iū-s* -s- -es- (cp. §§ 656 ff.), as Skr. *i-ś-nd-ti* *i-śā-tē* beside *i-nō-ti*; Gr. *ἐῖνδμι* (*ēivōmi*) Armen. *z-genum* common ground-form **u-es-neu-* **u-es-nu-* beside Lat. *ex-uō* Lith. *au-nū* (§ 639). Other examples will be mentioned anon.

(5) Most obscure of all has hitherto remained the "nasal infix", the nasal element, that is, in such words as Skr. *yundk-ti* *yuñj-más* and *yuñj-ā-ti*, and its relation to the nasal suffixes in the other Classes.

The strong form, Skr. *yunaj-* for example, has hitherto been found as a verb stem only in Aryan. Some other languages have been supposed to show traces of it, as Gr. *κυνέω* and Lat. *conquiniscō frūniscor*, which are said by some to be for **κυνεσ-ω* and **quenec-scō* **frūneg-scōr*; but this in my opinion is the merest conjecture.¹⁾ If we must compare something from European languages, the most likely forms are the adjective Goth. *manag-s* O.C.Sl. *mūnogŭ* 'multus' beside Skr. *māha-tē* 'is large, generous' *maghā-m* 'fullness, riches'.

Perhaps these nasal forms are merely a developement of Class XII, by a change in the first instance of, say, **jug-n-més* **jug-n-té* (-n- the variant of -nə-, cp. Avest. *ver'-n-tē* and the like) to **junəg-més* **junəg-té*. Then, by analogy of Skr. *anák-ti* and *añj-más* and other present forms with nasal in the root,²⁾ we get the sing. *yundk-ti*. It should be remembered, however, that it is *a priori* impossible to say whether a in

1) See Johansson, *Deriv. Verb. Contr.* 108 f., *Akademiske afhandlinger til prof. Bugge*, 24 ff.; W. Schulze, *Quaest. Hom.* 15, 42; Fick, *Vergl. Wb.* I⁴ 381; Kretschmer, *Kuhn's Zeitschr.* xxxi 470. In discussing *κυνέω* *ἐκυσσα* no use can be made of O.Corn. *cussin* and Mid.Cymr. *cussan* 'kiss', which are loan-words from the Germanic.

2) With *anaj-* cp. Goth. *anák-s* 'suddenly, at once' (Skr. *ánjas* 'quickly, suddenly'). Skr. 2nd 3rd sing. pret. *ānať* 1st pl. conj. *anaśāmahāi*, *vy-anaś-i* 'penetrate' may be compared with Gr. *δι-ηρεκ-ής*; (§ 569 p. 113).

Skr. *yunaj-* comes from Idg. *-a-*, *-e-*, or *-o-*. This assumed change of **jug-n-* to **junəg-* must have come about in the parent language; and the singular persons may have been made in the same period. If the forms did grow as I suggest from the Class with *-nā- -nə- -n-*, it would at once become clear why of all the forms containing this suffix in any of its three grades, none is taken from a root with final explosive or fricative (§ 598): from these roots the parent language would then show (say) **junəq-tai̯* = **jug-n-tai̯* (Skr. *yunəḱ-tē*), while others would have the nasal suffix in its proper place, and show the type of **ur-n-tai̯* (Avest. *ver^e-n-tē*).

Another view is set forth by Per Persson, Stud. Lehr. Wurz., 152 f. (cp. too Windisch, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxi 407). He thinks that in the oldest forms which set the type for the class with Nasal Infix, the root final was a determinative, and the nasal a suffix which was added to the root before the determinative was added. Then forms with the determinative and forms with the nasal were contaminated. Thus **limpō* (Lith. *limpù* Skr. *limpāmi*) is a sort of combination of forms answering to Lat. *li-nō* and Lith. *li-pù*. There is nothing which makes this view impossible.

Yet another hypothesis, the latest, is offered by Osthoff, Anz. für idg. Sprach- und Alterthumskunde, I 83. He suggests that Skr. *kyṇātmī-* may be $\sqrt{\text{kr-}}$ + present suffix *-nat-* (stronger form of *-nt-*) + personal ending *-mi*; and by analogy *riñc-mās* produced *riñác-mi*. But that there ever was a simple suffix Idg. *-net- -nt-* is, I hold, quite unproven; see § 685, Rem. 2.

(6) Nasal Present Stems are often found as bases for Nouns. Examples are: Skr. *vē-na-ti* 'longs' *vē-ná-s* 'longing', Avest. *peš-ana-iti* 'fights' beside Skr. *pft-ana-m* 'battle', Gr. *θη-άω* 'I sharpen' beside *θηγ-αο-ν* 'whetstone', Skr. *dhṛṣ-ṇō-ti* 'is bold' *dhṛṣ-ṇu-má-s* beside *dhṛṣ-ṇú-ṣ* 'bold', Skr. *pi-nva-ti* 'makes to swell' beside *-pi-nva-s* 'making to swell', O.H.G. *bannu* 'regions under ban, forbidden places' for **bha-myō* beside *ban*, gen. *bannes*, 'command enforced by pains and penalties', cp. Gr. *ξέρφο-ς* p. 138. Compare § 487 pp. 40 f.

We shall now discuss the classes of nasal stems one by one. Of these we distinguish seven.

Class XII.

Root + *-nā-* *-nə-* *-n-* forming the Present Stem.

§ 597. The strong suffix was *-nā-*, the weak form before a sonant was *-n-*, before a consonant either *-nə-* (Gr. *μάρ-ναι*) or *-n-* (Avest. *ver^e-n-tē*).

Sanskrit, with *-ni-* before consonants (e. g. *mṛ-ṇī-más*), stands alone. *-nī-* displaces **-ni-* = Idg. *-nə-* on the same principle as changes **śi-śi-hi* to *śi-śī-hi*, so that we have *mṛṇī-más* : *mṛnā-mi* like *śiśī-hi* : *śiśā-mi*. See § 498 pp. 61 f.

Remark. Wiedemann's view (Lit. Praet. 49) that *-ni-* changed to *-nī-* by quantitative analogy of *-nā-* I hold to be mistaken; and so also Bartholomae's, that *mṛ-ṇā-mi* : *mṛ-ṇī-más* contain a pr. Idg. ablaut, *-nā-* being for *-nāi-* (Stud. Idg. Spr., II 75 ff.).

In Avestic, before sonants, not only *-n-* but *-an-*, seemingly representing Idg. *-en-* : *fry-an-mahī*, see § 596. 3 p. 138.

The Root Syllable has always, and always had, the weak form.

§ 598. Pr. Idg. All the forms which can be proved to be Indo-Germanic come from roots with final liquid, nasal, or vowel (cp. § 596. 5 p. 139).

Skr. *mṛ-ṇā-mi* 'I grind, crush' 3rd sing. *mṛ-ṇā-ti* 1st pl. *mṛ-ṇī-más* 3rd pl. *mṛ-ṇ-ānti*, Gr. *μάρ-ναι* 'I fight', partic. Corcyr. and Att. *βαρ-νά-μενος* for **βρα-να-* (I § 292 p. 233); *μόρ-νά-μενος* in Hesych. is either Aeolic for *μαρ-να-* (I § 292 p. 234) or all dialects of Greek for Idg. **mṛ-nə-* (cp. Skr. *mūr-ṇā-s*). — With thematic vowel Skr. *mṛ-ṇā-ti*.

Gr. *πορ-νά-μεν* 'πωλείν, *πορ-νά-μεναι* 'πωλούμεναι (Hesych.) are as ambiguous as *μορνάμενος*; Att. *πέρ-νη-μι* 'I sell, transfer' with changed root-grade (cp. *περάω*), O.Ir. *re-nim* 'I give away, sell' (cp. § 604).

Skr. *jā-nā-mi* 'I learn, know' for **gṇ-nā-*; compare perhaps Lith. *žino* 'he knows' for **gṇ-nā-t* (whence *žinau žino-me* etc.

by analogy of *bij-aū-s* and the like.¹⁾ — With thematic vowel Skr. *ja-na-ti* Avest. 2nd pl. *za-na-tā*, Goth. partic. *kunnand-s* (indic. *kann*).

Skr. *li-nā-mi* 'I stick close to, cower, disappear' *vi-lināmi* 'melt, disintegrate, go to pieces', Gr. *λί-να-μαι* *τρέπομαι* Hesych., O.Ir. *le-nim* 'adhaereo' (cp. § 604), O.Icel. *li-na* 'I relax, grow soft'. — With thematic vowel Lat. *li-nō* (cp. Gr. *ἀλίσσω* 'ἀλείφω' for **ἀλι-νλω* § 611).

Skr. *kṛi-ñā-mi* 'I buy', O.Ir. *cre-nim* 'I buy' for **cri-na-mi* (cp. O.Ir. *crī-thid* 'fond of buying'), cp. § 604.

Often a present stem is formed both in this twelfth class and in Class XVII, particularly in Aryan; e. g. Skr. *kṣi-ñā-ti* and *kṣi-ñō-ti* 'destroys'. Cp. § 605 Rem.

The likeness of the endings in the strong singular persons and those of the corresponding stems of Classes X and XI, in *-ā*, caused a number of analogical changes. (1) *-nā* passes into the weak persons, as O.H.G. *gi-nō-mēs* beside *gi-nō-m*, following *zittarō-mēs* (cp. § 594 p. 134) and *salbō-mēs*. (2) An extension with *-iō-* by analogy of the variation *-ā* : *-ā-iō-* in Classes X and XI, as Gr. *δάμνάω* instead of *δάμνημι*, A.S. *hlinie* 'I lean' instead of *hli-nō-iō*.

§ 599. Aryan. Skr. *vṛ-ñā-ti* 'chooses' mid. *vṛ-ñi-tē*, Avest. mid. *ver'-n-tē*; — with thematic vowel Avest. 3rd sing. pret. mid. *fraor'nata* = pr. Ar. **pra-vṛ-na-ta*. Skr. *pr-ñā-ti* 'fills';²⁾ — with thematic vowel *pr-ñā-ti* Avest. imper. *per'-nā*. Skr. *śṛ-ñā-ti* 'breaks up, crushes, grinds, splits up'; — with thematic vowel imper. *śṛ-ñā*; cp. O.Ir. *ara-chrinim* 'difficiscor, I decay, break up' § 604. Ar. **šā-nā* 'to know' for **gṣ-nā*, √ *gen-* 'know': Skr. *ja-nā-ti*, O.Pers. 3rd sing. pret. *a-da-nā*: Lith. *žino*, see § 598 p. 141. Skr. *prī-ñā-ti* 'makes glad,

1) *zinō-* may also be **gṛn-ā-* (Class X).

2) One is tempted to identify this form with O.H.G. *folōm* 'I fill'. This is probably at least a derivative from the adj. *fol* Goth. *full-s*, like O.Ir. *com-alnaim* from *lān*, see § 760.

makes inclined', Avest. *frī-nā-ḥ*. Skr. *ji-nā-ti* 'conquers, compels', √ *gej*-. Avest. injunct. *zi-nā-ḥ* 'draws away' O.Pers. *a-dī-nā*; — with thematic vowel O.Pers. *a-dī-na-m*. Skr. *pu-nā-ti* 'purifies, clears', cp. Ir. *u-nā-d* 'to cleanse'? (Fick, Wtb. I⁴ 483, according to Stokes). Skr. *dhu-nā-ti* moves to and fro, shakes' beside *dhu-nō-ti* *dhū-nō-ti*. Skr. *grbh-nā-ti* *grh-nā-ti* 'grasps', Avest. *ger'w-nā-iti*; — thematic Skr. *grh-na-ti*. Skr. *badh-nā-ti* 'binds' for **bhydh*-, √ *bhendh*-.

Remark. Skr. *muṣṇā-ti* 'steals' is derived from the noun *mūṣ-* *mūṣ*- 'mouse' (II § 180 p. 485). Similar words below in § 793.

§ 600. Strong stem instead of weak. Skr. imper. 2nd sing. *grbh-nā-hi* instead of *grbh-nī-hi*, 2nd pl. *pu-nā-ta* instead of *pu-nī-tā*. Compare Skr. *kṛ-nō-ta* instead of *kṛ-nu-tā* and the like, § 641.

There was naturally a close contact between thematic and non-thematic forms in Aryan, which made it easy for words to pass from one to the other. The 1st person singular and the 3rd plural present, with other forms, and the conjunctive mood, had regularly the same form in both: compare Skr. *mṛṇāmi mṛṇānti* from both *mṛ-nā-ti* and *mṛ-nā-ti*. Thematic stems are specially common in Avestic; compare 3rd sing. mid. *ster'-na-tā* opt. *ster'-naḥ-ta* beside Skr. *str-nā-ti* 'strews', and 2nd sing. *hu-na-hi* beside *hu-nā-iti* 'begets'.

The Sanskrit 2nd sing. imper. active, besides *-nī-hi* (*-nā-hi*), has the ending *-āná*, found in classical Sanskrit with all roots ending in a consonant, as *grh-āná* *badh-āná*. Two explanations of these are possible. (1) *-āna* may = Idg. *-one*, which may be a thematic imperative of Class XIV, where Slavonic has *-ono-* (see §§ 615, 624). Or (2), *-āna* may be *-ā* = *-ṛ* + *-na*, — *-ṛ* being a weak form of the *nā*-suffix, and *-na* the same particle which we see with the 2nd pl. in *-ta-na* (beside *-ta*). The second view seems better.

Remark. Bartholomae now supports the view which analyses *-āna* into *-ā* + *na*, and identifies *-na* with *-na* in *-ta-na* *-tha-na* (Stud. Idg. Spr., II 123), and cites by way of illustration the Avestic 2nd sing. imper. *bara-nā*, a variant for the usual *bara* = Skr. *bhāra*. But he explains *grhā-* as derived from **grbhāḥ*-, where I cannot follow him.

Exceptionally the root syllable has a strong grade: partic. mid. *āp-n-āna-s* like *āp-nō-mi* Class XVII, cp. opt. aor. *apēyam* and *āpas- apās-*. But *ap-* may be preposition *a* + *ap-*.

A few isolated forms in Sanskrit show a change from this class to *-iō*-stems: partic. *hṛṇā-yā-nt-* *hṛṇī-yā-māna-s* beside *a-hṛ-ṇā-t* mid. *hṛ-ṇī-tē*. With forms like Gr. *δαμνάω* (§ 598 p. 142), *hṛṇī-yā-nt-* has no very close connexion.

§ 601. Armenian. *baṛna-m* 'I raise' for **barj-na-m* ground-form **bhygh-nā-mi*, cp. aor. *barj-i*. *darṇa-m* 'I return' for **darj-na-m*, cp. aor. *darj-ay*. *bana-m* 'I open' ground-form **bhā-nā-mi* from *√bhā-* (p. 56 footnote), cp. aor. *ba-ḥ-i*: Gr. *φαίνω* for **φα-νῶ* § 611, O.H.G. *ba-nnu* § 654. *sta-na-m* 'I possess, have in my power, buy', cp. aor. *sta-ḥ-ay*: Gr. *στά-νω* 'I place' (G. Meyer, Gr. Gr.² p. 446) Lat. *dē-stinare*, O.C.Sl. *sta-na* 'I place myself'. *lua-na-m* 'I wash', cp. aor. *lua-ḥ-i*.

These are inflected like the *a*-presents *mna-m* and *jana-m* (§ 581 p. 122). But the original quantity of the *a* in *-na-* cannot be determined; and *-na-* may be Idg. *-nā-* or Idg. *-nə-*.

§ 602. Greek. *μάρ-νυ-μαι μαρ-νά-μενο-ς*, *πορ-νά-μεν πέρ-νυ-μι*, *λί-να-μαι* see § 598 p. 141. *δάμ-νυ-μι* 'I tame' beside *δάμα-σσειν*; for the root syllable compare *κάμ-νω* and Skr. *śam-nī-tē* beside *κάμα-το-ς śami-tā-s*, *ὄμ-νυ-μι* beside *ὀμό-τη-ς*. *δύ-να-μαι* 'I can' possibly connected with Lat. *dū-ru-s*; but Gortyn. *νύ-να-μαι* 'I can', probably belongs to some other root.¹⁾

The *ι* of the root-syllabic is strange in the following stems. *μίρ-νυ-μι* 'I mix' beside aor. *ἐκέρουσι*. *πίλ-να-μαι* 'I draw near quickly' beside aor. *ἐπέλασα*: cp. Lat. *pellō* for **pel-nō*, O.Ir. *ad-ellaim* 'I go to, visit' for *-(p)el-nā-*. *κρίμ-νυ-μι* 'I hang' (wrongly written *κρήμνυμι*) beside aor. *ἐκρέμασα*. *ὀρίγ-να-μαι* 'I reach or stretch' beside *ὀρέγω*. *πίτ-νυ-μι* 'I spread' beside aor. *ἐπέτασα*; thematic *ἐ-πιτ-νο-ν πίτ-νω*. *σάιδ-να-μαι* 'I spread or widen,

1) Can this be connected with *νεῦρο-ν* 'sinew, tension, strength'?

disperse' beside *ἐσκέδασα*. Various explanations are given: see Osthoff, M. U. II 20; Wackernagel, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxix 126; Moulton, Am. Journ. Phil. X 284 f., and Class. Rev. III 45; Kretschmer, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxi 375 f.

With *-iō*-flexion: *δαμνάω*, *κρινάω*, *ὀριγνάομαι*, *πιννάω*. Compare § 598 end, p. 142.

In *δύ-να-μαι*, the nasal was not confined to the present stem: *δυνάτος ἐδυνησάμην ἐδυνήθην ἐδυνάσθην*, like *ἀγᾶτος ἀγήατος ἡγάσθην* from *ἄγα-μαι*. Compare § 643, and *τανύσσαι* (from *τα-νύ-μαι*).

§ 603. Italic. (1) We find in Latin the non-thematic inflexion of Class XIII: *ster-nō* (contrast Skr. *stṛ-ñā-ti*), *li-nō* (contrast Skr. *vi-linā-ti*), *pellō* for **pel-nō* (contrast Gr. *πῖλ-να-μαι*), *sper-nō* (contrast O.H.G. *spor-nō-m* 'I tread, kick'), and no sound-law prevents our putting in this twelfth class *ster-ni-mus -ni-tis*, deriving them from **-na-mos *-na-tes* (cp. § 505 p. 71, on *red-dimus*, and § 543 p. 103, on *se-ri-mus*).

(2) But some compounds are inflected as verbs in *-āre*. *cōn-sternāre*, beside O.H.G. *stornēm* 'attonitus sum' (§ 605) Gr. *πτέρω* 'I make shy, put in a fright'. *in-clināre*: O.Sax. *hli-nō-n* 'I lean', cp. Lett. *slī-nu* (beside *slēiju*) 'I lean on, support'. *dē-stināre*, cp. Armen. *sta-na-m* 'I possess' Gr. *στά-νω* 'I place' and *στα-νύω* (§ 601 p. 144). So too *com-pellare* from *pellere*, *aspernārī* from *spernere*. It is assumed that a similarity in the endings *-nā-s(i) -nā-t(i)*, in this class, and *-ā-s(i) -ā-t(i)* in Classes X and XI caused a current to set in the direction of the last two (cp. end of § 598). But this does not explain why only compounds were carried by it; and apparently we must not separate *pellere* : *compellare*, *spernere* : *aspernārī* from *fligere* : *profligare*, *capere* : *occupare* and others. The *-nā-* in *cōn-ster-nā-s* must therefore be kept quite distinct from *-nā-* in Skr. *ṣṭ-ñā-mi* Gr. *δάμ-νῃ-μι*. See § 583 pp. 124 f.

§ 604. Keltic. O.Ir. *re-nim* 'I give away, sell' (perf. *-rir*), *le-nim* 'adhaereo' (perf. *ro lil*), *cre-nim* 'I buy' (perf. *-ciuir*) Mod.Cymr. *prynaf*, see § 598 p. 142. *gle-nim* 'adhaereo'

(perf. *ro giuil*) Mod.Cymr. *glynaf* beside O.H.G. *chli-nu* 'I cleave, stick, smear' (Gr. *γλοι-ό-ς* 'sticky dampness' O.H.G. *chleimen* 'plasmare'). O.Ir. *be-nim* 'I strike, cut' O.Brit. *et-binam* 'lanio' Mod.Bret. *benaff* 'I cut', beside Lat. *perfringes* 'perfringas' (Festus) O.Bret. *bi-tat* 'resicaret' O.C.Sl. *bi-ti* 'to strike'. The inflexion of these presents, as Thurneysen shows (Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxi 87), points to pr. Kelt. **-nā-mi -nā-si -nā-ti -nā-mesi* etc., i. e. the weak suffix *-nā-* = Idg. *-nə-* had got into the singular.

We must keep these presents distinct from O.Ir. *ara-chrinim* 'I decay, break up' (beside Skr. *śṛ-nā-ti* § 599 p. 142), *-gninim* 'I recognise' (✓ *ġen-*, cp. Skr. *ja-nā-ti* with **ġē-* § 598 p. 141) and *ro-chluiniur* 'I hear' (beside Avest. *sru-nao-iti* Class XVII, ✓ *kley-*), which have *īo-*-inflexion. Was there any connexion between the *-īo-* of this last named present and the old *-nu-*-inflexion? There may be the same relation between *-chrinim* and Skr. *śṛ-nā-mi* as between Gr. *φαίω* for **φα-ν-ιω* and Armen. *ba-na-m* (§ 611), or between Lat. *li-n-iō* (beside *li-nō*) and Skr. *vi-linā-ti* (§ 598 p. 142, § 743).

§ 605. Germanic. Here, as in Latin, we have sometimes the thematic conjugation of Class XIII, and sometimes the conjugation of Classes X and XI; see § 598 end, p. 142.

O.H.G. *spor-nō-m* 'I tread, kick' O.Icel. *spor-na* 'knock against'; thematic variant stem O.H.G. *spur-nu* and *-spirnit* conj. *-spirne* (perf. *spur-num* O.Icel. perf. *spar-n spur-nom*) like Lat. *sper-nō*. O.Sax. *mor-nō-n* 'I trouble myself, care', A.S. thematic *murne*. Explanation uncertain: O.H.G. conj. *wolle* beside Skr. *vṛ-nī-tē* 'chooses' (Kluge, Paul-Braune's Beitr., viii 515). O.H.G. *gi-nō-m* (also *gei-nō-m*) A.S. *ġinie* 'I gape'; with *-no-*, O.Icel. *ġī-n* O.C.Sl. 3rd sing. *zi-ne-tŭ*, ✓ *ġhej-*. O.Sax. *hli-nō-n* A.S. *hlinie* 'I lean, support myself': Lat. *in-clī-na-t*. O.Icel. *li-na* 'I soften': Skr. *li-nā-ti* etc., see § 598 p. 142. O.Icel. *fā-na* 'I rot, corrupt' (partic. *fū-inn* 'rotten'): thematic Lith. *pū-nu* 'I rot'.

We must add a group of West Germanic verbs in which *-kk-* *-pp-* *-tt-* are due to assimilation of the *n* of *-nā-* to an explosive root-final (I § 530 p. 388, § 534 p. 391, § 541 p. 396); as O.H.G. *lecchōm* 'I lick' ground-form **ligh-nā-mi*, *zocchōm* 'I pull hard, tug' ground-form **duk-nā-mi*, Mid.H.G. *hopfe* (Rhine-Frank. *hoppe*) 'I hop' ground-form **qup-nā-mi*.

Remark. Some forms of these verbs have not broken *u* and *i* in the root; as O.H.G. *zucchōm*, Mod.H.G. *zucke* beside *zocchōm*, Mid.H.G. *rupfe* beside *ropfe* (ground-form **rub-n-*), Mid.H.G. *stutze* 'I push, strike' (ground-form **stud-n-*), Mod.H.G. *nicke* (ground-form **knigh-n-*). I suggest as a possible explanation that there may once have been *bye-forms* with the present-suffix *-ney-* *-nu-*, as 1st pl. **duk-nu-mes*. Compare Goth. *kunnum* (**gṇ-nu-mes*) beside *uf-kunna*.

A third group of Germanic present stems is that exemplified by Goth. *þaha -áis*. Goth. *maurnái-þ* O.H.G. *mornēt* beside O.Sax. *mornōn* A.S. *murne*. O.H.G. *hlinēm* beside O.Sax. *hlinōn* A.S. *hlinie*. O.H.G. *stornēm* 'attonitus sum, inbio', beside Lat. *cōn-sternāre* § 603 p. 145. The transformation in these verbs is due to their intransitive meaning, see § 781.3. The case is different with Goth. *uf-kunnái-þ* 'recognises', as we shall see in § 646.

§ 606. Balto-Slavonic. The thematic type prevails; e. g. Lett. *gū-nu* 'I snatch' contrasted with Skr. *ju-nā-ti* 'sets in quick motion, urges', O.C.Sl. *zi-ne-tŭ* 'yawns, gapes' contrasted with O.H.G. *gi-nō-t*.

Traces of *-nā-* are perhaps left in Lith. *žino* 'he knows' ground-form **gṇ-nā-t*: Skr. *jā-nā-ti*, see § 598 p. 141; and in Lith. *ly-nó-ja* 'it rains slightly' inf. *ly-nó-ti* (Lett. *li-ná-t*) beside *lŷ-na* 'it rains', *kilnó-ju* 'I lift this way and that' beside Lat. *ex-cellō* for **celnō*, *łasz-nó-ja* 'it drizzles, trickles a little'.

Remark. *kilnó-ju* may also be quite well explained as a derivative from *kilna-s* 'high'; and this makes it doubtful whether the "diminutive frequentatives" in *-nó-ju* ought not to be estimated quite differently and classed elsewhere. But here we must bear one point in mind — this I say with a view to Leskien (Ablaut der Wurzels. im Lit., p. 174) — to wit, that Baltic denominatives often put on the appearance of primary verbs. See § 793. Thus e. g. *lynó-ja* may quite well be a primary form by analogy of which was formed *kilnó-ju* from *kilna-s*.

Class XIII.

Root + *-no-* forming the Present Stem.

§ 607. Stems of this class seem to bear much the same general relation to Class XII as Skr. *tī-ṣṭh-a-ti* Lat. *si-st-i-t* to Gr. *ἰστη-αι*; see § 491 p. 50.

But certainly not all the stems of this class are stems of Class XII which have taken to thematic inflexion. Amongst them are many whose stem is found as a noun-stem, and was probably only a noun-stem at the first. Take, for example, Skr. *vē-na-ti* 'longs' beside *vē-nā-s* 'longing'; *paṇa-tē* 'trafficks, barter, buys' beside *paṇa-s* 'wager, bargain, loan' Lith. *peñna-s* 'gain, profit' (I § 259 p. 211); Goth. *frathna* O.Icel. *fregn* 'I ask' beside Skr. *prañā-s* 'question'. So too Class XIV (*-yno- -eno- -ono-*), closely connected with this, is denominative in its origin.

Since it is impossible to distinguish verbs like Skr. *mṛ-ñā-ti* (beside *mṛ-ñā-ti mṛ-ñ-ānti*) from those like Skr. *vē-na-ti* (from *vē-nā-s*), we shall treat them together.

Parallel variants such as Gr. *βῶλομαι δήλομαι* 'I wish' (**gl-no- : *gel-no-*), O.H.G. *wallu* 'I heave, toss': *willu* 'roll, wallow' (**yl-no- : *yel-no-*) recal similar pairs in Class II, Skr. *kṛṣ-ā-ti : kārṣ-ā-ti* (§ 513 pp. 78 f.), and in Class XXVI, Goth. *vaurk-ja* : O.H.G. *wirk-(i)u* (§ 705).

§ 608. First we cite *no*-forms which occur in more than one language.

**stṛ-no-* from *√ster-* 'sternere': Avest. 3rd sing. mid. *ster'-na-tā*, Lat. *ster-nō* (with the root-syllable in the strong grade), beside Skr. *stṛ-ñā-ti* (§ 600 p. 143). Lat. *sper-nō*, O.H.G. *spurnu* 'I tread, step, kick', *fir-spirni-t* conj. *-spirne* (see § 614), beside Skr. *sphur-ā-ti* 'quicken, throbs'. Lat. *li-nō*, Lith. *lỹ-na* 'it rains' (cp. Gr. *ἀλτρω* for **āli-viō* § 611), beside Skr. *li-nā-ti* O.Icel. *li-na* § 598 p. 142, § 603 p. 145. A.S. *zē-ne* O.Icel. *gī-n* 'I gape, yawn' O.C.Sl. *zi-ne-tū* 'gapes, yawns' beside

O.H.G. *gi-nō-m*, see § 605 p. 146. Goth. *kei-na* O.H.G. *chē-nu* 'I bud', Lith. *gy-nu* (beside *gyjū*) 'I revive, recover'. Lat. *fallō*, O.H.G. *fallu*, both with *-ll-* for *-ln-*, possibly connected with Lith. *pū'lu* 'I fall' ground-form **phōlō*; according to another derivation, *fallō* is akin to Gr. *θολερός* 'troubled, impure' Goth. *dval-s* 'foolish' A.S. *dwellan* 'check, wander'; if so, the ground-form of *fallō* must be **dhyl-nō*.

§ 609. Aryan. To the forms cited in §§ 598 and 599, parallel to forms in Class XII, add the following: 2nd pl. *gṛ-nā-ta* beside *gṛ-nā-ti* 'calls, calls upon'; *rāna-ti* 'indulges himself, pleases himself' instead of **raṇā-ti* (cp. § 516 p. 82) ground-form **rṇ-né-ti* beside *ram-nā-ti*, which must be explained like *śam-nī-tē* § 602 p. 144 (cp. *ra-tā-s* for **rṇ-ta-s*); *d-mi-na-nta* beside *mi-nā-ti* 'lessens, hurts'; *math-na-dhvam* beside *math-nā-ti* and *mānth-a-ti* 'twirls, moves, shakes'.

Skr. *ghūrṇa-ti* 'wavers' from *ghūr-ṇa-s* 'wavering'. *vēna-ti* 'longs' from *vē-nā-s* 'longing'. *paṇa-tē* 'trades' from *paṇa-s* 'wager'. *phanati* 'leaps, hops, is in motion' from *phanā-s* 'snake's hood, nostril' (perhaps cognate with *sphurā-ti* 'quickens, throbs', and if so, with Lat. *sper-nō* O.H.G. *fir-spirnit*, see § 608 p. 148). Compare § 607 p. 148.

§ 610. Armenian. *aṛ-ne-m* 'I make', aor. *ar-ar-i* § 571 p. 113. *yaṛ-ne-m* 'I raise myself, get up', cp. Skr. *ṛ-nō-mi* Gr. *ῥο-νῶ-μι* Class XVII § 639. *d-ne-m* 'I place', *√dhē-*. With the middle *io*-extension (§ 711), *li-ni-m* 'I become' (aor. part. *lieal*), *tani-m* 'I lead' (aor. *tar-ay*).

§ 611. Greek. *πτάρ-νο-μαι* 'I sneeze' (Aristotle) beside *πτάρ-νῶ-μαι*. *πῑ-νω* 'I drink', beside imper. *πῑ-θι* Aeol. *πῶ-νω* (cp. § 498 p. 61). *δάκ-νω* 'I bite' ground-form **dḡk-nō*, *√deḡk-* (I § 224 p. 192). *πίτ-νω* beside *πίτ-νη-μι*, § 602 p. 144. *στά-νω* 'I place', cp. Armen. *sta-na-m* Lat. *dē-stināre* O.C.Sl. *sta-nq* and *στα-νύω* § 601 p. 144, § 603 p. 145.

λάμ-νω 'I take pains, labour', cp. Skr. *śam-nī-tē* § 602 p. 144.

Dor. *βούλεται* Att. *βούλεται* 'I prefer, I wish' ground-form **gl-ne-*, Dor. *δήλεται* Delph. *δείλεται* (Thess. *βέλλεται* Boeot. *βείλεται*) ground-form **gel-ne-*, see I § 204 p. 170, § 428 b with the Remark p. 316. Hom. Dor. *τάμνω* Att. *τέμνω* 'I cut', cp. aor. *ταμ-εἶν*. Lesb. *ἀπ-έλλω* Dor. *φῆλω* Hom. *εἶλω* 'I press' for **fel-no-*.

As we find *-p-jo-* (Gr. *-aino-*) parallel to *-pno-* (Gr. *-ano-*) — Class XIV, §§ 616 and 621, Class XXIX § 743 — so we have in Greek *-n-jo-* instead of *-no-*. Lesb. *κλίννω* Hom. Att. *κλίνω* 'I bend, incline' for **kli-v-ko-*: Lat. *in-clī-nā-re* O.Sax. *hli-nō-n* Lett. *slī-nu* § 603 p. 145. *κρίνω* *κρίνω* 'I separate, choose out, decide', *σίννομαι* *σίννομαι* 'I rob' (cp. Kretschmer, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxi 420). *ἀλύνω* 'ἀλείφω' (aor. *ἀλῖναι*), beside Lat. *li-nō* etc., see § 598 p. 142, § 608 p. 148. *ὀτρύνω* 'I drive on' for **o-tru-v-ko-* from *√twer-* *tur-* (Skr. *tvār-a-tē* 'hastens' O.H.G. *dwir-u* 'I turn quickly round, move', Skr. *turāṇa-s* 'hastening'); with *tru-* : *tur-* compare Skr. *hru-nā-ti* : *ju-hur-a-s* beside *hvdār-a-tē*, Avest. *caḥru-* Skr. *catur-* beside *catvar-* and the like. *φαίνω* 'I make appear, make visible, show' for **fa-v-ko-*: Armen. *ba-na-m* O.H.G. *ba-nnu*, see § 601 p. 144. *χαίνω* 'I gape' for **xa-v-ko-* with the aor. *ἐ-χα-νο-ν*, beside *χά-σχω* *χῆ-μη* *χῶ-ρᾶ*: cp. Skr. *hī-nā-s* 'deserted, lacking' *jī-hi-tē* 'yields, departs' (§ 540 p. 101). By analogy of **kten-ko-* (*κτείνω*) beside aor. *ἐ-κτεν-σσι* (*ἐκτεῖνα*) fut. **κτενε(σ)ω* (*κτενῶ*), there were made in pr. Greek the aorist **ἐκλινσσι* **ἐφανσσι* (*ἐκλῖνα* *ἐφηνᾶ*) and the future **κλινε(σ)ω* **φανε(σ)ω* (*κλινῶ* *φανῶ*) from **klin-ko-* and **phan-ko-*, and others in the same way.

Remark. *φαίνω* shows that *κλίνω* comes from **kli-v-ko-*. Bartholomae's doubts are unfounded (Stud. Idg. Spr., II 87 f.).

The origin of the Att. ending *-vno-* is generally uncertain, as it may come from *-νω*, *-νω*, or *σνω* (§ 655). In any case, pairs of variants such as *βύνω* *δύνω* *θύνω* beside *βίω* *δίω* *θίω* produced *ιθύνω* *αρτύνω* beside *ιθύω* *αρτύω*, and then the analogy went further, and we have *ἡδύνω* *ταχύνω* etc. Compare Lith. *keláunu* § 615.

§ 612. Italic. *ster-nō* *sper-nō* *li-nō* fallō see § 608 pp. 148 f.

Other verbs with a weak grade of root: *tollō* ground-form **tļ-nō* ✓ *tel*. *si-nō*, origin obscure (cp. Osthoff, M. U. iv 133 f., Perf. 612). *dē-gūnō* for **gus-nō*, ✓ *gēus*.

Other verbs with strong grade of root. *pellō* for **pel-nō* (Umbr. *aṛ-peltu* 'admoveto'), beside Gr. *πῖλ-να-μαι*, see § 602 p. 144. *ex-cellō* for **cel-nō*, cp. Lith. *kiñnó-ju* § 606 Rem. p. 147.

tem-nō may come from Idg. **tem-* or **tyn-*.

Again *cer-nō*, which is connected with Gr. *κρίνω* and Lith. *skir-iù*, may be explained in two ways. If it contains the unextended root, it is on a level with *pellō* etc. But it may have arisen in composition from **crinō* (I § 33 p. 34), in which case it will be analysed **cr-i-nō* and be more closely akin to Gr. *κρίνω*.

Lastly, *pandō* is doubtful. It is connected with Osc. *patensins* (Class XIV, § 622). If it comes from **pat-nō* (vol. II p. 161 footnote, Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. xvii 119), *a* must be derived from *ə* on account of Gr. *πετάσσαι*, and then the root had a weak grade. But *pandō* may belong to Class XVI; see § 632.

§ 613. Keltic. O.Ir. *ser-nim* 'sero' 3rd pl. *-sernat* (cp. Windisch, Ir. Wörterb., p. 770 b). Perhaps *sennim* (*sennaim*) 'I drive, hunt' beside O.H.G. *swimmu* for **syem-nō* (§ 614 p. 152), cp. Mod. Cymr. *chwyfaf* 'I move, quiver' for **syem-* (Thurneysen).

§ 614. Germanic. O.H.G. *spur-nu* 'I step, kick', and with strong-grade root syllable *fir-spirni-t* conj. *-spirne*: Lat. *sper-nō*, see § 608 p. 148. A.S. *mur-ne* 'I trouble, grieve', cp. O.Sax. *mor-nō-n*, see § 605 p. 146.¹⁾ O.H.G. *wallu*

1) Forms like O.H.G. 1st pl. *spurnamēs* infin. *spurnan* partic. *fir-spurnan* A.S. *spurnan* *murnan* are without *a*-umlaut, by analogy doubtless of the 2nd and 3rd sing. pres. and the plural of the pret. O.H.G. *spurnum* etc., cp. O.H.G. inf. *durfan* beside *darf durfum*, and others. But A.S. has *spornan* as well as *spurnan*. Or had the West Germanic originally forms of Class XVII beside those with *-no*? Compare *spurnum* with *kunnu-m* § 646.

'I undulate, boil', ground-form **uġ-nō* and *willu* 'I roll' O.Icel. *vell* 'I undulate, seethe' ground-form **uel-nō*. O.H.G. *fallu* 'I fall' see § 608 p. 149. Goth. O.H.G. *kun-nan* 'to know' partic. Goth. *kun-na-nd-s* O.H.G. *kun-na-nt-i* (indic. *kann* § 646): Skr. *jā-na-ti*, see § 598 pp. 141 f. O.H.G. *chli-nu* 'I stick, smear': O.Ir. *gle-nim*, ✓ *glei-*, see § 604 p. 146. A.S. *gī-ne* O.Icel. *gī-n* 'I gape, yawn': O.C.Sl. *zi-ne-tū*, see § 605 p. 146, § 608 p. 148, § 615 p. 153. Goth. *kei-na* (partic. *kij-an-s*) O.H.G. *chī-nu* 'I bud': Lith. *gy-nu*, see § 608 p. 149. O.H.G. *swī-nu* 'I disappear' (cp. Kretschmer, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxi 420), *hri-nu* 'I touch, gain', *gri-nu* 'make a face, snarl', Goth. *skei-na* 'I appear'. *sci-nu* O.H.G. *backu* Upper-G. *pacchu* 'I bake' pr. Germ. **bakkō* for ground-form **bhæg-nō* (I § 214 p. 181, § 534 p. 391), cp. O.H.G. *bahh-u* 'I bake' Class II *B* Gr. *φῶγ-ω* 'I roast' Class II *A* § 532 p. 94. O.H.G. *spa-nu* 'I attract, charm, drive on' (pret. *spuon*), ground-form **spə-nō*; also *spannu* 'I stretch, widen, I am in eager excitement' ground-form **spə-nu-ō* Class XVIII (§ 654), beside Lat. *spē-s spa-tiu-m* O.H.G. *spā-ti* 'late'.

Besides O.H.G. *fir-spirnit* and *willu*, other words have root syllables of the strong grade. O.H.G. *quillu* 'I spring, well up', ✓ *gel-*, O.H.G. *swillu* O.Icel. *svell* 'I swell, heave', O.H.G. *scillu* 'I resound, sound' O.Icel. *skell* 'I clatter', O.H.G. *hillu* 'I make a sound', O.H.G. *gillu* O.Icel. *gell* 'I yell, cry out'. O.H.G. *sinnu* 'I go, think' for **sind-nō* cp. Goth. *sandja* 'I send', Mid.H.G. *zinne* 'I burn' for **tind-nō* cp. Goth. *tandja* 'I kindle'. I suggest that we class here verbs with *-mm-*, for *-mn-*, as O.H.G. *swimmu* 'I swim', cp. O.Ir. *sennim* § 613. Goth. *frath-na* 'I ask' (perf. *frāh frēhum* partic. *frathans*) O.Icel. *freg-n* (*frā frāgum fregenn*) A.S. *friz-ne* (*fræzn fruznon fruznen*) with pr. Germ. variation of *χ* and *ʒ* (I §§ 529, 530 pp. 384 ff.), which was levelled down in different ways by different dialects: cp. Skr. *praś-nā-s* 'question' ✓ *prek-* (§ 607 p. 148).

§ 615. Balto-Slavonic. Here this class is more creative than anywhere else.

Lith. *gy-nu* 'I revive, recover': Goth. *kei-na*, see § 608 p. 149. Lith. *lỹ-na* 'it rains': Lat. *li-nō* (*ibid*). O.C.Sl. *zi-ne-tũ* 'gapes, yawns': A.S. *zī-ne* (*ibid*). Lett. *slī-nu* 'I lean upon, support': cp. Gr. Lesb. *κλί-νω* O.Sax. *hli-nō-n* Lat. *in-clīnare* (§ 603 p. 145, § 611 p. 150); Lett. *st-nu* 'I bind': cp. Skr. *si-nā-ti* 'binds, surrounds' ✓ *saṣ-*; in the two Lettic verbs *i* doubtless comes from the infinitive (*slī-t*, *si-t*). Lith. *ry-nũ* 'I swallow, devour'; O.C.Sl. *ri-ne-tũ* 'knocks' *rinetũ se* 'starts' (cp. *na-rojĩ* 'impetus'). Lith. *ei-nũ* 'I go': a comparison with Lat. *prōd-inunt* is unsafe (see § 1022). O.C.Sl. *si-ne-tu* 'shines', *mi-ne-tũ* 'goes by'.

Lith. *pũ-nu* (beside *pũv-ũ*) 'I make rotten' cp. O.Icel. *fũ-na* 'I rot', § 605 p. 146. Lett. *gũ-nu* 'I snatch' Lith. *gáu-nu* 'I get' (-*áu-* from *gáu-ti*, no doubt): cp. Skr. *ju-nā-ti* 'sets in quick motion, drives on, presses'. Lith. *klũ-nu* (beside *klũv-ũ*) 'I hook on to, remain hanging', *griũ-nũ* (beside *griũv-ũ*) 'I knock down', *žũ-nũ* (beside *žũv-u*) 'I come to grief', Lett. *schũ-nu* (beside Lith. *siũv-ũ*) 'I sew' O.C.Sl. *pli-ne-tũ* 'spews' for **plji-* **pljy-* **spiũ-* (I § 60 p. 47), and *plju-ne-tũ* like Lith. *spiũ-nu* Lett. *splau-nu*. Lith. *au-nũ* Lett. *áu-nu* 'put covering on the feet' ✓ *ey-*, Lith. *ráu-nu* Lett. *ráu-nu* 'pull, tear, snatch out' (beside Lith. Lett. *ráu-ju*) ✓ *rey-*, and others (see Bielenstein, Lett. Spr. I 355).

The analogy of *ráu-nu*: infin. *ráu-ti* etc. produced Lith. denominative re-formations like *keláunu* instead of *keláuju* beside the inf. *keláuti* 'to travel' (from *kēla-s* *kēle-s* 'way'), *karaláunu* instead of *karaláuju* beside infin. *karaláuti* 'to be king' (from *karāla-s* 'king'). Compare Gr. *ιθίω* § 611 p. 150.

Slavonic gives a large number of *no*-presents from verbs with other finals than *-i* and *-u*; *planetũ* 'blazes up' for **pol-ne-tũ*, *po-me-ne-tũ* 'thinks upon', *vrīg-ne-tũ* 'throws' (✓ *uer-g-*), *mlūk-ne-tũ* 'grows dumb', *za-klenetũ* 'shuts' for **klep-ne-tũ*, *būnetũ* 'awakes' for **būd-ne-tũ*, *dvig-ne-tũ* 'moves', *sūch-ne-tũ* 'dries' (intr.). Also from one root in *-ā*: *sta-ne-tũ* 'places itself', akin to Pruss. *stānintei*, adverb of the pres. participle, cp. Armen. *sta-na-m* Gr. *στά-νω* Lat. *dē-stināre* § 611 p. 149.

In Slavonic the *no*-suffix is not confined to the present stem; it appears elsewhere in the system of the verb, but then in the peculiar shape *-nq-*. Examples are aor. *mi-nq-chŭ* partic. pres. *mi-nq-vŭ* infin. *mi-nq-ti* sup. *mi-nq-tŭ* from *mi-nq*. *-nq-* is regular only in the infinitive and supine (except *sta-ti* from *sta-nq*).

Remark. The following I think is not improbably the history of *-nq-*. Slavonic once had verbs in **-onq* (1st sing. pres.), and their aorist ended in *-on-sŭ* *-qsŭ* and their infinitive in *-on-ti* *-q/ti*, parallel to Lith. *gyvenù* 'I dwell' (fut. *-ŕ-siu* infin. *-ŕn-ti*) *kùpinu* 'I heap' (fut. *-j-siu* infin. *-in-ti*), see § 624. Now in the present, *-no-* levelled out *-ono-*, which was only used with consonantal roots; but *-ono-* remained everywhere except in the present. Hence a compromise: an infinitive **vrĭgqti*, for instance, would be transformed by analogy of *vrĭgnq* *vrĭgneši* etc., and become *vrĭgnqti*. Afterwards *-nq-* was extended to verbs from roots ending in a vowel, such as *mi-nq*, and only *sta-nq* kept clear of this change (infin. *sta-ti*). Compare with this § 624 at end, and Wiedemann, Arch. Slav. Phil. x 653 ff.

Lithuanian has no present stems with the suffix *-no-* from roots with a final explosive or fricative; instead of these the language has forms of Class XVI, such as *bundù* as against *bŭnq* in Old Church Slavonic. But there are a few in Lettic, all of them however with an interior nasal, which in most cases certainly belongs to the present suffix and not to the root: *brĭnu* 'I wade' for **brĭd-nu* **brend-nu* beside Lith. *brendù* and *bredù* (*bridaŭ brĭsti*), *rŭnu* 'I find' for **rŭd-nu* beside Lith. *rŭdu* = Lith. *randù* (*radaŭ rŕsti*), *mĭ/-nu* 'mingo' for **menz-nu* beside Lett. *mĕžŭ* (*✓meĭgh-*), *lĭnu* 'I crawl' for *lĭd-nu* beside Lith. *lĭdu* = Lett. *lendù* (*lindaŭ lĭsti*). The origin of this kind is obvious; the class with a nasal infix (Class XVI) has been contaminated with the *-no*-class, like O.C.Sl. *seg-nq* from *✓seg-* etc. (§ 636), and like Gr. *λμπάνω* from *✓leĭg-* etc. (§ 631).

Class XIV.

Root + *-yno-* *-eno-* *-ono-* forming the Present Stem.

§ 616. It is quite clear that this class is derived from nouns; see § 487 p. 41, § 596. 6 p. 140, and below. It is note-

worthy that the *n*-suffix is often extended by *-iō-*; as Skr. *iṣaṇ-yā-ti* beside (Ved.) *iṣaṇa-t*, Gr. *ὀλισθαίνω* beside *ὀλισθάνω*, O.H.G. *giwahann(i)u* 'I recount'. See §§ 618 and 743. This is the same formation as Skr. *viithuryā-ti* from *viithurá-s* 'staggering, shaking', Gr. *αἰόλλω* from *αἰόλο-ς*, see § 770.

§ 617. Along with *-yno-* *-eno-* we find *-yñā-* *-enā-*, inflected in the same way as denominatives from *ā*-stems. To illustrate, take: Skr. *pṛtānā-yā-nti* 'fighting' beside Avest. *pešana-iti* Skr. *pṛtan-yā-ti* beside Skr. *pṛtana-m pṛtana-* 'fight', Skr. *bhandanā-yā-ti* 'shouts, cheers' beside *bhandāna-s* 'shouting' *bhandāna-* 'shout'; Gr. *ἐρῶκανάω* beside *ἐρῶκάνω* 'I hold back, bar, stem' (cp. *θηγάνω* 'I sharpen, whet' beside *θήγανον* *θήγανη* 'whetstone', and *δαπανάω* 'I spend' beside *δάπανο-ς* 'extravagant' *δαπάνη* 'expense'); Lat. *runcināre* (cp. *runcina* 'plane') *coquināre cārināre farcināre*; O.Icel. *vakna* 'I awake' pret. *vakna-ða*, Goth. pret. *ga-vaknō-da* beside pres. *ga-vakna*; Lett. *stiprinó-ju* 'I strengthen' infin. *stiprinó-ti* beside *stiprinu* (infin. *stiprin-ti*), *gabenó-ju* 'I bring together' (infin. *gabenó-ti*) beside *gabenū* (infin. *gaben-ti*); and besides, the Lith. group of preterites, of which examples are 1st pl. *stiprino-me gabenó-me*, must be added.

Seeing how clear is the denominative character of this fourteenth class, no doubt can be felt that all these verbs are derived from feminine stems. The nearest parallel is found in the verbs which will be discussed in § 769, Skr. *priyā-yā-tē* Goth. *frijō*, O.Ir. *com-alnaim* O.H.G. *follōm*, and such like. That is to say, Skr. *bhandanā-yā-ti* stands to *bhandānā* 'shout' and *bhandāna-s* 'shouting' exactly as O.H.G. *follō-m* 'I fill' to *folla* 'fullness' and *fol* 'full', or as *wuntōm* 'I make wounded, I wound' to *wunta* 'a wound' and *wunt* 'wounded'.

Remark. The student must not suppose that I refuse to see the parallelism between *ἐρῶκανάω* : *ἐρῶκάνω* and *πιτνάω* : *πίτνω*; O.Icel. *vakna* : Goth. *ga-vakna* and O.H.G. *ginō-m* : O.Icel. *gín*; Lith. *stiprinó-ju* : *stiprinu* and *lynó-ja* : *lŷna*. See the end of § 598, and §§ 602, 605, 606. The origin of the *ā*-flexion is different in the two sorts, but *ā*-flexion in the one may well have influenced the other in different languages inde-

pendently. For instance, Greek verbs of the type of *ἰϥκναῖω* may have been supported by the use of *πινῶω*, or *vice versa*.

Skr. *bhandanā-yá-tē* is not to be classed with *hṛñā-yá-nt-*, a quite isolated stem; we see this from a variant *hṛñi-yá-māna-s* (§ 600 p. 144). Such forms as **bhandani-yá-ti* do not exist.

§ 618. I cite first forms which appear in more than one language. Here, as below with forms belonging to one language only (§§ 619 ff.), the extension with *-iō-* must be cited too (§ 743).

Lat. *cruen-tu-s* partic. of a present 3rd sing. **cruini-t*, Lith. *krùvinu* 'I make bloody' (partic. *krùvinta-s* = *cruentu-s*) from *krù-vina-s* 'bloody'.

Armen. *aroganem* 'I sprinkle', Lith. *srāvinu* 'I make flow', common ground-form **srouynō*, *✓srey-* (cp. Bugge, Idg. Forsch. I 451).

Skr. injunctive *iṣāna-t* 'let him set in motion, arouse, excite, quicken' and *iṣaṇ-yá-ti*, Gr. *laivw* 'quicken, hasten, warm' for **iō-av-ιω*.

Goth. *af-lifna* 'I remain over' (pret. *-nō-da*), Lith. *lipinù* 'I cause to adhere'.

Goth. *áukna* 'I increase, grow' (pret. *-nō-da*), Lith. *uginù* 'I make grow, rear'.

Gr. *avaiw* 'I make dry, wither' for **avō-av-ιω*, Lett. *saūsinu* 'I make dry'. Compare Alban. *gañ* 'I dry, wither', for **saus-niō* according to G. Meyer (Alb. Wort. 85, Alb. Stud. III 43).

Gr. *teqouiw* 'I make dry, dry up', Goth. *ga-þaursna* 'I grow dry, wither' (pret. *-nō-da*).

§ 619. Aryan. Avest. opt. 1st pl. *zaranaēmā* and *zaranyē-tē* (partic. *zaranimna-*) from *zar-* 'grow angry, ill', cp. partic. *zaranu-mana-* Skr. *hṛ-ñi-tē* § 596. 3 p. 138. Avest. *pešana-iti* 'fights' beside Skr. *pṛtana-m pṛtana-* Avest. *pešana* 'fight, battle' (cp. § 617 p. 155). Skr. *kṛpāṇa-tē* 'he behaves pitifully, prays' beside *kṛpanā-s* 'pitiful, miserable' *kṛpāṇa-m* 'misery'. *iṣāna-t* 'let him set in motion' and *iṣaṇ-yá-ti*: Gr. *laivw*, see § 618. Only with *-iō-*: *turaṇ-yá-ti* 'hastens, goes or makes

to go quickly' from *turāṇa-s* 'hastening' (pres. *tvār-a-tē* 'hastens') cp. Gr. *ὀτρύνω* § 611 p. 150; *bhuraṇ-yá-ti* 'he is active' from *bhuraṇa-s* 'active', and others. Compare Skr. *prtaṇā-yá-ti* *bhundaṇā-yá-ti* § 617 p. 155.

There is nothing to decide whether this Aryan *-ana-* represents Idg. *-ṇno-* or *-eno-* (those who believe that Idg. *o* becomes *a* in open syllables in Aryan will say, or *-ono-* either). *iṣanyá-ti* as compared with Gr. *ἰαίνω*, so far as it goes, favours *-ṇno-*.

-eno- must be the suffix in Skr. *bhāna-ti* 'sounds, calls out', if this be derived from *√bha-*, and analysed *bh-ánati*; see p. 56 footnote. Perhaps the same suffix is used in some of those forms which are cited by Per Persson, *Wurzelerweiterung* pp. 70 ff., such as *dhvana-ti* 'sounds'.

§ 620. Armenian. In this language *-ano-* = Idg. *-ṇno-* is a very common present suffix. *lĕ-anem* 'I leave', aor. 3rd sing. *e-liĕ*, *√leiq-*. *gt-anem* 'I find', aor. 3rd sing. *e-git*, *√yeid-*. *tĕ-anem* 'I spew, spit', aor. 3rd sing. *e-tūĕ*. *kl-anem* 'I swallow', aor. 3rd sing. *e-kul*. *hat-anem* 'I cut off'. *tes-anem* 'I see', *√derĕ-* (I § 263 p. 214). *liz-anem* 'I lick' for **lēz-anem*, *√leiqh-*.

-anem, like Greek *-ανω*, is found in some forms which have another present suffix already. As for instance *harĉanem* 'I ask' beside aor. *harĉi*, stem **pr(k)-sko-* (§ 672), like Gr. *ἀλυσκάνω* beside *ἀλύ-σκω*; and very near akin to *harĉanem* is Avest. *per'sanyēiti* 'asks', if its *-s-* = Skr. *-ch-* (cp. Skr. *prachana-m* 'an asking') and not Idg. *-ĕ-* (cp. Goth. *frathna*).

-anim (cp. § 711) is a variant of *-anem* as Gr. *-αίνω* of *-ανω*; e. g. *meṛ-ani-m* 'I die' (aor. *meṛ-ay*) like Gr. *μαρ-αίνω* 'I make wither, decay', *mac-ani-m* 'I cleave to, hang on to, curdle', *zerc-ani-m* 'I free or save myself, run away'.

§ 621. Greek. In this language too *-ano-* = Idg. *-ṇno-* is very common.

ἀλφ-άνω 'I earn'. *κῦθ-άνω* 'I honour, exalt'. *κευθ-άνω* 'I hide'. *θηγ-άνω* 'I whet'. *ληθ-άνω* 'I escape notice'.

The suffix is often used to extend other present stems. For example take the following. *ιστ-άνω* 'I place' beside *ἵ-στη-μι* (Class III). *ισχ-άνω* 'I hold back' beside *ἵ-σχ-ω* (Class IV). *πυνθ-άνομαι* 'I learn' *λιμπ-άνω* 'I leave' from **πυνθω* = Lith. *-bundū* $\sqrt{bhe}udh-$ and **λιμπω* = Lat. *linguō* $\sqrt{lei}q-$, and so too *κλαγγ-άνω* 'I cry out' from **κλαγγ-ω* (cp. *κλάζω* for **κλαγγ-ω*) = Lat. *clang-ō* beside Gr. perf. *κέκληγα* (Class XVI). *αὐξ-άνω* 'I increase' beside *αὐξω* *αὐκ-σω* (Class XX). *ἀλυσκ-άνω* 'I avoid' beside *ἀλύ-σκω* (Class XXII). *ἀμαρτ-άνω* 'I miss' beside *ἡμαρ-το-ν* (Class XXIV). *δαρθ-άνω* 'I sleep' beside *ἔ-δαρ-θο-ν* (Class XXV).

πιμπλάνω *πιμπράνω*, as compared with *πί-πλη-μι* *πί-πρη-μι* were made on the analogy of *λιμπάνω*, and this served to keep safe the nasal in *πίμπλημι* *πίμπρημι* *κίγκρᾱμι* *κίγχρημι* (§ 542 p. 102, § 594 pp. 134 f.). Perhaps there was once a form **πλα-νω*, parallel to Skr. *ṛṣ-ṇā-ti*, which on the analogy of *πί-πλη-μι* *πί-πλα-μεν* was transformed to **πιπλανω* (cp. the reduplicated *τε-τε-αίνω*, p. 159), and then came under the influence of verbs like *λιμπάνω*. The Greeks themselves saw a close connexion between the ending *-άνω* and a nasal in the first syllable of the word which had it, if this syllable contained a short vowel + explosive; we can see this from the transformation of Att. **κυχᾶνω* (for **κι-χαν-ω*, Hom. *κυχᾶνω*) into *κυχᾶνω* (§ 652).

With *-ανάω* (see § 617 p. 155): *ἐρῦκανάω* beside *ἐρυνάνω* 'I hold back, bar, stem', *δηκανάομαι* 'I welcome' beside *δηκνύ-μενος* (§ 639), *ισχάναω* beside *ισχάνω*, and others.

A large number have *-αίνω*. *ὀλισθαίνω* beside *ὀλισθαίνω* 'I slip'. *μελαίνω* 'I darken' (beside *μελάνω*? see the commentators on Iliad 12 64), and others (cp. § 776.6 b).

Amongst these verbs in *-αίνω* are those whose root no longer forms a separate syllable, some of which are certainly old (cp. Lett. *tv-in-ti* *tr-in-ti* § 624). *ξ-αίνω* 'I scratch, comb' (*ξ-άρισ-ν* 'comb for carding wool') beside *ξ-ύω* and *ξ-έω* *ξ-έσ-σαι* (Class XX, § 661) from $\sqrt{qes-}$ (II § 8 Rem. 2 p. 20). *ἐκ-φλ-αίνω* 'I bubble up' beside *φλ-ύω* Lat. *fl-ā-s* O.H.G. *bl-ā-u*

(§ 583 p. 124). *δο-αίνω* 'I do, intend to do' (*ὀλιγο-δρανέων* 'faint, weak' § 801), beside *δο-ῶ δο-ᾶ-μα* (§ 737). *ῥαίνω* 'I besprinkle' for **σρ-αν-ιω* (*ῥανίς -ίδος* 'drop') beside *ῥ-έ(φ)ει* 'flows' from *✓ser-* 'run, flow' (§ 488 p. 47) cp. *ξ-αίνω* beside *ξ-ύω*; *ἐρράδ-αται ῥάσασατε* (**σṛ-d-*) belong to Class XXV (§ 695).¹⁾ *χρ-αίνω* 'I touch the surface gently, stroke, soil' beside *χρ-ᾶω* 'I seize, touch' *χρ-ανύω* 'touch superficially, scratch' *χρ-ίω* 'I anoint'. *γραίνειν· ἐσθίειν* Hesych., beside *γραίω*, which seems to be akin to Skr. *gr-asa-ti* (§ 659). *κραίνω* 'I make, complete' (*✓ger-* Skr. *kṛ-ṇā-ti*); this we should probably place here. The alternative is to analyse it **κρα-ν-ιω*, from **qṛ-n-*, and place it in § 611 (pp. 149 f.), but *κρ-όνο-ς* makes this the more likely place (see II § 67 with the Rem., p. 112). *τε-τρ-αίνω* 'I bore' (*τι-τραίνω* is also found, see Veitch Greek Verbs s. v. *τετραίνω*): Lith. *tr-inù* 'I rub', *✓ter-*.

Connected with noun stems in *-ανο-* (§ 487 pp. 40 f., § 596. 6 p. 140). *ὀλισθάνω ὀλισθαίνω*: *ὀλίσθανο-ς* 'slippery, smooth'. *θηγάνω*: *θήγανον θηγάνη* 'whetstone'. *μελάνω* *μελαίνω*: *μελανο-* (*μελαν-*) 'black'. *φασγάνεται ξίφει ἀναιρεῖται* Hesych.: *φάσγανον* 'cutting instrument, or sword'. *κναιίνων· ἔγκνος ὤν* Hesych.: Samian *κνανο-* in *Κνανοψιῶν* (the Author, Gr. Gr.² p. 32 footnote 1). Compare *λευκαίνω* with Skr. *rōcanā-s* 'light, shining', *ἀλφάνω* with Skr. *arhaṇa-m arhaṇā* 'tribute of respect'.

§ 622. Italic. Lat. *cruen-tu-s* beside Lith. *krūvinu*, see § 618 p. 156. Osc. *patensíns* 'aperirent' for **patenesēnt* cp. Lat. *panderent* (§§ 632, and 837. 2).

Latin verbs in *-ināre* (§ 617 p. 155): *coquināre* beside *coquere*, *cārināre* beside *cārere* etc.

§ 623. Germanic. In this class fall Inchoatives formed with an *n*-suffix (for the term inchoatives as applied to them,

1) By this correct vol. I § 488 p. 360, § 492 p. 363, § 639 p. 479.

see Egge, Amer. Journ. Phil., vii 38 ff.); as Goth. *ga-vaknan* O.Icel. *vakna* A.S. *wæcnan* 'awake'. Since in these and many other words *n* is not assimilated to the preceding consonant, it follows that there must have been a vowel between than which has suffered syncope (cp. I § 214 p. 181, Kaufmann, P.-B. Beitr. xii 504 ff.). But whether this vowel was *a*, *i*, or *u*, and the suffix accordingly Idg. *-ono-*, *-eno-*, or *-yno-*, remains a question. Furthermore, amongst form like Goth. *dis-taurna* 'I tear to pieces, crush to pieces', there may be forms with Idg. *-no-* (cp. Skr. *dīr-ṇā-s* O.H.G. *zor-n*, II § 66 p. 141), which would then have to be placed in Class XIII.

The old unextended inflexion was regular Gothic only for the present; e. g. *ga-vakna -is -iþ* etc. Elsewhere Gothic has *-nō-*, as *-vaknōda*. Old Icelandic carries *-nō-* all through the verb, as *vakna -naða*. In Old High German, on account of a certain change which will be set forth in § 781.3, most of the words in question are absorbed into the *ē*-conjugation (3rd weak conj.), as *wesanēm*.

In addition to the words already mentioned — Goth. *af-lyna*, *áuk-na* (O.Icel. *aukna*), *ga-þaursna* (O.Icel. *þorna*) — the following may be named: Goth. *ga-staurkna* 'I become stiff, dry up' O.Icel. *storkna* O.H.G. *gi-storchanēm* (beside Lith. *stregiu* 'I stiffen'). Goth. *-brukna* intr. 'I break, break to pieces' (beside *brika* 'I break'). Goth. *ga-batna* O.Icel. *batna* 'I improve myself', O.H.G. *trunkanēm* 'I get drunk'. Beside Goth. *us-lūkna* 'I open' (intr.) appears *us-lūkn-s* 'open' (adj.).

These inchoatives are sometimes derived from an adjective, in which case they run in parallel lines with the factitive group in (Goth.) *-jan*; Goth. *fullnan* O.Icel. *fullna* 'get full' beside Goth. *fulljan* O.Icel. *fylla* 'make full, fill' from Goth. *full-s* O.Icel. *full-r* 'full' (ground-form **pł-no-s*), Goth. *ga-qiunan* 'become alive' beside *ga-qiujan* 'make alive, quicken' from *giu-s* (gen. *qivis*) 'alive', Goth. *mikilnan* 'grow big' beside *mikiljan* 'make big' from *mikil-s* 'big'; cp. Lith. *līnksminu* from *līnksma-s* and similar forms, § 624.

O.H.G. *gi-wahannen* 'mention' pret. *gi-wuog*, A.S. *wæcnan* 'awaken' pret. *wōc*, like Gr. ἀλισταίνω (aor. ἤλιτο-ν).

§ 624. Balto-Slavonic. Baltic has *-ina* = Idg. *-ṇno-*, and *-ena-* = Idg. *-eno-*.

Lith. *krūvinu* 'I make bloody' fut. *krūvī-siu* partic. *krūvin-ta-s* = Lat. *cruen-tu-s*, *auginū* 'I make grow', *saūsinu* 'I make dry', see § 618 p. 156. *kūpinu* 'I heap up' from *kūpina-s* 'heaped up'. *trūpinu* 'I crumble, break into little bits' from *trupinỹ-s* 'crumb'. *tėkinu* 'I make run (on a grindstone), polish' from *tėkina-s* 'running' (O.C.Sl. *tečnũ*). *būdinu* 'I awake'. *lipinū* 'I make stick'. The form of the root is noticeable in *tr-inū* 'I rub' infin. *tr-in-ti* from *✓ter-* (Lat. *terō*), with which compare Gr. *τε-τραίνω* 'I bore', and *tvīstu* 'I swell out' instead of **tv-inu*, infin. *tv-in-ti*, beside Lat. *tu-meō*; cp. Gr. *ξ-αίνω*, and its like, § 621 pp. 158 f.

This extraordinarily fertile suffix was used to derive verbs with a factitive meaning from adjectives too (as in Gothic, *fullnan* etc., § 623); e. g. *līnksminu* 'I make glad, comfort' from *līnksma-s* 'joyful', *vėninu* 'I unite' from *vėna-s* 'one', *tvīrtinu* 'I make fast' from *tvīrta-s* 'fast'; cp. Pruss. *swintina* 'he hallows' from *swints* 'holy'.

From verbs like *pū-d-inu vėl-d-inu svīl-d-inu* was extracted a suffix *-dinu*, which was largely used. See §§ 700 and 701.

Only Lithuania and Prussia have *-ina-* (*-in-*) with non-present stems. For Prussian, compare infin. *waidin-t* 'to show' partic. pret. act. *waidinn-ons* from the pres. 3rd sing. *waidinna*; *swintin-t-s* 'hallowed' from 3rd sing. pres. *swintina*. Lettic has for these parts of the verb *-ina-*, as *āudfinu* 'I bring up, raise, rear' infin. *āudfināt* in contrast with Lith. *auginū auginti* (cp. Goth. *lifna lifnōda*). Lith. has also a few words with *-inoju -inoti*, as *stiprinōju* 'I strengthen' *stiprinōti* beside *stiprinu stiprinti* (Lett. *stiprinu stiprināt*), *līnksminōju* 'I make glad' *līnksminōti* (also accented *līnksminoju*) beside *līnksminu*.

Rarer than *-ina-* is *-ena-*: Lith. *gyvenū* 'I dwell' *gyvėnti* (cp. Goth. *ga-giuna*, § 623 p. 160) and *graudenū* 'I remind, admonish'; *gabenu* 'I bring', also *gabenōju gabenōti*.

That Slavonic once possessed verbs in **-onq* infin. **-on-ti* **-qtī* may be assumed, as we have seen in § 615 Rem. p. 154, from such forms as *vrīg-nq-ti*. With this *-ono-* compare *zv-onŭ* 'sound' beside *zv-ŭnēti* 'sound', containing the suffix *-ŭno-* (beside *zov-q* *zv-a-ti* 'to call', II § 67 p. 154); further, Gr. *αὐονή* 'dryness' *αὐονον* *ξύλον* *ξηρόν* (Hesych., MS. *αὐονος*) beside *αὐαίνω* 'I dry up' (beside Lith. *saūsin-ti* O.C.Sl. *sŭchnq-ti*).

Class XV.

Root + Nasal Suffix forming the Present Stem.

§ 625. Here fall such present stems as Skr. *yundāj-mi* pl. *yunīj-mās*. This class has hitherto not been certainly proved to belong to any branch but Aryan. Its origin and relation to the other nasal classes has been discussed in § 596.5 p. 139.

§ 626. Aryan. $\sqrt{\text{leiq-}}$ 'linquere': Skr. *riṇák-ti* Avest. *irinaxti* (I § 260 p. 212), Skr. 1st pl. *riñc-mās* 3rd pl. *riñc-ánti* pret. 1st pers. sing. *á-rinac-am* 2nd and 3rd sing. *á-rinak*, conj. *riṇác-a-t*, opt. *riñc-yā-t*; — thematic Lat. *lingu-ō* Pruss. *po-linka* 'remains'. Skr. *bhinád-mi* 'I split', imper. *bhin(d)dhí*, $\sqrt{\text{bhejd-}}$; — thematic Prakrit *bhind-a-di* Lat. *find-ō*. *pináš-mi* 'I pound, crush' 3rd pl. *piš-ánti* (cp. I footnote), injunctive 2nd and 3rd sing. *pinák*, $\sqrt{\text{peis-}}$; — thematic Skr. *a-piš-a-t* Lat. *pīns-ō*. Avest. *cinah-mi* 'I give information', cp. 3rd sing. *cōiš-t* 'he informed'. Avest. *cinas-ti* 'he instructs' 1st pl. mid. conj. *cinap-ā-maidē*. Skr. *ruṇádh-mi* 'I stop, stem' 3rd sing. act. *ruṇáddhi* mid. *run(d)dhé*; — thematic *rundh-a-ti*. *vrṇāj-mi* 'I twist together' 3rd sing. mid. *vrṇak-tē*, $\sqrt{\text{uerg-}}$, cp. Gr. *ῥέμβομαι* § 631. *trṇédhi* 'shatters' instead of **trṇódhi* (for **trṇaš-dhi*), 3rd pl. *trh-ánti* (see I § 404.2 p. 298); — thematic *trh-a-ti*. Avest. weak form *mer'nak-* *mer'nc-* from *marc-* 'destroy'. 3rd pl. act. *mer'nc-inti* mid. *mer'nc-aítē* 2nd pl. mid. *mer'ng'-duyē*, opt. 3rd sing. *merqš-yā-p*, cp. I § 448 pp. 332 f.,

§ 473. 4 p. 350, II p. viii, I § 200 Rem. p. 168, Bartholomae, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxix 483; — thematic Avest. *mer'nc-a-iīž*.

Remark. On Skr. *hinás-ti* 3rd pl. *hīś-anti* see § 667.

Strong stem instead of weak: Skr. 2nd pl. *yunák-ta* instead of *yunak-tá*.

Class XVI.

Root + Nasal Infix + Thematic Vowel forming the Present Stem.

§ 627. This class stands to the preceding in the same relation as Class II *B* to Class I, etc., see § 491 p. 50.

As the nasal often spreads from the present to the other parts of the verb, and then to nouns it is often doubtful, where a Root does not contain *i*, *u*, a liquid or a nasal, whether the nasal which we see is not really part of the root itself. It is an infix in Lat. *pre-hendō -hendī -hēnsu-s* Gr. *χίσιμομαι* 'I will seize' (for *χενδ+σ-*) *ἔ-χαδ-ο-ν* (*χῆδ-*) *χανδάνω* Alban. *ğendem* 'I am found' Lett. *gīdu* 'I understand, conjecture' (for **gendu*), which is proved by Lat. *praeda* (for **prae-heda*) Goth. *-gīta*. For Skr. *spanda-tē* 'throbs' *spandaya-ti* *spanda-s* 'a throbbing' *pani-špadá-s* 'throbbing' (*spad-* = **spṛd-*) Gr. *σπενδώνη* 'sling' *σπαδασμός* 'throbbing, eagerness, impatience' (**σπῆδ-*)¹⁾ the same is proved by Gr. *σπεδ-ανός-ς* 'hasty, wild' *σποδ-ρός-ς* 'powerful'. But it sometimes happens that there are no kindred words which can decide the matter. And then again, to make the ground more slippery under our feet, roots whose nasal we have a right to say belongs to the root itself, make forms without any nasal by analogy. Thus Skr. *mamāth-a māthaya-ti* instead of *mamanth-a manthaya-ti* from *mathnd-ti mátha-ti*, where *math-* comes from **myth-* (§ 516 p. 82, § 852); Gr. *δήξομαι* instead of **δεγξομαι* from *δάξ-νω ἔ-δαξο-ν*, where *δax-* comes from **dḡk-* (I § 224 p. 191).

§ 628. ✓ *leip-*: Skr. *limp-á-ti* 'smears', Lith. *limp-ù* 'I cling, hold'. ✓ *peik-*: Skr. *piś-á-ti* 'adorns, decks, arms',

1) Connect Lat. *pendō pendē, pondus*?

Lat. *ping-ō*. *√**uejd-*: Skr. *vind-á-ti* 'finds', O.Ir. *ro-finnadar* 'gets to know' (see § 633), cp. Armen. *giut* 'gain, profit' for **yind-* (Hübschmann, Arm. Stud. I 26, 63, 75; Bugge, Idg. Forsch. I 443), Gr. *ινδ-άλλομαι* 'I show myself, appear'. *√**seiq-seiq-* 'trickle down': Skr. *siñc-á-ti* 'pours out, wets', Goth. *sigq-a* 'I sink' (part. *sagq* following *band* etc., I § 67 Rem. 1 p. 57), Lett. *stku* 'I become exhausted, dry up, fall' (of water) for **sink-u*, cp. Mid.H.G. *sichte* 'shallow' from **sing-to-*. *√**hvejt-hvejd-* 'shine' (Skr. *śvit-āná-s* Goth. *hveit-s*): Skr. *śvind-a-tē* 'is clear, or white' (gramm.), Lith. *szvint-ù* 'I become clear'. Skr. *a-piṣ-a-t* 'I crushed' (beside *pi-nāṣ-ṭi*, § 626), Lat. *pīns-ō*, cp. Gr. *πίσσω* *πίττω* instead of prehistoric **πινσ-ω* (§ 631). Skr. opt. *chind-ē-ta* beside *chi-nād-mi* 'I cut off, tear to pieces' (Class XV), Lat. *scind-ō*, cp. Gr. *σχινδ-αλμός-s* 'piece of wood split off, splinter'. Prakr. *bhind-a-dī* beside Skr. *bhinád-mi* 'I split' (§ 626), Lat. *find-ō*. *√**sneigh-*: Lat. *ningu-i-t*, Lith. *sniñg-a* 'it snows'. *√**leiq-*: Lat. *lingu-ō*, Pruss. *po-linka* 'remains' (Skr. *rinák-ti* § 626), cp. Gr. *λινπ-άνω* § 631. Lat. *string-ō*, Lith. *string-u* 'I remain hanging' (pret. *strig-au*), beside Lat. *striga*, Goth. *striks* 'stroke, line' O.H.G. *strīhhu* 'I draw a line, pass along'; O.C.Sl. *strig-a* 'I shave, shear' for **striog-* (I § 229. 4 p. 195) or for **streig-*? Lat. *dī-stingu-ō*, Goth. *stigg-a* 'I strike, push' O.Icel. *stökk* 'I leap, push', beside Lat. *īn-stīgō* Skr. *tējatē* 'is sharp, goads on', cp. Lith. *stėngiu* § 637. Lat. *mingō* *√**meiġh-*, cp. Lett. *mīschu* for **minziu* § 635. Skr. *lump-á-ti* 'breaks to pieces', Lat. *rump-ō*, *√**reup-*. Skr. *luñc-a-ti* 'pulls, plucks' (gramm.: perf. *lu-luñc-ur* is found), Lith. *runk-ù* 'I grow wrinkled', *√**reug-* *reug-* (Skr. *luk-* 'a falling off, disappearance', Lat. *rūg-a*, Lith. *rauška-s* 'wrinkle'), cp. Lat. *runc-āre*. Skr. *muñc-á-ti* 'lets go, frees, gets free, runs away', Lat. *ē-mungō*, Lett. *mūku* 'I make off, flee' for **munk-u*, *√**meug-* *meug-*. Skr. *yuhj-a-ti* (beside *yunák-ti* § 625), Lat. *jung-ō* *√**jeug-*, cp. Lith. *jūng-iu* 'I yoke to'. Skr. *bhuñj-a-ti* 'makes to eat or enjoy' (beside *bhunák-ti* Class XV), Lat. *fung-or*. Avest. *lunj-a-iti* 'lays down, frees, saves itself', cp. Gr. *πενύγγων* *φυγγάνω* § 631. Lith. *bund-ù* 'I wake up', cp. Gr. *πυνθ-άνομαι* § 631.

✓ *qert-* 'cut': Skr. *kṛnt-á-ti* 'cuts, splits', Lith. *krint-ù* 'I fall off, drop' (of leaves, fruit and so forth), Idg. **qṛnt-é-ti*, cp. I § 285 Rem. p. 228. O.Ir. *in-grennim* 'I pursue' i. e. **ghrendō?* (cp. § 633), O.C.Sl. *gręd-a* 'I come', originally **ghrę-dh-ō* ✓ *ghredh-*, cp. Goth. *gridi-* f. 'step, grade' Lat. *gradior* for **ghrdh-jo-* (§ 717). ✓ *reg-* 'stretch, extend': Skr. *ṛñj-á-ti* (beside 3rd pl. mid. *ṛñj-atē* Class XV), cp. Lith. partic. *į-si-rėžęs* 'having stretched oneself' infin. *isz-si-rėsztī* 'to stretch out' *rąžau* 'I stretch' derived from a stem **rinž-* = Skr. *ṛñj-* (from *riž-* = *ṛj-* were derived *rēžiū̄s* 'I inflate myself' and *rāižau-s* 'I stretch myself', cp. below, Goth. *þeiha þáih*).

Formed from such roots with *r* we find in several languages present stems with vocalism of the strong grade. These must be regarded as new formations. Examples are: Skr. *śrambh-a-tē* 'entrusts', Gr. *ῥέμβ-ο-μαι* 'I turn myself round', Mid.Ir. *dringim* 'I ascend', O.H.G. *spring-u* 'I leap', Lith. *dręs-ù* 'I am brave'; details will be found under the separate headings.

✓ *plāq-* *plag-*: Lat. *plang-ō*, Lett. *plāku* 'I become flat, fall flat down' for **plank-u*, cp. Gr. *πλάζω* 'I strike, knock aside, lead astray' (*ἐπ'αγξω πλαγκτό-ς*) for **πλαγγ-ω* § 631. Lat. *clang-ō*, cp. Gr. *κλαγγ-άνω* and *κλάζω* for **κλαγγ-ω* § 631 (pf. *κέκλαγγα*), O.Icel. *hlakka* 'I cry out' (*-kk-* for *-nk-*), beside Gr. *κλώζω* 'I cluck, caw' for **κλωγ-ω*.

Roots ending in a consonant, without liquid, nasal, *i*, or *u* (type *peq-* 'coquere') show an *e*-vowel. Goth. *þeiha* O.H.G. *dīhu* 'I thrive' for **þiəx-ō*, earlier **þeəx-ō* (cp. O.Sax. partic. *thungan* and causative *thengiu* 'I complete'), from which we have the re-formates *þáih dēh* etc. (I § 67 Rem. 2 p. 57), Lith. *tenkù* 'I last out, have enough' infin. *tėk-ti*, compare O.Ir. *tocad* Mod.Cymr. *tyngned* 'luck, happiness' (first for **tonketo-*, cp. the Latinised name *Tuncetace*, inscr. in Wales), which also point to a nasal present stem. Alban. *ënd-em* 'I am found', Lat. *pre-hendō*, Lett. *gīdu* 'I understand, conjecture' for **gend-u* ✓ *ghed-*, cp. Gr. *χανδάνω χείσομαι* § 631.

Several languages give *jo*-inflexion to this type (Class XXIX). Examples: Gr. *πίσσω πίττω* instead of **πινοσ-ω*, *πλάζω* for

**πλαγγ-ω*; Lat. *vinc-iō*, *sanc-iō* (cp. *sacer*); Lith. *jūng-iu*, Lett. *mī/chu* (beside *mī/nu*) 'mingo' for **minz-iu*. See § 744.

§ 629. Aryan. Skr. *vind-á-ti* Avest. *vind-a-iti* 'finds', *✓* *ueīd-*; Skr. *siñc-á-ti* Avest. *hinc-a-iti* 'pours out', *✓* *seiq-*; Skr. *kynt-á-ti* Avest. *ker'nt-a-iti* 'cuts', see § 628 where other examples are given. We may also mention the following: Skr. *śiṣ-a-ti* 'leaves over' beside *śinás-ti*; *und-a-ti* 'moistens, wets' beside *unát-ti*; *umbh-a-ti* 'holds together, holds in custody' beside 2nd sing. *unap*; *tṛmp-á-ti* 'is satisfied' *✓* *terp-*; *bṛh-a-ti* 'strengthens' *✓* *bhergh-*; *śynth-a-ti* from *śrath-* 'to become loose or soft'; Avest. *mer'nc-a-itē* from *marc-* 'destroy' beside 2nd pl. mid. *mer'æg'-duyē* (§ 626). Sometimes in Sanskrit the accent is changed to the accent of Class II *A*, as *śumbh-a-ti* and *śumbh-á-ti* 'adorns' (beside *śóbh-a-tē*), partic. mid. *túñj-a-māna-s* (3rd pl. *tuñj-átē* Class XV, *tuj-yá-tē* 'is struck, knocked'), *dṛh-a-ti* beside *dṛh-á-ti* 'strengthens' (beside *dṛh-ya-ti*), *prñc-a-ti* 'mingles' (beside *prñák-ti* and *pi-pṛg-dhi*). With secondary strong grade vocalism (cp. § 628 p. 165): Skr. *śranth-a-tē* (gramm.) beside *śynth-a-ti*, *śrambh-a-tē* 'entrusts' (cp. *ni-śymbhá-s*), *anu-rañjati* 'cleaves truly to, loves' (cp. *rāga-s* 'colour, passion, love', Gr. *ῥέζω ῥέγμα ῥογέυς*), Avest. 3rd sing. pret. *mor'nd-a-ḥ* for **mar'nd-a-ḥ* (I § 94.3 p. 89) from *mard-* 'kill' (or does *-ar-* = *-ṛ-*?); of the same sort may be Skr. *vánd-a-tē* 'praises, honours' beside *vád-a-ti* *ud-yá-tē*.

Roots of the type *peq-* (§ 628 p. 165). Skr. *spand-a-tē* 'throbs', beside Gr. *σπεδ-αρό-ς*, § 627 p. 163. *stambh-a-tē* 'strengthens itself, stands fast, supports itself', beside Lith. *steb-iū-s* 'I wonder' *steb-iū'-s* 'I keep myself back' *stāba-s* 'apoplexy'. Sometimes the nasal is only found in non-present forms. Thus from *✓* *seg-* 'fasten, hang' (Skr. *sajjatē* for **sa-zj-a-* § 562 p. 110, Lith. *segù*): Skr. perf. *sa-sañj-a* aor. *a-sañj-i* partic. *-sañk-tavya-s*; from Ar. *dabh-* or *dhabh-¹⁾*

1) The desiderative forms *dhipsati dhīpsati* are late re-formates instead of Ved. *dīpsati*, certainly not instead of pr. Ar. *dhabh*. Compare *dhak*, p. 171.

'to hurt, deceive' (cp. Skr. *á-dbh-u-ta-s* § 596. 2, p. 136, desid. Skr. *dīpsa-ti* Avest. *diwža-idyāi* § 667, Skr. perf. *da-dābh-a*, *-dābha-s* 'hurting', Avest. caus. *dābayē-iti*): Skr. perf. *da-dāmbh-a* caus. *dambháya-ti dambh-a-s* 'deceit'. In such instances, one of two explanations is possible. (1) Either a nasal present which was the origin of these nasal forms has perished. With *sañj-* compare O.C.Sl. *seg-na* § 636; *dambh-* may be illustrated by Gr. *ἀτρέμω* 'I hurt, deceive', if the root is *dhebh-*, and if this Greek word is a contamination of *θ(ε)μβ-* and *τε(μ)γ-*. (2) Or the nasal came from other words; thus *dadám̐bha*, beside *dabhnóti*, was formed on the analogy of *tastám̐bha* : *stabhnóti*, and similar pairs.

§ 630. Armenian. Present stems of this kind I know none; but cp. *giut* 'profit, gain', which seems akin to **yind-ō* (§ 628 p. 164).

§ 631. Greek. Only a few examples of the unextended stem can be found. *λινδέσθαι* · *ἀμιλλᾶσθαι* beside *λίζουσι* · *παίζουσιν* Hesych. for **λινδ-ιω?*), connected by Fick with *λοίδωρο-ς* and Lat. *loido-s lūdu-s*. *σφίγγω* 'I tie, fasten', compared with Armen. *pirk*, for **sphig-ro-s*, by Bugge (Idg. Forsch. I 453). With secondary strong-grade vowel (cp. § 628 p. 165): *ρόμβομαι* 'I turn round, revolve' (*ρόμβο-ς* 'bull-roarer, wheel') containing Idg. **uerg-* from *✓uerg-*: Skr. *vrñák-ti* 'twists together' infin. *vrñj-ásē*, Mid.H.G. *runke* A.S. *wrinclē* 'wrinkle' O.H.G. *rench(i)u* 'I turn, pull backwards and forwards in turning'. Root of the type *peq-* (§ 628 p. 165): *στέμβω* 'I shake, misuse, handle roughly' beside *στόβο-ς στοβέω στοβάζω*.

Passing over to Class XXIX (§ 628 p. 165). *πίσσω* *πίττω* 'I crush, bruise' instead of **πτινσ-ιω* (the Author, Gr. Gr.² p. 61): Skr. *a-pīṣ-a-t* etc., see § 628 p. 164. *πλάζω* 'I strike, knock down' for **πλαγγ-ιω*: Lat. *plang-ō* etc., see § 628 p. 165. *κλάζω* 'I sound, cry out' for **κλαγγ-ιω*: Lat. *clang-ō* etc., see *ibid.* Perhaps also *σκιμπτω* 'I throw hard at something' for **σκιμπ-ιω*, beside Skr. *kṣīp-á-ti* 'throws, slings'.

Large numbers pass into Class XIV (§ 621 p. 158). *λιμπ-άνω* 'I leave': Lat. *linqu-ō* etc., see § 628 p. 164. *φνγγ-άνω* 'I flee' (Lesb. partic. *πεφύγγων*): Avest. *bunj-a-ti*, see § 628 p. 164. *πυνθ-άνο-μαι* 'I learn': Lith. *bund-ū*, see § 628 p. 164. *κλαγγ-άνω* beside *κλάζω*, see above. *θιγγ-άνω* 'I touch, feel', cp. *ἔ-θιγ-ο-ν*. *ἐρυγγ-άνω* beside *ἐρέυγ-ο-μαι* 'I belch'. *τυγχ-άνω*, cp. *ἔ-τυχ-ο-ν*. *λανθ-άνω* beside *λήθ-ω* Dor. *λάθ-ω* 'I escape notice'. The existence of *λανθάνω* beside *ἔλαθον* produced *δαγκάνω* 'I bite' beside *ἔδακον* (*√ denġ-*), *λαγχάνω* 'I get by lot' beside *ἔλαχον* (perf. *λέλογχα*), and further, *χανδάνω* 'I hold' beside *ἔχαδον*, which was itself produced by analogy of **χενδ-ω* (cp. fut. *χείσομαι*) from *√ ghed-* (cp. § 628 p. 165). I am uncertain about *λαμβάνω* 'I take' beside aor. *ἔλαβον* perf. *εἵληφα* Cret. *λέλομβα* (like *εἵληχα* *λίλοχα*).

Where no present formation has survived: *ἵμψας* * *ζεύξας*. *Θετταλοί* Hesych., beside Lat. *vinc-iō* Skr. *vi-vyak-ti* 'embraces, surrounds' 3rd dual *vi-vik-tá-s*, cp. *γυμβάναι* * *ζεύγανα* (Hesych.) i. e. *φιμβάναι* (like *τύμπανο-ν*).

§ 632. Italic. Lat. *ningu-i-t* Umbr. *ninctu* 'ninguito', Lat. *dī-stinguō* Umbr. *an-stintu* 'distinguito', Lat. *ping-ō*, *pīns-ō*, *scind-ō*, *find-ō*, *lingu-ō*, *string-ō*, *ming-ō*, *rump-ō*, *ē-mungō*, *jung-ō*, *fung-ōr*, see § 628 p. 164. Lat. *vinc-ō* perf. *vīc-ī*, Osc. *vincter* 'convincitur', cp. Goth. *veih-a* 'I fight' Class II A O.H.G. *upar-wihit* Class II B, *√ ſeiq-* § 532 p. 94. Lat. *ſing-ō* beside *ſic-tu-s* *ſig-ulu-s*, *√ dheigh-*: O.Ir. *dengaim* 'I oppress' (so Thurneysen). *ling-ō* beside *ling-urriō*, *√ leigh-*. *tund-ō* beside *tu-tud-ī*. *pung-ō* beside *pu-pug-ī*. *ac-cumbō* beside *-cubūt cubāre*.

Lat. *frang-ō* for **bhṛæg-ō* beside *frag-ili-s*, Goth. *brika* 'I break', *√ bhreg-* (cp. Osthoff, M.U. v p. 111).

Lat. *pang-ō* beside *pe-pig-ī* Gr. *πήγνυμι* 'I fix', *√ pāk-* *pāg-*; akin are doubtless Goth. *faha* O.H.G. *fāhu* 'I grasp, seize' (cp. Skr. *pāśa-* 'cord, line') for pr. Germ. **fanǵ-ō*, with partic. O.H.G. *gi-fangan*. *tang-ō* beside *te-tig-ī* *in-integer* (Umbr. *antakres* 'integeris'), *con-tāgiu-m*. *plang-ō* beside

plāg-a: Lett. *plūku*, see § 628 p. 165. *lamb-ō*, beside O.H.G. *laffu* 'I lick' perf. *luof*, √ *lab-*. Perhaps also *pandō* beside *pateō* and beside Osc. *patensins* 'aperirent', which comes from **patənō* or **patenō* (§ 622 p. 159); cp. § 612 p. 151;¹) and *of-fendō*, see § 696.

pre-hendō: Alban. *gēnd-em* etc., √ *ghed-*, see § 628 p. 165.

The fertility of this type in Latin is made clear by *fund-ō* beside Goth. *giuta* 'I pour' for **gheu-dō* Class XXV § 690. Cp. Goth. *standa* and the like, § 634 at end.

Passing into Class XXIX (§ 628 p. 165). *vinc-iō*, beside Skr. *vi-vyak-ti vi-vik-tás*, see § 631 p. 168. *sanc-iō* beside *sac-er*.

langu-eō (*langu-ēscō*) perf. *langu-ī* (beside *laxu-s* O.H.G. *slach* 'slack, lazy' and Gr. *λήγω* 'I cease', √ *slēg-*), following Class X, § 590 p. 132.

§ 633. Keltic. O.Ir. *dengaim* 'I oppress' from **dhiñghō* (3rd pl. pass. conj. *for-diassatar* 3rd sing. perf. *dedaig*): Lat. *finḡō*, see § 632. O.Ir. *slucim* 'I swallow, gulp' (secondary -*io*-flexion) Mod.Cymr. *llyncaf llyngaf* 'devoro' from **sluəkō*, √ *sla²uk-* *sla²ug-*, Gr. *λυκαίνω* and *λυγγάνουαι* 'I sob'.

O.Ir. *in-grennim* 'I pursue' with strong-grade vowel in the root: O.C.Sl. *gręd-a*, see § 628 p. 165; but compare the Remark. So also Mid.Ir. *dringim* 'I ascend' = O.Ir. **dreng(a)im* (*drēimm* 'clambering' subst.), akin to Skr. *darh-* 'make fast' pres. *dṛh-á-ti dṛh-a-ti* (cp. Lith. *lipù* 'I mount up with my feet, climb' beside *limpù* 'I remain clinging', O.H.G. *chlimbu* 'I climb' beside *chlību* 'I cling').

O.Ir. *com-boing* 'confringit' (perf. 3rd sing. -*baig*), cp. Skr. *bhanák-ti* perf. *ba-bhañj-a* Armen. *bek-anem*. *tong(a)im* 'I swear' beside *co-tach* 'compact'. *in-dlung* 'I split' beside *in-dlach* 'split' subst.

1) Bartholomae (Stud. Idg. Spr., II 96 f.) derives *pangō pandō ē-mungō* from **pank-nō* **pant-nō* **munək-nō* (cp. O.C.Sl. *krę(t)-nq* and the like, § 636). This view seems to me unjustifiable until the general principles which govern the interchange of *tenuēs* and *mediae* when root-finals in Indo-Germanic have been made out (I § 469.7 p. 346).

O.Ir. *ro-finnadar* 'gets to know' is related to Skr. *vind-á-ti* § 628 p. 164, and seems to have adopted *a*-flexion; but compare the Remark, below.

Remark. Thurneysen writes to me: "*Grenn-* and *finna-* appear in Old Irish always with *nn* and never with *nd*. I hesitate between two explanations. (1) Either *nd* very early became *nn* before the accent (the prefix which accented is always *ind-*, is either *inn-* or *in-* when pretonic); or (2) the nasal stood originally after the dental: *finna-* = **vid-nā-* or **vi-n-d-nā-*, *grenn-* = **gred-n-* (**grid-n-?*) or **gre-n-d-n-*. I am still searching for evidence to decide the matter." With **vindnā-* **grendn-* compare Lett. *brīnu* for **brendnu*, O.C.Sl. *segnq* § 615 p. 154, § 636.

§ 634. Germanic. Except *standa*: *stōþ*, all Germanic stems of this class run the nasal right through the verb.

Goth. *sigq-a* O.H.G. *sink-u* 'I sink', Goth. *stigg-a* 'I strike', see § 628 p. 164. Goth. *fra-slinda* O.H.G. *slint-u* 'I swallow' (re-formed, O.H.G. *slunt* 'throat'): cp. Mid.H.G. *slīte* A.S. *slīde* 'I slide, slip', Lith. *slid-ù-s* 'slippery, smooth' Lett. *slaid-s* 'steep'.¹⁾ O.Icel. *slæpp* 'I make slide' pr. Germ. **slimpō* (pret. *slapp*): cp. O.H.G. *slifu* 'I slide, sink', *✓ sleib-*. O.H.G. *climbu* 'I climb, clamber, ascend': cp. O.Icel. *klīf* 'I climb' pret. *kleif*, O.H.G. *chlību* 'I cling, hold'. *✓ gleip-* (*gleip-* and *leip-* are *p*-extensions of *✓ glei-* and *lei-*, cp. § 797). Mod.H.G. *blinke* 'I gli'tter' a weak verb, but originally doubtless strong (re-formate O.H.G. *blanch* 'bright'): cp. O.H.G. *blīhu* 'I gleam', Lith. *blyksztù* 'I turn pale' *blaiksztyti-s* 'to clear up'. From O.Sax. *mengian* (Goth. **maggjan*) 'to mingle' we must apparently infer **mingan* 'to mingle' akin to Skr. *miś-rá-* 'mixt'; see § 805. (Kluge in his Etym. Dict. explains differently).

Roots with *-er-* *-el-* show strong-grade vowels (cp. § 628 p. 165). O.H.G. *spring-u* 'I leap' instead of pr. Germ. **sprunag-ō* ground-form **sprægh-ō*: cp. Gr. *σπερχομαι* 'I hasten' *σπερχ-νό-ς* 'hasty'. O.H.G. *ring-u* 'I move to and fro, writhe violently'

¹⁾ Osthoff compares *fra-slinda* with Gr. *λυι-μός-ς* *λυι-τμα* (Zeitschr. deutsch. Phil., xxiv 215; Anz. für idg. Spr., i 82). According to this etymology, we should start with a stem *slī-t-* (cp. *r* in *λατμα*) which took a nasal infix. Compare below, in this section, on *standa* (p. 172).

A.S. *wringe* 'I turn, press' (cp. Goth. *vruggō* f. 'knot, noose'): cp. O.H.G. *wurg(i)u* 'I throttle, choke' Lith. *verž-iù* 'I tie together, enclose', $\sqrt{uergh-}$ (I § 285 Rem. p. 228). O.H.G. *scrint-u* 'I burst, blow up, split, rend' (O.H.G. *scrunta* 'split, tear, rent'): cp. Lith. *skėrdžiu* 'I burst, blow up, split', partic. *su-skirdžės* 'blown up, burst open', $\sqrt{sqerdh-}$ (i. e. *sqer+dh-*, § 689). Mid.H.G. *schrumpfe* 'I become wrinkled, shrivel': Pruss. *sen-skrempāsanan* acc. 'wrinkle, fold' (*p*, as elsewhere, wrongly written for *b*), cp. O.Icel. *skorp-r* 'shrivelled, dry' *skorp-na* 'I dry up' intr. Russ. *skorblyj* 'shrivelled', $\sqrt{sqerb-}$. Mid.H.G. *sprinza* O.Icel. *spret* 'I leap, burst, blow up' doubtless akin to O.C.Sl. *pręd-ajā* 'I leap, tremble', $\sqrt{(s)perd-}$ (i. e. *(s)per+d-* § 700). O.H.G. *sling-u* 'I move, twist, swing to and fro, crawl' (cp. *slango* 'snake'), doubtless with Lith. *slenkù* 'I crawl' akin to Lat. *sulcu-s* 'furrow, snake's trail'.

Root type *peq-* (§ 628 p. 165). Goth. *þeiha* O.H.G. *dīhu* 'I thrive' pr. Germ. **þeox-ō*: Lith. *tenk-ù* $\sqrt{teq-}$, see § 628 p. 165. Goth. *finþa* O.H.G. *find-u* 'I find', as we may conjecture, from $\sqrt{pet-}$ Gr. *πέντω* (for the meaning cp. *ἐμπειεῖν*). A.S. *ge-tinge* 'I hold on to, press' cp. *ge-tenzan* 'to make fast, add, join to' O.Icel. *tengja* 'tie or fasten together', beside Skr. *dagh-* 'reach up to, touch' $\sqrt{deggh-}$ (Skr. 2nd and 3rd sing. *dhak* is an ad-formate of roots which had both initial and final *media aspirata*): O.C.Sl. *degŭ* 'line, string' *ne-dagŭ* 'weakness, sickness'.

Goth. *fāh-a* O.H.G. *fāh-u* 'I seize' pr. Germ. **fanox-ō*, connected possibly with Lat. *pang-ō*, $\sqrt{pāk-}$ *pāg-*, see § 632 p. 165. Compare O.Icel. *banga* weak verb 'I strike, knock' Mod.H.G. Swiss *bang(e)* 'I give a knock' (Mid.H.G. *bengel* 'cudgel'), beside O.H.G. *bāgu* 'I fight, strive', O.Ir. *bāgim* 'I strive', $\sqrt{bhēgh-}$ *bhōgh-*.

Secondary *io*-flexion (§ 628 p. 165) must be assumed for O.H.G. *winch(i)u* 'I move sideways, fluctuate, nod, beckon' (pret. in Mid.H.G., pret. and part. in Mod.H.G. also strong — *wanc*, *gewunken*), if it, along with the Lith. *ving-i-s* m. 'deviation, bend' *ving-ù-s* 'crooked, bent' (compare *vėngiu* 'I avoid, do not want to do something' inf. *vėnkti*), is related

to O.H.G. *wīhhu* 'I shrink, yield' Gr. *oĩγvūμi* for **ō-fīγ-* 'I open' ('make yield'). But these comparisons are doubtful (cp. Fick, Wtb., i⁴ 541, 547 f.; G. Meyer, Et. Wört. der alb. Spr., 463; Per Persson, Stud. Lehr. Wurzelersw., 174 f.).

Nasal present stems from roots extended by *-t-*; see § 685. Goth. *standa* 'I stand' pret. *stōþ* O.H.G. *stantu* pret. *-stuot* (generally with intrusive nasal, *stuont*) for **standō* ground-form **stā-n-tō* from *√stā-*. Goth. *vinda* O.H.G. *wintu* 'I wind, turn, wrap, enfold' (pret. *vand want*), beside Goth. *ga-vida* 'I tie up' O.H.G. *witu* 'I tie, bind' from *uei-* Skr. *vī-tā-s* 'folded, enclosed' Lith. *vej-ù* 'I twist a cord' (cp. § 790). O.H.G. *swintu* 'I vanish, disappear' A.S. *swinde* beside O.H.G. *swī-nu* § 614 p. 152. Compare above, O.H.G. *scrintu* from *sqr+dh-* p. 171, Mid.H.G. *sprinze* from *sper+d-* (*ibid.*), Lat. *fundō* from *ghex+d-* § 632 p. 169, and again O.H.G. *chlimbu* from *glei+p-* (above, p. 170), O.C.Sl. *tręsa* 'I shake, shatter' from *tr+es-* and Skr. *dhvāsa-ti* 'disperses, disappears' intr. from *dhu+es-* (Classes XIX and XX, cp. Per Persson, Wurzel-erweiterung, p. 83).

§ 635. Balto-Slavonic. In Baltic, this present formation is very productive.

Lith. *limp-ù* 'I cling, hold' (pret. *lip-aũ*), Lett. *sīk-u* 'I sink down, fall', Lith. *sėvint-ù* 'I grow clear', *sniņg-a* 'it snows', Pruss. *po-linka* 'remains', Lith. *string-u* 'I remain hanging', *runk-ù* 'I grow winkled', Lett. *mūk-u* 'I make off, flee', Lith. *bund-ù* 'I wake up' see § 628 p. 164. Lith. *stimp-ù* 'I grow stiff' (pret. *stip-aũ*), *tunk-ù* 'I grow fat' (*tuk-aũ*), *džiung-ù* 'I become glad' (*džiug-aũ*).

Lith. *krint-ù* 'I fall off' (*krit-aũ*): Skr. *kṛnt-ā-ti*, *√qert-*, see § 628 p. 165. *drimb-ù* 'I drop in thick drops' (*drib-aũ*), beside *dreb-iũ* 'I let fall in thick drops' Gr. *τρεφ-ε-ται* 'curdles' *√dhrebh-*. *trink-ù* 'I go wrong, do not come off' (*trik-aũ*), beside *trāk-a-s* 'foolish fellow' *trak-ù-s* 'foolish, mad' Gr. *ἀ-τρεχής* 'uninjured, exact, true'. *splint-ù* 'I spread' intr. (*split-aũ*), beside *splecziũ* 'I spread', trans.

Roots of the type *peq-* (§ 628 p. 165). Lith. *tenk-ù* 'I suffice in some respect, have enough of something' (*tek-aũ*): Goth.

peiha for pr. Germ. **perx-ō*, see § 628 p. 165. Lett. *gīdu* 'I take in, conjecture', see § 628 p. 165. Lith. *gend-ù* 'I become damaged, split in two' (*ged-aũ*).

Lett. *plūku* 'I become flat, fall flat down' for **plank-u*: Lat. *plang-ō*, see § 628 p. 165. Lith. *kank-ù* 'I hold out, suffice' (*kak-aũ*).

An indication of the fertility of this type in Lithuanian is the forming of present stems of the kind from nouns (cp. § 793); e. g. *rentù* 'I get thinner' (*retaũ*) from *rēta-s* 'thin, not close', *lempù* 'I pamper myself' (*lepaũ*) from *lepù-s* 'pampered'.

Secondary *jo*-flexion (cp. § 628, p. 165) is found only where the nasal spread beyond the present system. Lith. *jūng-iu* 'I yoke, put to' (inf. *jūnk-ti*) beside Skr. *yuj-a-ti* Lat. *jung-ō*, Lett. *mī/chu* 'mingo' for **minz-ju* (inf. *mī/t*) beside Lat. *ming-ō*, § 628 p. 164. Lett. *kamp-ju* 'I seize, grasp' (inf. *kampt*), beside Lat. *cap-iō*.

Under the same conditions we have stems adopting to-conjugation (§ 686), where the meaning is intransitive. Lith. *jūnkstu* (Lett. *jūkstu* for **junkstu*) 'I grow used' (*jūnkau jūnksti*) beside Lett. *jūku* for (*j*)*unk-u*, akin to O.C.Sl. *učq* 'I instruct' Skr. *uc-ya-ti* 'finds pleasure in' *ōkas-* n. 'pleasure, place of pleasure, home'; cp. O.C.Sl. *vyk-nq* and Goth. *bi-ūhts*, which likewise seem to have been nasalised (§ 636). Lith. *stīnkstu* 'I curdle, congeal, grow stiff' (*stīngau stīnksti*) beside Gr. *στίβω* 'I tread something hard' *στίβαρό-ς* 'firm, pressed, solid' (cp. Lith. *stėngiu* § 637). *sklīstù* 'I flow apart' (*sklindaũ sklīsti*) beside *sklīd-ina-s* 'full to overflowing' *skleidžiũ* 'I spread'; a pret. 3rd sing. *sklīdu* (*sklīdō*) is also found, pointing to a present **sklīnd-ù*. Lett. *stringstu* 'I grow tight, dry up' (*stringu stringt*) beside Lith. *string-u* 'I remain hanging' (*strigau*) and *streg-iu* 'I crystallise, stiffen' (cp. § 628 p. 164). Lith. *drīstù* 'I grow bold' (*drīsaũ drīsti*), ✓ *dhers-*. *līnkstù* 'I bend' (*līnkaũ līnksti*) beside Gr. *λεκ-άνη* 'pan, fan' *λοξό-ς* 'crooked'; also Lat. *lanx* with nasal (for **lōq-?*). The model for these presents is

seen in *blīsta* 'it darkens' beside *blind-ō* ✓ *bhlendh-*, *tīstū* 'I stretch myself out' beside *tīs-aū* stem *ten-s-*, and the like.

§ 636. This formation is much rarer in Slavonic than it is in Baltic. O.C.Sl. *strig-a* 'I shear, slave' for **strinog-*? see § 628 p. 164. *gręd-a* 'I come' (inf. *gręsti*) for *ghyndh-* or **ghrendh-*: O.Ir. *in-grennim*, see § 628 p. 165. *sęd-a* 'I sit' (inf. *sešti*), ✓ *sed-*, cp. Pruss. *sindats syndens* 'sitting' beside *sīdāns sīdons* = Lett. *sēdās*. *lēg-a* 'I lie' (inf. *lēsti*), ✓ *leg-*. *tręs-a* 'I shake, shatter' inf. *tręs-ti* from *tr-es-*, unless it comes from **trem-so-* (cp. Lith. *trimù* 'I tremble' Lat. *tremō*), see § 657. As regards *gręd-a* *lēk-a* 'I bend' *pręd-a* 'I spin' compare § 637.

Sometimes extended by *-io-* (§ 628 p. 165). *žęžd-a* 'I desire, thirst' for **žęd-ia* (inf. *žędati*) beside Lith. *pa-si-gendù* 'I miss' and *geidžiù* 'I long for'. *glęžd-a* 'I look, gaze' for **ględ-ia* (inf. *ględėti*) beside Mid.H.G. *glinze* 'I shine' O.H.G. *glīzu* 'I glitter'. See § 637. With nasal confined to the present system: *ob-ręšt-a* 'I find' for **-ręt-ia*, inf. *-ręsti* aor. *-ręti* (for the etymology of this verb see § 687).

There is another extension, with *-no-*. *vyk-n-a* 'I grow used' doubtless derived from **vyk-a* = Lett. *jūku* for *(*j*)*unk-u*, beside *uč-a* 'I teach' (§ 635 p. 173). *sęg-n-a* 'I long for' beside Lith. *seg-ù* 'I fasten', cp. Skr. *sa-sañj-a* § 629 p. 166. *křęn-a* 'deflecto' for **křęt-n-a* (cp. *křatiti* 'to twist, turn'), beside Skr. *křnāt-ti* 'turns the thread, spins' *kārtana-m*. *sęk-n-a* 'I sink' beside Lett. *sīku* 'I sink, fall' for **sink-u*, ✓ *seiq-* (§ 628 p. 164). *ręg-n-a* 'hisco' beside Lat. *ringor* (inf. *ring-ī*) *ric-tu-s*. Compare § 637.

§ 637. Side by side with Lith. *drimbù* (ground-form **dhymbh-ō*) and the like stand forms with *e* in the root syllable (cp. § 628 p. 165). *dręs-ù* 'I am bold' (pret. *drīs-aū*) beside *drīs-tù* ✓ *dhers-* § 635 p. 173. *brendù* (dialectic *brindu* for *brendu*) 'I wade' beside *bredù* (*brid-aū*) O.C.Sl. *bred-a*. *lenk-iù* 'I bend' (*lenkiaū* *leñkti*) beside *link-stù* ✓ *leq-* § 635 p. 173. *trëndu* 'I am devoured by moths or worms' inf. *trendě-ti*, with *tride* beside Skr. *tṛṇatti* *tard-a-ti* § 692. We may assume

that *drēs-ù* for **drins-ù* was coined to supplement *drīs-au* on the analogy of *renk-ù : rinkaũ*, *kertù : kirtaũ* etc.; *lenk-iũ* appears beside *linkstũ* on the analogy of *grēž-iũ* 'I turn, twist' beside *grīszti* 'I turn myself' etc. Slavonic verbs with *ę*, *gręd-a* *lęk-a*, and **kręť-a* which appears to be implied by *krę-na*, may quite well correspond to Lith. *drimb-ù* or to Lith. *drēs-ù*.¹⁾

Baltic *en* Slav. *ę* is found in present stems from roots with *i*-vowels both extended and unextended. Lith. *senkũ* 'I fall, sink' (of water) O.C.Sl. *sęk-na* 'I sink down' beside Lett. *stku* for **sink-u* Skr. *siñc-á-ti* / *seiḡ-* (§ 628 p. 164). Lith. *sprėndžiu* 'I grasp with the hand' (*sprėsti*) O.C.Sl. *pręda* 'I spin' (*pręsti*) beside Lith. *sprindi-s* m. 'span' Lett. *spraid-s* 'place where one stands in a narrow compass' *debes-spraisli-s* 'vault of heaven' O.H.G. *spreiten* 'stretch out, separate, part asunder'. Lith. *pa-si-gendũ* 'I miss' O.C.Sl. *žęžda* 'I desire, thirst' for **žęd-ia* beside Lith. *geidžiu* 'I desire' Goth. *gáido* n. 'lack' O.H.G. *gīt* 'eagerness, greed, avarice'. Lith. *stėng-iu* 'I apply my strength to something' beside *stėnkstũ* 'I congeal, get stiff' Gr. *στεῖνω* (§ 635 p. 173). Lith. *męz-ũ*²⁾ 'mingo' (*mįzaũ mįszti*) Lett. *mīf-nu* for **menz-nō* beside Lett. *mīfchu* for **minz-iō* (§ 635 p. 173) Lat. *ming-ō* Lith. *mīžē* f. 'cunnus' *mīž-iu-s* 'penis', / *meiḡh-*. O.C.Sl. *glęžda* (inf. *ględēti*) and *ględaja* (inf. *ględati*) 'I look, gaze' beside Mid.H.G. *glinze* 'I shine, glitter' (pret. new formation *glanz*) O.H.G. *glīzu* O.Sax. *glītu* 'I glitter' / *ghleīd-*. O.C.Sl. *ręgna* 'hisco' (*raqũ* 'jest', subst.) beside Lat. *ringor ric-tu-s*. If the Baltic forms stood alone, the explanation would be easy; we might say that the analogy of *renk- : rink-* etc. produced *senk- menž-* beside *sink- minž-*; compare what is said above on *drēsũ*. But this explanation does not suit

1) The fact that we find *kręť-* and not *čręť-* is not sufficient to prove that the ground-form of *kręť-* is the weak grade **q̥rnt-*. Such a form must have become Slav. **krīnt-*, as **dh̥rns-* becomes Lith. *drins-*, and **q̥rnt-* becomes Lith. *krīnt-* (I § 285 p. 227). There never was a form **kīrnt-*, nor yet **gr̥rnt-*, which Bartholomae suggests as the ground-form of *kręť-* (Stud. Idg. Spr., II 97).

2) Dialectic *minšũ* = **menšũ* (vol. I § 285 Rem., p. 227, is wrong).

the Slavonic forms, because in Slavonic, before consonants, Idg. *in* becomes *ī*, but Idg. *ṇ* becomes *ę* (I § 219. 4 p. 186).

Remark. Wiedemann's view (Arch. Slav. Phil. x 652 f., Lit. Praet. 58, 168 f.) — that Idg. *in* and *un* before consonants become slav. *ę* and *q*, except in final syllables — can hardly be maintained in this connexion, because we have *isto* = Lett. *inkstas*, *lyko* = Lith. *lūnka-s* Pruss. *lunka-n* and *smrūd-ę* (see below). Nor is Streitberg's attempt satisfactory (Idg. Forsch., I 283 f.). Perhaps the problem may be solved thus. We may suppose that originally *in* and *un* always became *ī* and *ū*; but that later, when *in* and *un* were again produced in any way before consonants, these became *ę* and *q*. We may suppose that *sink-* first became **sik-*, and afterwards, as the principle of Class XVI still remained active, the nasal crept into the stem anew; compare (say) Gr. Att. *ἐννύμι* for **φεονύμι*, which took the place of pr. Gr. **φεννύμι* (= Ion. *ἐννύμι*) for orig. **φεο-νύ-μι* (I § 565 p. 422). Similarly *bqđq* may come from **bhū-dhō* or **bhū-dō*, and may have got its nasal only at a late stage of protoethic Slavonic; though it may equally well be derived from **bhū-ā-dhō* or *-dō* attracted into the nasal class, or from **bhūon-dhō* or *-dō* regarded as an extension of a form **bhū-onō* (cp. § 701). Furthermore, for the 3rd pl. *smrūd-ętū* beside *smrūd-i-mū* etc. we may assume that the old ending **-int(u)* (cp. part. *smrūd-ęt-* Lith. *smird- -int-*) first lost its nasal, and then recovered it by analogy of *imqtū* etc.

The etymologies brought up by Wiedemann in his article in the *Archiv* by way of support to his view are all too uncertain to base any theory upon. O.C.Sl. *nāžda* 'compulsion, force, necessity' I connect with Skr. *nādh- nāth-* 'to be oppress, in need of help'; *tapū* 'blunt, dull', with *stemp- stemb-* in O.H.G. *stumpf*, Lith. *stambū-s* 'coarse' *stamba-s* 'stump'; *-dągū* 'force, strength' is to be connected with *dęgū* 'cord, strap, bridle' (Miklosich, Et. Wort., p. 49 a), and with O.H.G. *gi-zengi* 'reaching to, touching close' and Skr. *dagh-* 'to reach' (§ 634 p. 171).

Class XVII.

The Root + *-ney-* *-nu-* forming the Present Stem.

§ 638. *-ney-* is the strong form of the suffix; *-nu-*, *-ny-* and *-nuy-* the weak forms. *-nuy-* follows a root with final consonant, cp. 3rd pl. Skr. *aś-nuv-ānti* Gr. *ἀγ-νί-ᾱσι* as contrasted with Skr. *ci-nv-ānti*, I § 153 p. 138.

Beside *-ney-* *nu-*, Aryan has *-anau-* *-anu-*. See § 596. 3, pages 137 f.

The Root Syllable had originally the weak grade, except in Skr. *daś-ñó-ti* Gr. *δῆκ-νί-μενο-ς*.

§ 639. Pr. Idg. **r-ney-* **ǵ-ney-*, √ *er-*: Skr. *r-ñó-mi* 'I excite, set moving' 1st pl. *r-ñu-más* 3rd pl. *r-ñv-ánti* mid. 3rd sing. *r-ñu-tě*, conj. *r-ñáv-a-t*, opt. *r-ñu-yǵ-t*; Gr. *ὄρ-νῶ-μι* 'I excite, disturb, startle' 1st pl. *ὄρ-νῶ-μεν* (*ὄρ-* = *ǵ-*). — With thematic vowel: Skr. *r-ñv-á-ti*.

**r-ney-*: Skr. *r-ñó-mi* 'I fall in with something, reach, attain', Armen. *ar-nu-m* 'I take', Gr. *ᾄρ-νῶ-μαι* 'I attain, earn'. Perhaps identical with the previous verb. *ᾄρ-νῶ-μαι* as regards the grade of its root vowel would stand to *ὄρ-νῶ-μι* as *τι-νί-μεναι* to *τί-νῶ-νται*, and Skr. *stṛ-ñó-mi* to Gr. *στόρ-νῶ-μι* (see below).

**stṛ-ney-* **stǵ-ney-*, √ *ster-* 'sternere': Skr. *stṛ-ñó-mi*, Gr. *στόρ-νῶ-μι*.

**pstṛ-ney-*, √ *pster-* 'sneeze': Gr. *πτάρ-νῶ-ται*, cp. Lat. thematic *ster-nu-ō* (*sternūtāre*).

**tṛ-ney-*, √ *ten-* 'stretch, lengthen': Skr. *ta-ñó-mi* Gr. *τά-νῶ-ται*.

**sṇ-ney-*, √ *sen-* 'reach a goal, attain, end, complete'. Skr. *sa-ñó-mi*, Gr. *ᾗ-νῶ-μι ἥ-νῶ-το* (the regular spir. asp. appears in *ᾗ-νῶ-ω* and elsewhere). — Thematic: Gr. *ἄνω ἄνω* for **ᾗ-νῶ-ω*.

**qi-ney-*, √ *qei-* 'pay a penalty' etc.: Skr. *ci-ñó-mi*, Gr. inf. *τι-νί-μεναι*, also with *ι* mid. *τί-νῶ-νται*. — Thematic: Skr. *ci-nva-ti*, Gr. *τίνω τίνω* for **τι-νῶ-ω*.

**mi-ney-*, √ *mei-* 'lessen': Skr. *mi-ñó-mi*, cp. Gr. *μινύ-θω* (§ 694), Lat. *mi-nu-ō*.

Skr. *kṣi-ñó-mi* 'I destroy', cp. Gr. *φθι-νύ-θω* (§ 694), thematic *φθίνω φθίνω* for **φθι-νῶ-ω*.

**ghi-ney-*, √ *ghei-*: Skr. *hi-ñó-mi* 'I set in motion, drive on', cp. thematic Skr. *hí-nv-a-ti*, Goth. *du-ginna* 'I begin'. This comparison I regard as more likely than Bugge's (P.-B. Beitr., xii 405 f.). This scholar, followed by several others, has compared the Germanic verb with O.C.Sl. *na-čĭnq* (cp. Fick, Wort. I⁴ 382).

**dhu-ney-* **dhū-ney-*, √ *dhey-*: Skr. *dhu-nō-mi dhū-nō-mi* 'I shake, shatter', cp. Gr. *θέω* and *θῆνέω* 'I move wildly, storm' (§ 652).

**dhys-ney-*, √ *dhers-* 'be bold, dare': Skr. *dhṛṣ-ñō-mi* 3rd pl. *dhṛṣ-ñuv-ānti*, O.Sax. 1st pl. **durnum* (inferred from the later sing. *darn* conj. *dūrne*) = Goth. **daúr-z-nu-m* (§ 646).

**dēk-ney-*, √ *dēk-* (Skr. *daśas-yā-ti* 'shows honour, is gracious or pleasant', Gr. Hom. *δῆ-δέχ-αται δέχ-ο-μαι* § 560 p. 110, Lat. *decus*): Skr. *daś-nō-mi* 'I pay homage to', Gr. Hom. *δῆκ-νύ-μενο-ς* 'paying homage, greeting' (so read, with J. Wackernagel, in Il. 9.196, Od. 4. 59). The same grade of vowel as in Skr. *daś-ṭi daś-vās-* Hom. *δῆκανόωντο*, and other words.

**ues-ney-*, stem **u-es-* 'put on a garment' (§ 656): Armen. *z-genu-m* 'I dress', Gr. *εἴν-μι* (*ἐννῆμι*).

We often see the same root forming a present both in this class and in Class XII; as Goth. 1st pl. *kun-nu-m* and Skr. *jā-nā-mi* √ *ḡen-*, Avest. *sri-nao-iti* and O.Sax. *hli-nō-n*, Skr. *stṛ-ñō-mi* and *stṛ-ñā-mi*, *mi-nō-mi* and *mi-nā-mi*.

§ 640. Aryan. √ *ger-* 'make': Skr. *kṛ-ñō-mi* Avest. *ker'-nao-mi* Skr. *kṛ-ñv-ānti* Avest. *ker'-nv-anti*, pret. Skr. *á-kṛ-ñav-am* O.Pers. *a-kū-ñav-am*¹⁾ Skr. *á-kṛ-ñō-t* Avest. *ker'-nao-ḥ*, conj. Skr. *kṛ-ñáv-āni* Avest. *ker'-nav-āni*, opt. Skr. *kṛ-ñu-yā-t* Avest. *ker'-nu-yā-ḥ*; — thematic Skr. 3rd sing. *á-kṛ-ñv-a-ta*.²⁾ Skr. *vṛ-ñō-mi* 'I hide, cover, enfold' imper. *vṛ-ñu-hi* Avest. *ver'-nū-iđi*; also Skr. *ūr-ñō-mi* for **vūr-ñō-mi* pr. Ar. **ṛ-naṣ-mi* (I § 157 p. 141, § 306 pp. 241 ff.), like Gr. *σρόφ-νῆ-μι* beside Skr. *stṛ-ñō-mi*, Skr. *dhū-nō-mi* beside *dhu-nō-mi*; — thematic Avest. *ver'-no-a-iti*. Skr. *ta-nō-mi* 'I stretch, lengthen' (§ 639 p. 177), conj. Ved. *ta-nāv-a* Avest. *ta-nav-a*, opt. mid. Skr. *ta-nv-īy-á* Avest. *tanuya* i. e. *ta-nv-iy-a*

1) For *kū-*, see I § 288, p. 230.

2) For Skr. *karō-ti kuru-ṭha* J. Wackernagel offers a very likely conjecture (Kuhn's Litteraturblatt, III 55 f.). He suggests that *kṛñō-kṛñu-* became in vulgar speech *kañō-kuñu-*, and these became *karō-kuru-* by analogy of the other forms of the verb, which all had *r*.

(§ 940). Skr. *i-nō-ti* 'subdues, forces' Avest. *i-nao-iti*, doubtless akin to Gr. *αἰ-ρῶ-μαι* 'I grasp, take'; — thematic Skr. *i-nv-a-ti*. Avest. *sri-nao-iti* 'bends, directs somewhere', √ *klei-*. Skr. *su-nō-ti* 'presses out', 3rd sing. *á-su-nu-ta* Avest. *hu-nū-ta*; — thematic Avest. imper. mid. *hu-nv-a-rouha* (= Skr. **su-nv-a-sva*). Skr. *dhṛṣ-ñō-ti* 'dares', √ *dhers-*, § 639 p. 178. Skr. *aś-nō-ti* 'reaches' Avest. *aś-nao-iti*, ground-form **ñk-neu-ti*, opt. Skr. *aś-nu-yā-t* Avest. *aś-nu-yā-p*. Skr. *śak-nō-mi* 'I can'.

In Skr. *kṣ-ñāu-ti* 'whets' partic. *kṣ-ñuv-ānā-s* from √ *qes-* (II § 8 Rem. 2 p. 20), the root has ceased to be a separate syllable; compare perhaps Lat. *novā-cula*, first for **s-neu-ā-* (Kretschmer, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxi 419, 470). *au* instead of *ō* arose as in *ūrñāu-ti* (beside *ūr-ñō-ti*) by analogy of such a present as *stāu-ti*, see § 494 p. 55. The diphthong was regarded as part of the root proper, hence *kṣnu-tā-* (Avest. *hu-xšnu-ta-* 'well sharpened') *kṣñō-tra-* and *ūrñu-tya-* *ūrñavana-* (similar forms in Greek, see § 643 p. 183).

§ 641. Strong suffix instead of weak; Skr. 2nd pl. *á-kṛñō-ta* *kṛñō-ta* instead of *á-kṛñu-ta* *kṛñu-tā*, *hinō-ta* *hinō-tam* instead of *hinu-tā* *hinu-tām*, Avest. 2nd pl. *srinao-ta* (O.Pers. 3rd pl. *a-kūnav-a* *a-kūnav-atā* I regard as thematic, see § 649). Compare Skr. *grbhñā-hi* instead of *grbhñt-hi*, and like forms § 600 p. 143. *Vice versa*, Avest. 2nd sing. *ker'nūi-ši* contrasted with Skr. *kṛñō-ši*.

The strong stem occurs along with the weak in thematic conjugation; e. g. Avest. 2nd sing. pret. act. *ker'-nav-ō*. On this matter, refer to §§ 648 and 649.

In the 1st plural and dual, *-nu-* may drop its *-u-* before the personal ending, unless the root ends in a consonant; *kṛñmās* *kṛñvās* *kṛñmāhē* *kṛñvāhē* beside *kṛñu-mās* etc. *sunmās* beside *sunu-mās* etc. (but only *aś-nu-mās* *aś-nu-vās* etc.). The first trace of this new development is one example in Veda, *kṛñmahē*. It is possible enough that *kṛñvānti* : *aśnuvānti* suggested *kṛñvās* (instead of *kṛñuvās*) beside *aśnuvās*; or that *kṛñuvās* became *kṛñvās* naturally (cp. Wackernagel, Kuhn's Literaturbl. iii 56), which

produced *kṛnmás* by analogy. If *kṛnvás* did arise by regular change, the variant *kṛnuvás* must have been restored on the analogy of *kṛnumás*, as *kṛnmas* was coined on the analogy of *kṛnvás*. However, some influence must have been exerted by the relation of *kurmás kurvás kurmáhē kuroáhē* to *kuruthá kuruthás kurudhvé*. *kurmás* is as early as the Rig-Veda, and **kurumás *kuruvás* never seem to have existed at all. I would suggest that the forms with *kur-* are due to the analogy of the opt. aor. *kuryá-t* mid. **kurī-tá-* (cp. *vurī-ta murīy-a*); and it would be all the easier to understand how the stems *kur-* and *kuru-* = *kṛnu-* (p. 178 footnote 2) came to be confused, if the imperative *kuru* represents not only orig. *kṛnu*, but a form **qrr-* + the particle *u* (cp. the particle *-na* in Avest. 2nd sing. imper. *bara-nā* § 600 Rem. p. 143). Compare the references given to explain *kurmás* in § 498 p. 57.

Remark. Moulton (Am. Journ. Phil., x 283) thinks that *-n-* in forms such as *kṛ-n-más* is the weak form of *-nā-* (Class XII), and compares Avest. *ver^o-n-iē*. But if only he could point to a Sanskrit example of *-n-* instead of *-ñi-* in Class XII!

2nd sing. Ved. *śṛ-ṇv-i-ṣē* (beside *śṛ-ñḍ-ti* 'hears') is an ad-formate of 3rd pl. *śṛ-ṇv-i-ré*, cp. *jajñ-i-ṣē* beside *jajñ-i-ré* (§ 574 p. 115).

On the strong root of Skr. *ap-ñḍ-mi*, see § 600 p. 144; for that of Skr. *dāś-ñḍ-mi*, § 639 p. 178.

Reduplicated: Avest. 3rd sing. mid. *as-aš-nu-tā* beside *aš-nao-iti* § 640 (Bartholomae, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxix 309).

§ 642. Armenian. Verbs in *-nu-m* (sing. *-nu-m -nu-s -nu* pl. *-nu-mē -nuē -nu-n*).

ar-nu-m 'I take' (aor. *ar-i*): Skr. *ṛ-ñḍ-mi* etc., see § 639 p. 177. *jer-nu-m* 'I warm myself, get warm, glow' (cp. *jer-m* 'warm' = Gr. *ἰερ-μῶ-ς*): Skr. *ghṛ-ñḍ-mi* (gramm.). *l-nu-m* 'I fill', ground-form **plē-nu-*, cp. Lat. *plē-nu-s*. *ait-nu-m* 'I swell', cp. Gr. *οἰδάω* 'I swell'. *tañ-nu-m* 'I hide myself', cp. Gr. *πρίσσω* 'I bow, bend'.

z-genum 'I dress myself' (*z-* is a prefix) for **ges-nu-* (I § 561 p. 417): Gr. *ἐνῦμι* (*ἐννῦμι*), see § 639 p. 178.

§ 643. Greek. *-vū-*, which we see in the strong persons of the singular, seems to have pushed out Idg. *-neū-*, because of the analogy of the forms *-vā-* : *-vǎ-* (Class XII), cp. § 480 p. 29, on *ἵμεναιόν* beside *ἵμεναιῶ*. Even if we supposed that *-vū-* represents Idg. *-nū-*, a weak grade, used along with *-nu-*, we should have to assume that the forms had followed *-vā-* : *-vǎ-*; and Avest. *-nū-* is not sufficient evidence for an Idg. *-nū-*. In the 3rd pl., *-vv-avti* (instead of **-vū-entī* = Skr. *-nuv-anti*, see § 1021.3) seems to have become regular quite early; once there were in use such forms as **ti-vf-avti* **ti-vf-entī* = Skr. *ci-nv-ánti* (cp. § 638 p. 177); as to Ion. *ἀγνῶσι* Att. *ἄγνυνται*, see §§ 1020.2 and 1065.2.

Besides the forms mentioned in § 639 — *ὄρ-vū-μι*, *ἄχ-vv-μαι*, *στόρ-vū-μι*, *πάρ-vv-μαι*, *τά-vv-μαι*, *ἄ-vū-μι*, *τι-νύ-μεναι* *τί-vv-νται* — there are yet others with weak-grade vowels in the root syllable. *θάρ-vv-μαι* in Hesychius (*-αρ-* = *-χ-*) and *θόρ-vv-μαι* (*-ορ-* = *-χ-*) 'I leap, cover (of animals)' (I § 306 p. 241). *κί-vv-μαι* 'I move myself'. Cret. 3rd sing. *πι-δίx-vū-τι* = Att. *ἐπι-δείκνῃσι* (on *πι-*, see the Author, Gr. Gr.* p. 219) *✓deĩk-*. *οἴγνῃμι* 'I open' Hom. *ὦ-(f)ίγ-vv-ντο* beside Lesb. inf. *ὀ-είγ-ην*, originally 'I make yield', beside O.H.G. *wīthhu* 'I yield, give way'. *μίγ-vū-μι* 'I mix' beside fut. *μείξω*, *✓meĩk-* *meĩg-*. *ὀμόργ-vū-μι* 'I wipe' for **mǝg-*, *✓merg-*. *ἄχ-vv-μαι* 'I am grieved, troubled', beside Goth. *un-agands* 'not fearing' *ōg* 'I fear'. An old form with strong root (third strong grade) is Hom. *δῆκ-νύ-μενο-ς* 'doing honour to, reverencing, greeting', see § 639 p. 178. Greek new formations with a strong root-form are *ὀρέγ-vū-μι* 'I reach, stretch out' *✓reğ-*, *δείκ-vū-μι* 'I show' beside Cret. *πι-δίx-vū-τι*, *ζεύγ-vū-μι* 'I bind' *✓jeug-*, *πήγ-vū-μι* 'I fix' *✓pak-pāg-* and others. Ion. *δέκ-vū-μι* 'I show', coming, as we may conjecture, from a *✓dek-*, but in use finally confused with *δείκ-vū-μι* (cp. Fick, Wtb. I⁴ 66). *ὅμ-vū-μι* 'I swear' beside *ὅμο-* (*ὀμό-σσαι* *ὀμό-τη-ς*), *ὀλλῦ-μι* 'I destroy' for **ὀλ-vū-μι*

(I § 204 p. 170) beside *ὀλε-* (*ὀλέ-σσαι*), like *δάμ-νη-μι* beside *δαμα-*, *κάμ-νω* beside *καμα-* (§ 602 p. 144).

The place of (Ion.) *εἴνυμι* 'I clothe' for **f-εσ-νῦ-μι* = Armen. *z-genu-m* (§ 639 p. 178) was in Attic taken by a new form *ἐννυμι*; see I § 565 pp. 422 f. The following are forms of the same kind: *σβέννυμι* 'I quench, stop' for earlier *ζείνυμι* i. e. *zδείνυμι* (Hesych.)¹⁾ from a stem **zg-es-* *√seg-*, cp. aor. Hom. *σβέσ-σαι*; *βδέννυμαι* (gramm.) beside *βδ-έω* 'pedo' aor. *βδ-έσαι* for **βδ-εσ-*, earlier **βzd-εσ-*, *√pezd-* 'pedere' (cp. § 661). Further, *ζώννυμι* 'I gird'²⁾ beside *ζωσ-τήρ* Idg. *j-ōs-* (§ 656). On the model of these were made *κορέννυμι* 'I satisfy', *πετάννυμι* 'I spread', *ῥώννυμι* 'I strengthen', *στρώννυμι* 'I strew, spread' and others; and the analogy of *ἡμφί-εσα -εσμαι*: *ἀμφι-έννυμι* gave rise to *κορέννυμι* beside *ἐκόρεσα κεκόρεσμαι*, etc.

A present **πί-νῦ-μι* is represented by *πινυμένην* 'συνετήν' Hesych., compare *πι-νυ-τό-ς* 'enlightened, sensible' *πινύσσω* *πίνυσι-ς*. This, along with *νη-πύ-τιο-ς* 'senseless, under age, minor' and *νήπιο-ς* (same meaning) for **νη-πF-ιο-ς* (I § 166 p. 147), is akin to Skr. *pu-nā-ti* 'purifies, clears up' (for the accent cp. Goth. *hug-s* 'understanding, reason' beside Skr. *śuci-ṣ* 'pure', § 907). But *πινυ-* does not come from **πυ-νυ-* (I § 48 p. 41); the ground-form was **pm-i-nu-*, having the same determinative *ǵ* as we see in Ital. **pm-i-ǵo-s* (Osc. *piíhiúí* Lat. *piu-s*, see Bartholomae, Stud. Idg. Spr. II 185) Skr. *pav-i-tár-*, and in Gr. *πύρ* Umbr. *pir* O.H.G. *fuir* 'fire'. It follows that **πίνυμι*: Skr. *pu-nā-mi* = Skr. *r-i-ṇva-ti* Gr. *ὀρίνω*: Skr. *ṛ-ṇvá-ti* Gr. *ὀρ-νῦ-μι* (cp. § 596. 4 p. 138).

1) Hesychius has *ζείναμεν* 'σβέννυμεν' which is emended to *ζείνυμεν*. This emendation is not necessary. There may quite well have been parallel forms, one in Class XII and one in Class XVII, as so often happens in Sanskrit. Then the form *ζείνυμι* in the text should be marked with an asterisk.

2) It is quite possible that Att. *ὑπο-ζωνύνα*[ι] C.I.A. I 77. 9 (second half of the 5th cent. B.C.) may represent the regular form (cp. *ἕζωμένος*, Meisterhans, Gr.², p. 148).

λάζνμαι beside *λάζομαι* 'I take, seize', *κτείννμαι* beside *κτείνω* 'I slay' (for **κτεν-λω*) are due to the analogy of *τίννμαι* *τίνομαι* (for **τι-νF-ο-μαι*): *τίνννται* *τινόμεναι*, etc. But *καίννμαι* 'I surpass, outdo' was formed from *κέκασμαι* because *δέδασμαι* has *δαί-νν-μαι* (§ 707).

On thematic forms in *-νF-ω* see § 652. As regards those in *-νύω*, as *τανύώ* *ὀμνύω* *στρογγύω*, found in the Homeric dialect and in Attic more and more often from the 4th century B. C. onwards, it is doubtful whether they represent pr. Idg. verbs in *-nuṃ-ō*, which may have been used side by side with *-ny-ō* as in the 3rd pl. Skr. *aś-nuṃ-ánti* Gr. *ἄγ-νυ-ᾶσι* beside Skr. *ci-nu-ánti*. They may equally well be a new formation peculiar to Greek.

From *τάννμαι* *τανύώ* *γάννμαι*, whose structure was less clear to the consciousness of those who used them than was that of *ὄρ-νῶ-μι* *ἄγ-νῶ-μι* and words of that sort, were formed *τανύσσαι* *τετάννσται* *γανύσσεται* and so forth on the analogy of *ἐρύσσαι* *εἴρυσται* *ἐρύσσεται* beside the pres. *εἰρύμεναι* *ἐρύώ* 'I draw, pull'. Compare Skr. partic. *kṣṇu-tá-s* from *kṣ-ṇāú-ti*, fut. *aśnuviṣya-tē* from *aś-nṵ-mi* *ḍṣ-ṭa*, *arṇu-tya-* from *ar-ṇāu-ti* (§ 640 p. 179), and Greek itself *δυνατός* *ἐδυνησάμην* from *δύ-να-μαι* (§ 602 p. 145).

For *μυ-νύ-θω* *φθι-νύ-θω*, see § 694.

§ 644. Italic. Only thematic forms occur in this branch; see § 649. An undoubted relic of *-ney-* is *nov-a-cula*, if it is to be connected with Skr. *kṣ-ṇāú-ti* (§ 640 p. 179).

Remark. Job (Mém. Soc. Ling. vi 353 f.) offers a very dubious suggestion, that in Latin present stems in *nu-* came directly from those in *no-*; he says **tol-nu-mus* **tol-nu-tis* lead at once to **tolnimus* **tolnitis* (*tollimus tollitis*), whence by complementary analogy *tollō*.

§ 645. Keltic. Not one of the original forms is preserved. On O.Ir. *ro-chluiniur* 'I hear' (beside Avest. *srunaoiti*), see § 604 p. 146.

§ 646. Germanic. The plural of certain verbs is of this class. Goth. O.H.G. *kun-nu-m* 'we learn, know' from **gṇ-nu-*

-mes (cp. p. 86 footnote 2) as contrasted with Skr. *jā-ni-más*, Class XII; the parallel weak form Goth. *uf-kunna* 3rd sing. *-kunndi-p* is a new formation from *kann kunnum* on the analogy of *vita vitái-p* to *váit vitum*. Low Germ. *darn* 'I dare' conj. *dūrne* gives ground for assuming an O.Sax. **durnum* Goth. **daúrz-nu-m* (I § 582 p. 434) = Skr. *dhṛṣ-ṇu-más*. O.H.G. *unnum* 'we grant' ground-form **ṇ-nu-mes* (cp. O.Icel. *qf-un-d* 'ill-will' beside Goth. *ans-t-s* O.H.G. *ans-t uns-t* 'favour, grace' II § 100 p. 303), from the same root as Gr. *πρῶσ-ηνής* 'inclined' *ἀν-ηνής* 'disinclined'. As these plurals appeared to be of the same kind as the preterite-present, they were conjugated in the same way. Thus arose, by analogy of the singular, Goth. *kann* O.H.G. *kan*, Low Germ. *darn* O.H.G. *an*. The same principle is neatly used by Kluge (Paul's Grundr. I 377) to explain O.H.G. *durfum* 'we must', which he regards as a *nu*-form for **ḡurpum* with *-p-* for *-pp-* Idg. *-pn-* (I § 530 p. 388) = Skr. *tyṇ-nu-más*; the student should compare de Saussure, *Mém. Soc. Ling.* VII 83 ff. Some further uncertain traces of *nu*-flexion in Germanic are given in § 605 Rem. p. 147, and p. 151 footnote 1.

Otherwise the Germanic branch prefers thematic conjugation (Class XVIII), as Goth. *du-ginna* (§ 654).

§ 647. Balto-Slavonic. For the remains of the present suffix *-nu-* in Slavonic see § 649 p. 185.

Class XVIII.

Root + *-ney-o-* or *-ny-o-* forming the Present Stem.

§ 648. Side by side with *-nyo-* we meet with *-enyo-* and *-ṇyo-*; see § 596 pp. 137 f.

This class, which is based upon Class XVII, falls into two divisions like Class II. O.Pers. *a-kū-nav-a-tā* stands to Skr. *á-kr-ṇv-a-ta* as Gr. *ἐ-πνε(ν)-ε* to *ἄμ-πνυ-ε*. And just as Skr. *ay-a-* is at once indicative (*áy-a-tē*, cp. Lat. *eō*), and conjunctive to an indic. of Class I (*áy-a-t áy-a-ti* conj. of *ē-ti*), so Ar. *kr-*

-nav-a- is also conjunctive to an indic. of Class XVII (Skr. *kṛ-nāv-a-t* conj. of *kṛ-ṇō-ti*). Here, as before, there was originally no distinction between the original form of the two moods.

§ 649. Class XVIII A: Suffix *-ney-o-*.

Aryan. Avest. 2nd sing. pret. act. *ker^e-nav-ō* imper. *ker^e-nav-a*, O.Pers. pret. 3rd sing. act. *a-kū-nav-a* 3rd pl. mid. *a-kū-nav-atā* (i. e. *-a-ntā*), [cp. indic. Skr. *kṛ-ṇō-mi* 'I make'; conj. Skr. *kṛ-nāv-a-t* *kṛ-ṇav-a-tha* Avest. *ker^e-nav-a-ḥ* O.Pers. 2nd sing. *kū-nav-a-hy*. O.Pers. 3rd sing. imper. *var-nav-a-tām* conj. *var-nav-a-tiy* beside Avest. *ver^e-nv-a-itē* 'believes' (B). Compare the conj. Skr. *aś-nav-a-tha* Avest. *aś-nav-a-ḥ* beside Skr. *aś-ṇō-mi* 'I reach', Avest. *sri-nav-a-hi* beside *sri-nao-mi* 'I bend, guide in some direction'.

Greek. It has been usual to class here forms like *θῦ-νέω* 'I move wildly, storm' beside Skr. *dhū-ṇō-ti*, *κί-νέω* 'I move from its place' beside *κί-νν-μαι*, *-νέω* being taken to be for **νεε-ω*. But since in all the verbs in question the future, aorist etc. have never *-νευ-*, as one might expect from *πλέω* *ἔπλευσα* and *νέω* *ἔνευσα*, but *-η-* always, and since Lesbian makes the present of them end in *-ημι* (imper. *κίτνη* like *φίλη*), this explanation is at least improbable. I derive *-εω* from *εχω* in every case. See § 801.

Italic. Lat. *minuō* and *sternuō*, which are connected with Skr. *mi-ṇō-mi* Gr. *μινύ-θω* and Gr. *πτάρ-νν-μαι* (§ 639 p. 177), can by rule be derived from **-ney-ō* (I § 172. 1 p. 152). But Osc. *menvum* 'minuere' makes it at least likely that *minuō* comes from **minyō* as *tenuis* from **tenyi-s* (I § 170 p. 149). The perfect *minuī* *sternuī* and the participle *minūtu-s* are ad-formates of *statuī* *statūtu-s* : *statuō*.

Slavonic. O.C.Sl. *mi-nujā* beside *mi-nā* 'I go past, pass by, flow by', and partic. pret. pass. *kos-novenū* 'touched' from pres. *kos-nā*, point to an older present inflexion *-novā* *-noveši* etc. (*-nov-* for *-ney-*, I § 68 p. 59). Compare Wiedemann, Arch. slav. Phil., x 653.

§ 650. Class XVIII B: Suffix *-ny-o-*.

Pr. Idg. Skr. *ci-nv-a-ti*, Gr. Hom. *τίνω* Att. *τίνω* for **τι-νf-ω* beside Skr. *ci-nō-mi* Gr. infin. *τι-νύ-μεναι* 3rd pl. *τί-νvv-νται*, § 639 p. 177. Skr. *hi-nv-a-ti* Goth. *du-ginna* beside Skr. *hi-nō-mi*, § 639 p. 177. **r-i-ny-e-ti* with root determinative *-i-* (§ 596. 4 p. 138); Skr. *ri-nv-a-ti* 'makes run, flow', Gr. Hom. *ὀρίνω* Lesb. *ὀρίννω* 'I set in motion' for **ὀρι-νf-ω* (the initial has perhaps been influenced by a word from the same root, *ὄρ-νῶ-μι*, ground-form **ḡ-nu-*, to which it stands related as Hom. *ὀγίνω* to Cret. *ὀγνέω*, see §§ 652 and 801), Goth. *ri-nna* 'I overflow' pr. Germ. **ri-ny-ō* (cp. however for the Germanic word § 654 p. 188).

With *-eny-o-* for the suffix (§ 596. 3 pp. 137 f.), **sp-eny-e-ti* from *√spē- spā-* 'bring onwards, stretch' (Lat. *spēs spatium* etc.): Avest. *spēnva-ḥ* 'proficiebat' = pr. Ar. **spanya-t*, O.H.G. *spinnu* 'I spin' (cp. O.H.G. *spannu* = **spā-ny-ō* § 654).

§ 651. Aryan. Skr. *ṛ-nv-d-ti ci-nva-ti hi-nva-ti á-kṛ-nva-ta i-nva-ti ri-nva-ti*, Avest. *ver^e-nva-iti hu-nva-rouha* see §§ 639, 640, 641, and 650. Skr. *pi-nva-ti* 'swells, makes abound' beside partic. mid. *pi-nv-ānā-s* Avest. *fra-pinao-iti* 'swells, spreads' (intr.). Skr. *ji-nva-ti* 'sets in motion, pushes on, hastens' beside *ji-nō-mi*. Skr. imper. mid. *du-nva-sva* beside *du-nō-mi* 'I burn'.

Sometimes Sanskrit, like Germanic, has a verb which carries the suffix of the present through the whole verbal system; as *pínva-ti* : *pipinva pinvayati*, *jínvati* : *jinvīṣya-ti jinvī-tá-s*.

Observe the different accent of 3rd pl. *hínva-nti*, and *hinv-ánti* in Class XVII.

Containing the suffix *-eny-o-*. Avest. *spēnva-ḥ* 'proficiebat': O.H.G. *spinnu*, see § 650; Avest. *xwanva-inti* 'they drive on' *xwēnva-ḥ* pr. Ar. **sy-anya-*, beside *hu-nao-iti hu-nā-iti*.

§ 652. Greek. On the treatment of *-νf-* in the following words, see I § 166 p. 146. *ἄνω ἄνω* for **ἄ-νf-ω*, *τίνω τίνω* for **τι-νf-ω*, *φθίνω φθίνω* for **φθι-νf-ω*, *ὀρίνω ὀρίννω* for **ὀρι-νf-ω*, see §§ 639, 650. *φθάνω φθάνω* 'I anticipate' for

**φθα-νfw*, beside *φθά-μενο-ς*. *δίνω* Lesb. *δίννω* 'I eddy' for **δλ-νfw*, beside Skr. *dī-ya-ti* 'flies' Lett. *dēi-ju dī-t* 'to dance', cp. *δῖνο-ς δίνη* Lesb. *δίννᾱ* for **δλ-νfo-ς δλ-νfā*. Hom. *ἀγίνω* 'I lead, bring' beside *ἄγω* Cret. *ἀγνέω* has the same root-determinative as *ὀρίνω* (on this determinative, which is contained in Skr. *āj-āi-ṣ*, see § 498 p. 61); and therefore *ἀγίνω* too must be derived from **-νfw*; on the bye-form *ἀγινέω*, see § 801. With *ὀρ-ίνω ἀγ-ίνω ἀγινέω* compare the Hesychian glosses *ἔζινεν· ἐπεσβέννυνεν* and *ἔξινει· ἐπεσβέννυνεν*, which point to **zg-ī-* as variant stem to **zg-es-* (§ 643 p. 182). Whether Homer's *θίνω* 'I move wildly, storm', represent orig. **dhū-nuō* or **dhū-nō -n-īō*, Class XIII (cp. Skr. *dhū-nō-ti dhu-nō-ti dhu-nā-ti*) cannot be decided; in the former case *θύνο-ς* 'fury, impetus' should be compared with *δύνο-ς* for **dī-nuō-s* (see above); for *θίνέω δινέω* see § 801.

Hom. *κίχάνω* Att. *κίχάνω* 'I reach, overtake' for **-ανfw* beside *κί-χη-μι* (§ 594 p. 135). *κίχάνω* has the first syllable nasalised because, after *f* had gone, the analogy of verbs like *θιγγάνω* could act upon it (§ 621 p. 158, § 631 p. 168). Hom. *ίχάνω* 'I arrive, reach' for **ίχανfw*, bye-form *ίχνέομαι* (§ 801). Both of these present stems may be regarded as ad-formates of **φθανfw* (*φθάνω φθάνω*), because they all had something of the same meaning: on the analogy of *φθήσομαι* to *φθάνω*, *κίχάνω* was formed working backwards from *κίχίσομαι*, and afterwards *ίχάνω*. But there was another suffix *-ημῶ* before Greek became a separate language; and this would become regularly pr. Gr. *-ανfw* (the Author, Gr. Gr.² § 21. 3 p. 41), see § 596. 3 p. 138.

The suffix is *-ενυο-* in Corcyr. *ξ-ίνφο-ς*, whence Lesb. *ξέννο-ς* Ion. *ξείνο-ς* Att. *ξένο-ς* (I § 166 p. 146), since this word seems to have the same root as Lat. *hos-ti-s* and Goth. *gas-t-s*; see § 596. 3 and 6, pp. 138 and 140.

§ 653. Italic. Lat. *mi-nu-ō*, Osc. *menvum* 'minvere', see § 649 p. 185.

§ 654. Germanic. Goth. *du-ginna* O.H.G. *bi-ginnu* 'I begin', see § 639 p. 177, § 650 p. 186. Goth. *af-linna*

'I go away, cease', O.H.G. *bi-linnu* 'I cease', beside Skr. *vi-lināti* 'goes to pieces, dissolves, melts' etc. § 598 p. 142. Goth. *vi-nna* 'I suffer, feel pain, worry', O.H.G. *gi-winnu* 'I reach something with trouble, win' (cp. O.H.G. *winna* 'strife'), beside Skr. *vē-ti* 'presses on in hostile fashion, conquers, seeks eagerly, tries to win'. All these verbs came under the influence of such others as Goth. *binda*; hence forms like *du-ginna -gann -gunnum -gunnans*.

O.H.G. *ba-nnu* 'I order, command on pain and penalty, summon' (cp. O.H.G. *ban*, gen. *bannes* 'command enforced by pains and penalties' A.S. *bann* 'ban, banns, proclamation'), ground-form **bhā-nyō*, √ *bhā- bhā-*, cp. Armen. *ba-na-m* § 601 p. 144, Gr. *qairw* for **qa-vi-w* § 611 p. 150. O.H.G. *spa-nnu* 'I stretch, widen, spread, I am anxious and excited', ground-form **spā-nyō*, √ *spē- spā-*, cp. O.H.G. *spa-nu* 'I entice, charm' (§ 614 p. 152) and O.H.G. *sp-innu* (see below). The preterites *bian spian* follow *hialt : haltu* and such like forms.

Containing the suffix *-enyo-* (§ 596. 3 p. 138). O.H.G. *sp-innu* 'I spin': Avest. *spēnva-ḥ*, see § 650 p. 186; a variant form is *spannu* = **spā-nyō*, for which see just above. O.H.G. *tr-innu* 'I separate from, part, depart from' ground-form **dr-enyō*, √ *der-* 'split' (Skr. *ḍṛ-ṇā-ti*).

The existence of the two variants *-nyō-* and *-enyo-* in Germanic raises a question as to how Goth. *rinna* 'I run' and *brinna* O.H.G. *brinnu* are to be disposed of. Instead of deriving *rinna* from **r-i-nyō*, and identifying it with Skr. *rinva-ti* (§ 650 p. 186), we may assume **r-enyō* for its original form, which would bring it closer to Skr. *ṛ-nv-ā-ti*. *brinna* may come from **bhr-enyō*, as it is akin to Lat. *fer-mentu-m ferveō* O.Ir. *ber-baim* 'I cook, boil'; but it may be for **bhr-i-nyō* with an *i*-determinative, cp. O.Icel. *br-ī-me* 'fire' A.S. *br-ī-w* O.H.G. *br-ī-o* 'broth'. The first derivation, from **r-enyō* **bhr-enyō*, is supported by Goth. *r-un-s* 'a run, course' A.S. *br-yne* 'fire, conflagration'.

E. CLASSES XIX TO XXI.

PRESENT STEMS WITH *-s-*¹⁾

§ 655. A large number of verb classes have an *s* suffixed to the root. These are both thematic and non-thematic. (1) Non-Thematic Stems: Skr. *dvē-ṣ-ti* 'hates' (cp. Avest. *dvaeṣ-ṣa* 'terror' Gr. Hom. *δέ-δδι-μεν* or *δέ-δφι-μεν* 'we fear'), Skr. aor. 1st pl. *á-tq-s-mahi* ($\sqrt{\text{ten-}}$ 'stretch'), Skr. *v-ás-tē* 'dresses' ($\sqrt{\text{ey-}}$, Lat. *ex-uō*), Gr. *ῥῑδεα* i. e. *ῥ-φειδ-ισ-α* Idg. **es-ṣ-*, Skr. *á-vēd-iṣ-am*. (2) Thematic Stems: O.H.G. *din-su* 'I pull, tear', Skr. *á-ta-tq-sa-t* 'he tore, set in motion by force' ($\sqrt{\text{ten-}}$), Skr. desid. *ji-gā-ṣa-ti* ($\sqrt{\text{gem-}}$ 'go'), Skr. *tr-á-sa-ti* 'trembles' (cp. *tar-alá-s* 'trembling, moving to and fro' Lat. *tr-emō*), Skr. desid. *ji-gam-iṣa-ti* ($\sqrt{\text{gem-}}$). From these develop extensions of the *-s-* suffix, which themselves run through large groups: *-s-ṣo-* *-as-ṣo-*, fut. Skr. *tq-syá-tē gam-iṣyá-ti*; *-s-ko-*, Lat. *(g)nō-scō* Gr. *γν-γνώ-σκω* (cp. Skr. desid. *ji-jñā-sa-tē*); and others more isolated, as Armen. *z-genum* Gr. *ἐἴνυμι* (*ἐννύμι*) for **u-es-neu-* (§ 639 p. 178, § 643 p. 182).

It cannot be definitely proved that in all these forms *s* has really the same origin. But the negative cannot even be made probable. The clearest indication of the identity of *s* in the aorist with *s* in verbs of Classes XIX and XX is given by Skr. *á-ky-ṣ-i* as compared with *ky-ṣ-ē*, *dk-ṣ-i* compared with *ak-ṣa-tē*, *á-mṛk-ṣa-t* compared with *mṛk-ṣa-ti*, see §§ 656, 659; compare too Lat. *vīs-i* beside pres. *vīsō* (§ 662), Lat. *aux-i* Lith. 1st and 2nd pl. injunct. (fut.) *áuks-me -te* beside Gr. *αὔξω* (§ 657). It should further be noticed that a close connexion is often formed with the noun suffix *-es-*, as in Skr. *bhy-á-sa-ti*

1) Compare Per Persson's new work (*Wurzelerweiterung*, etc.) pp. 77 ff., where the suffix or determinative *s* in assumed for other forms besides those which will here be cited. Amongst these are some in which we have regarded the *s* as part of the root itself; e. g. Skr. *vāṛṣa-ti* 'it rains', which he derives from the root of Skr. *vāri* 'water, wetness'.

'is afraid' and *bhī-ṣ-aya-tē*, used as causal of *bi-bhē-ti*, beside *bhy-ās- bhiy-ās-* 'fear' instr. *bhīṣ-ā* (§ 658), in Skr. *úk-ṣa-ti* 'grows strong' Gr. *αὔξω* beside Skr. *ḍj-as-* 'strength' (§ 657), and in Skr. indic. *á-jāi-ṣ-am* beside inf. *jī-ṣ-ē*, indic. *ṛñj-as-ē* beside infin. *ṛñj-ās-ē*, Gr. *ἔδειξα* beside infin. *δειξαι*, conj. *ferrem* beside inf. *ferre*, conj. *agerem* beside inf. *agere* (§ 824). We must not forget that no clear line can be drawn between primary *s*-verbs and verbs derived from *s*-nouns, any more than between primary verbs with *-ā-* and nouns having the same suffix: e. g. Gr. *ἔ-σβ-εσ-ται ἔ-ξ-εσ-ται σβ-εσ-τό-ς ξ-εσ-τό-ς* stand to *τε-τέλεσ-ται ἥδεσ-ται αἰδ-εσ-τό-ς ἀ-κήδεσ-το-ς* related in the same way as *πέ-πλ-η-ται* Dor. *ᾗ-πλ-ᾗ-το-ς* to *τε-τίμη-ται τιμη-τό-ς*.

In this section we take count only of present stems with *s* final, and those which have a thematic vowel after the *s*. The compound suffix *-s-ko-* fills Classes XXII and XXIII; and *-s-ṣo-* (the future suffix) will be found in the *ṣo*-class, §§ 747 ff. Stems like **μ-es-neμ-* (*εἶνυμι*) are discussed under the heading *-neμ-*, in §§ 639, 642, and 643.

Since the *s*-aorist in its common form adds the personal endings directly to *s*, its proper place is here, in Class XIX. It may, however, if preferred, be treated separately in the traditional way, for the reasons given above in § 485, pp. 38 f. See §§ 810 ff.

Class XIX.

Root + *-s-*, *-es-*, or *-əs-* forming the Present Stem.

§ 656. Very few additional forms belong to this class besides the preterites which will be discussed in §§ 810 ff.; such, I mean, as Skr. *á-ta-s-mahi* Gr. *ἥδ-ε-α* Skr. *á-ved-iṣ-am*. Some of them carry the *s*-element right through the verb system.

Skr. *dvē-ṣ-ṭi* 'hates' 3rd pl. *dvi-ṣ-ānti*, Avest. *d^hbiš-entš*, beside Avest. *dvaē-ḥa* 'terror' Gr. *δφει-* 'to fear'; — thematic,

Skr. *dvi-ša-ti*. Skr. 3rd pl. *á-tvi-ṣ-ur* 'they were excited, amazed' beside Avest. *ḫwānt-* 'terrifying' *ḫwā-* 'terror'; — thematic, Skr. *á-tvi-ša-ta*, Gr. partic. *σών* for **σι-σων* pres. *σειω* instead of **σει-σω* (cp. *σέ-σεισ-ται* etc.), see § 657.

Skr. *v-ās-tē* 'dresses, clothes himself' Avest. *vas-tē*, Gr. *ἐπί-εσ-ται* 2nd sing. *ἔσ-σαι* from *✓εμ-* Lat. *ex-uō* Lith. *au-nū*.

Avest. *y-ās-ti* 'girds' Lith. *j-ũ's-mi* 'I gird' (Att. *ζώννυμι* instead of **ζωσ-νῦ-μι*, § 643 p. 182), Idg. **j-ōs-ti*, beside Skr. *y-āú-ti* *y-uvá-ti* 'binds up', like Skr. *r-āsa-ti* 'bellows, howls' beside *r-āu-ti* *r-uvá-ti*.

Here come a certain number of Vedic middle forms with -s- in the present, those which Grassmann has called "double stems": 1st and 3rd sing. -s-ē partic. -s-āna-. 1st sing. *kṛ-ṣ-ē* from *kár-ti* 'makes'. 1st sing. *hi-ṣ-ē* from *hi-nō-ti* 'drives on' partic. *hiy-āná-s*. 1st and 3rd sing. *stu-ṣ-ē* from *stāu-ti* 'praises' mid. *stu-tē*. 1st sing. *arcas-ē* from *árca-ti* 'praises'. 1st sing. *yajas-ē* from *yája-ti* 'honours, offers'. 1st sing. *ṛñjas-ē* partic. *ṛñjas-āná-s* from *ṛñjá-ti*, *✓reṣ-* 'stretch, reach' (Class XVI § 628 p. 165). 1st sing. *pu-nī-ṣ-ē* from *pu-nā-ti* 'purifies' mid. *pu-nī-tē*. 1st sing. *gā-yi-ṣ-ē* from *gā-ya-ti* 'sings'. A similar Avestic form is 1st sing. *rānhañh-ōi* from *rās-* 'to grant'.

Class XX.

Root + -so- or -eso- forming the Present Stem.

§ 657. The s-suffix mostly runs through all parts of the verb.

Pr. Idg. From *✓ten-* 'stretch, lengthen out': Skr. *tq-sa-ti* 'tears, sets moving by force' (not actually found), aor. *á-ta-sa-t* for **tq-se-* (redupl. *á-ta-tq-sa-t*), Goth. *at-pinsa* 'I draw towards me', cp. Lith. *tęs-iù* 'I lengthen, stretch' (infin. *tęs-ti*), *už-tęsa-s* 'a shroud', Lat. *tōn-sa*; cp. aor. Skr. *á-tā-s-am* 3rd sing. *á-tān*, Gr. *ἐτεινα* for **ἐ-τεν-σα*. From *✓bhel-* 'shriek, cry, bellow, bleat, low' (O.C.Sl. *blě-ja*): Skr. *bhāṣa-ti* 'bellows' (I § 259 p. 211), O.H.G. *billu* 'I bellow' (-ll- = -lz-, I § 582 p. 436),

cp. Lith. *baĩ-sa-s* 'voice, tone'. From $\sqrt{tqeĩ-}$ (Avest. *ṇwiyant-*): Skr. *tvē-ṣa-ti* 'is in violent motion, is amazed' (not actually found), pret. *á-tvi-ṣ-ata*, Gr. *σειώ* 'I shake, shatter, agitate, molest' for **σει-σω* (cp. Solmsen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxix 98), *σάω* for **σι-σάω*; cp. Skr. *á-tvi-ṣ-ur* § 656. From $\sqrt{preu-}$ (Lat. *pruina*): Skr. *plō-ṣa-ti* 'burns, sings', O.H.G. *friu-su* 'I freeze, am cold', cp. Lat. *prūr-iō*. From $\sqrt{leq-}$ (Gr. *ἀλ-αλx-εῖν* 'ward off'): Skr. *rāk-ṣa-ti* 'guards, saves', Gr. *ἀλέξω* 'I ward off, help'. Connected with Skr. *vājāya-ti* 'strengthens' *ōjas-* 'strength, power, might' Lat. *augeō*: Skr. *ūk-ṣa-ti* 'grows strong, increases' partic. *uk-ṣá-māṇa-s* (perf. *vavákṣa*) Avest. *vax-ṣa-iti* 'makes grow', Gr. *ἀ(φ)έξω αὐξω* 'I make grow, increase', cp. Lat. *aux-iliu-m*,¹⁾ Gall. *Uxello-dūnu-m* 'High-town' O.Ir. *ōs uas* 'above' (I § 517 p. 377), O.H.G. *wah-su* Goth. *vah-s-ja* 'I grow' (pret. *vōhs*), Lith. *áuksz-ta-s* 'high'.²⁾ Gr. *έβω* 'I boil', which, along with Armen. *եբեմ* 'I boil' (I § 561 p. 417), we may assign to the root of *επω* 'I see about, make right, arrange' (Il. 11. 776 *ἀμφὶ βοὸς ἐπετον κρέα*) Skr. *sáp-a-ti* 'makes a fuss about, carries on, sees about something'.

From $\sqrt{ter-}$ (Skr. *tar-ald-s* 'moving to and fro, trembling' Gr. *τρεμέω* Lat. *tr-emō* § 488 p. 45): Skr. *tr-āsa-ti* 'trembles' (also *tar-āsa-ti* § 659), Gr. *τρε-ί(σ)ω* 'I tremble, flee', O.C.Sl. *tresq* 'I shake, shatter' perhaps a re-formate instead of **tresq* (§ 636 p. 174); with *-s-*, Lat. *terreō* for **ter-s-* (cp. Gr. *ἐτρεσεν· ἐφόβησεν* Hesych.). Compare Skr. *gr-asa-ti hr-asa-ti bhy-āsa-ti* Avest. *v-anaha-itē* § 659, Gr. *ξ-έ(σ)ω βδ-έ(σ)ω* § 661, Lat. *qu-ero-r* § 662.

1) According to Bréal's convincing explanation, Umbr. *orer ose* 'his (donis) macte' will fall in this place too. *ose* = pr. Ital. **aukse* may be a vocative, which would make it necessary to start from an adj. **aukso-s* meaning 'auctus'; it may also be an imperative like Gr. *αὐξε* (cp. Lat. *auxim*). The first view is supported by Lat. *macte*, a vocative (F. D. Allen, Am. Journ. Phil., 1 135 ff.). Pauli's explanation of *ose* (Alt. Stud. v 123) does not seem right to me.

2) On the relation between *meg- aug- ameg-*, see Per Persson, *Wurs.*, 228.

§ 658. In § 655 it was pointed out that these *s*-suffixes are probably connected with the noun suffixes *-es- -as- -s-* (§§ 131 ff.). A few more examples of this may be given:

Skr. *tq-sa-ti*: Skr. *tānas-* Lat. *tenor*. Skr. *úk-ša-ti* Gr. *αὔξω*: Skr. *śjas-*. Skr. *śrō-ša-māna-s* O.C.Sl. *slu-chŭ* (§ 659): Skr. *śrávas-* Gr. *ῥέ(φ)ος*. Skr. *bhú-ša-ti* (§ 659): Skr. *bhavas- bhúvas-*. Skr. *dák-ša-ti* (§ 659): Skr. *daśas-ya-ti* Lat. *decus*. Skr. *sák-ša-nt-* (§ 659): Skr. *sáhas-*. O.Pers. *patiy-aršaiy* (§ 659), Skr. *ík-ša-tē* (§ 667): O.C.Sl. *oko* gen. *očes-e*. Avest. *vax-ša-itē* (§ 659): Skr. *vācas-*. Armen. *luçi* (§ 660): Skr. *-rōcas- rōciṣ- ruciṣ-ya-s*. Lat. *vīsō* (§ 662): Skr. *vēdas-* Gr. *εἶδος* *FlōFoç* *ῥοο-ç* for *ῥιτo-fo-ç* (p. XIII). O.Icel. inf. *hrjōsa* (§ 664): Skr. *kraviṣ-* Gr. *ῥέ(φ)ας*. Compare also Skr. *bhartsa-ti* (beside *bhartsaya-ti*) 'attacks sharply, rates, scolds', akin to Lat. *fer-iō*, Lith. *bar-iū* 'I scold', and so doubtless derived from some such stem as **bhar-tas-* (cp. *srō-tas-* 'stream') or **bhar-dhas-* (cp. *rā-dhas-* 'grace, gift'). The nouns *-tqsa-dakṣa- sakṣa- var-ša-* which are connected with *tqsa-ti* *dákṣa-ti* *sákṣa-nt- varṣa-itē* were therefore related to *tānas- *dāśas- (daśas-ya-ti) sáhas- vācas-* in the same way as *vat-sá-* to Gr. *ῥέρος*, Skr. *śtr-ṣá-* to *śtras-*, *hō-ṣá-* to *havīṣ-*, and so forth (II § 132 p. 190).

Skr. *bhāsa-ti* (§ 659): *bhās-* Lat. *fas*.

Skr. *hr-asa-ti* (§ 659): *hāras-*. Skr. *yaj-as-ē* (§ 656): Skr. *yajás-*. These are like *bhy-āsa-ti* beside *bhyás- bhiyás-* (already mentioned in § 655, page 190).

§ 659. Aryan. Skr. *tq-sa-ti á-ta-sa-t, bhāṣa-ti, tvē-ša-ti á-tvi-ṣa-ta (tvē-ṣá-s* 'boisterous' Avest. *ḫwaē-ša-* 'terror'), *plō-ṣa-ti, rák-ṣa-ti, úk-ṣa-ti uk-ṣá-māna-s*, Avest. *vax-ša-iti* see § 657. Skr. *ár-ṣa-ti ṛ-ṣá-ti* 'moves quickly, flows quickly', from *ar-* 'begin to move' (*ṛ-nō-ti*). Skr. *i-ṣa-tē* 'sets in motion, sends forth' Avest. *aēšemna- išaiti*, from *i-* 'to send' (*i-nō-ti*). Skr. *śrē-ṣa-ti* 'hangs to something, clasps' *á-śli-ṣa-t*, Avest. *sraēšemna-*, *✓kleṣ-* 'lean' (Lat. *-cli-nō*). Skr. *śrō-ṣa-ti* 'hears' (redupl. *śú-śrū-ṣa-tē* § 667) Avest. *sraošemna-*, *✓kleṣ-* (2nd sing.

śró-ṣi), cp. O.Ir. *cluas* 'ear' (I § 516 p. 377) O.Sax. *hlus-t* 'hearing' O.C.Sl. *sluchŭ* 'hearing, faculty of hearing'. Skr. *ghóṣ-ṣa-ti* 'cries out, proclaims aloud' (*ghóṣa-s* 'confused noise, roar of a storm, cry of woe'), beside Goth. *gáu-nōn* 'to cry for woe'. Skr. *bhū-ṣa-ti* 'applies himself to, takes trouble about', ✓ *bhey-* (Skr. *bháva-ti*). Skr. *sūr-k-ṣa-ti* 'is anxious about something, takes thought for it, or account of it', beside Goth. *saúrg-a* 'care', which must be connected with O.Ir. *serc* 'love' or with Lith. *sérg-iu* 'I protect'. Skr. *mrak-ṣa-ti* *mrk-ṣa-ti* 'rubs, strokes', beside *már-ṣ-ṭi* 3rd pl. *mrj-ánti*. Skr. *akṣa-tē* ground-form **ṛk-se-tai* beside *aś-nó-ti* 'reaches' (§ 640 p. 179); from the same root, *nák-ṣa-ti* 'reaches' beside *náš-a-ti* Lith. *nesz-ù*; with these must also be connected Goth. *bi-niuhs-ja* 'I search out' *niuhs-ein-s* 'visitation, affliction', which come from **nux-s* = Idg. **ṛk-s-* (cp. *gi-naúhan* 'to suffice'). Skr. *mók-ṣa-tē* 'gets free from something' (redupl. *mú-muk-ṣa-ti* § 667), beside *muc-á-ti* *muñc-á-ti*. Skr. *bhak-ṣa-ti* 'enjoys, eats, devours', Avest. *bax-ṣa-iti* 'divides, receives for share', beside Skr. *bháj-a-ti*. Skr. *dák-ṣa-ti* 'acts so as to suit or satisfy somebody' mid. 'plunges, dips, ducks, is dexterous' (*dakṣá-s* 'dexterous') beside *daśas-ya-ti* 'is at one's service, shows respect'. Skr. *lak-ṣa-tē* 'marks', from *lag-* 'fasten on'. Skr. *sák-ṣa-nt-* 'overpowering', from *sah-* 'to overpower'. Skr. injunct. *ap-sa-ntu* 'they sought to get', beside *ap-nó-ti* (§ 600 p. 144), cp. the reduplicated *īpsa-ti* (§ 667). O.Pers. *patiy-aršaiy* 'I inspect', beside Skr. *ák-ṣ-i* 'eye' O.C.Sl. *oko* (gen. *očes-e*) 'eye', cp. the reduplicated Skr. *ík-ṣa-tē* (§ 667) and the Gr. imper. aor. *ὀψεσθε*. Avest. *vax-ṣa-itē* 'speaks', from *vac-* 'speak'. Avest. *tax-ṣa-iti* 'makes run' beside *tac-a-iti* 'runs' Skr. *ták-a-ti*. Avest. *sax-ṣa-iti* 'learns', beside *sacayē-iti* 'teaches' Skr. *śak-nó-ti* 'is able', cp. the reduplicated Skr. *śikṣa-tē* Avest. *a-sizša-nt-* (§ 667).

The preterite type belonging to this class is productive in Sanskrit, where, with roots which made final *kṣ* when *s* was added to them, it was used for the aorist; specially frequent when the root had *ṣ*, *i*, or *u*. Examples: *á-mrk-ṣa-t* cp. above, *mrk-ṣa-ti* from *marj-*, *á-spyk-ṣa-t* from *sparś-* 'touch', *á-ṛk-ṣa-t*

from *varh-* 'tear, tear out', *á-dik-ša-t* from *diš-* 'show', *á-lik-ša-t* from *lih-* 'lick', *á-dhuk-šat* and *á-duk-šat* (the latter an ad-formate of the type *áduhat*, cp. Gr. *ἐνεῖσα* instead of **ἐφείσα* following *πείσω* etc., I § 496 p. 364) from *duh-* 'milk'. The forms *dhukšá-n dhukšá-nta*, and others like them, are remarkable as having the accent upon the thematic vowel. The aor. *á-mrk-ša-t* it related to the pres. *mrk-ša-ti* not otherwise than the aor. *á-kṛ-ṣ-i* to the pres. *kṛ-ṣ-ē* (§ 656 p. 191). O.Pers. *niy-apišam* 'I wrote', with *š* = *ks*, *✓peṣk-* (I § 401 p. 297), seems to belong to the same class; as no other persons are preserved, it is possible to assume that this is non-thematic, but the root-vowel is in favour of believing it to be thematic. The aorist use in all these forms is due to the weak grade of root syllable, just as with *á-sic-a-t* and the like (§ 513 pp. 78 f.). But the imperfect meaning was not excluded either with this type without *s* or with the *s*-preterite which we are now dealing with: *ádruk-ša-t* is imperfect as well as aorist (Whitney, Am. Journ. Phil. vi 281). On this aorist type in general see § 833.

Skr. *bhāsa-ti* 'appears, shines', beside *bhā-ti*. Skr. *rāsa-tē* 'bestows, affords', Avest. 1st sing. *rānhē* beside Skr. *rā-tē*. Skr. *hāsa-tē* 'runs in a match', from *hā-* 'go' *ud hā-* 'to start up'. *rāsa-ti* 'roars, bellows' beside *rāya-ti*; as regards *rāsa-ti* compare further § 656 p. 191.

Skr. *tr-āsa-ti* 'trembles', also *tar-āsa-ti* (partic. *tarāsanti* Rig-V.): Gr. *τρ-έ(ο)ω*, see § 657 p. 192. Skr. *gr-asa-ti* 'swallows, devours', beside *gir-á-ti* (Class II, § 523 p. 86) *✓ger-*; akin to Gr. *γράφω* 'esse', perhaps for **gy-sō*? Skr. *hr-asa-ti* 'takes away, diminishes, grows less', beside *hār-a-ti* 'takes, takes away'. Skr. *bhy-āsa-ti* 'fears' (caus. *bhī-ṣaya-tē*) beside *bi-bhē-ti*, cp. § 655 p. 190. Avest. *v-anṣha-itē* beside *v-as-tē* 'dresses' § 656 p. 191. We should doubtless add *vusa-ti* 'bellows' beside *rāsa-ti* and *rāu-ti*, see § 656 p. 191.

§ 660. Armenian. Besides *eḡem* 'I boil' (see § 657 p. 192) may be named the aor. *luṣi* 'I kindled' for **leyk-so-* (pres. *luṣanem*), *✓leyq-* 'lucere', cp. Skr. *ruk-ṣá-s* 'shining',

Lat. *illūstri-s* for **in-louc-s-tri-*, A.S. *līxan līxan* 'shine' = Goth. **liuhs-ja-n* (cp. II § 66 p. 140).

§ 661. Greek. *σείω*, *ἀλέξω ἀτίξω αὐξω*, *ἔψω* see § 657 p. 192. *κλάω* 'I break, break off' for **κλα-σω* ground-form **k̑l-sō*, cp. *κί-κλασ-ται*, Skr. *śṛ-ṇā-ti* 'breaks to pieces'; parallel stems *κλ-ā-* in partic. *ἀπο-κλάς* (Class X, § 582 p. 123), and *κλα-δ-*. *γράω* 'esse' for **gr-sō* connected with Skr. *gr-asa-ti*? see § 659 p. 195. *ὀδάξω ὀδαῖομαι* 'I bite, itch, sting', beside *δάκ-νω*, *✓deh̑k-*, cp. *ὀδάζω ὀδαγμός-ς*. *δέψω* beside *δέφω* 'I knead, soften' (Lat. *depsō* is a loan word). *σπάω* 'I pull' for **spa-σω* (cp. *ἔ-σπασ-ται*), possibly = **spra-sō*, cp. O.H.G. *spra-nu spran-nu* § 614 p. 152, § 654 p. 188.

τρεῖ(σ)ω 'I tremble, flee': Skr. *tr-āsa-ti*, see § 657 p. 192. *ξ-έ(σ)ω* 'I shave, smooth' beside *ξ-ύω* from *✓qes-* O.C.Sl. *čes-ati* 'to comb, curry' Lith. *kas-ýti* 'to scratch' (cp. II § 8 Rem. 2 p. 20). *βδ-έ(σ)ω* 'pedo' for **βzd-εσω* from *✓pezd-* Slov. *pezdž-ti* 'pedere' (I § 594 p. 450).

That some of the trisyllabic presents in *-εω* making aorist in *-εσσα* etc., such as *καλέω* (*κάλισσα*) *άλέω* (*ἄλεσσα*) *στερέω* (*στειρίσαι*), had originally the ending *-εσω* (cp. Skr. *tarāsa-ti* § 659 p. 195, *arcas-ē* § 656 p. 191), is not improbable; *καλέ(σ)ω* : *κάλεσσα* = *τρεῖ(σ)ω* : *τρέσσα*. Compare § 842.

In Greek this *-s-* is not only found with *ἔδειξα* and like aorists, but elsewhere too it is a favourite tense suffix. Compare *ἐ-σκεδά-σ-θην ἐ-σκέδα-σ-σα*, *κί-κέρα-σ-ται ἐ-κέρα-σ-σα*, *ὀμ-ώμο-σ-ται ὠμο-σ-σα*, *ξυ-σ-τός-ς ἐ-ξύ-σ-θην*, *εἴρου-σ-ται ἐρου-σ-τός-ς ἔρου-σ-σα*. No clear distinction can be made between "Primary" and "Denominative" verbs (cp. *τε-τίλεσ-ται* beside *τέλος*, *αἰδεσ-τός-ς* beside *αἰδώς*, *ἐ-γέλασ-θην* beside *γέλως*, *ἐ-μεθύσ-θην* beside Skr. *mādhuy-*), because *s* in these verbal stems is the same as *s* in the stems of the cognate nouns, as has already once been said (§ 655 pp. 189 f.).

Compare further the use of the suffixes *-εσ-* and *-η-* in stems of the same group, *σβ-εσ-τός-ς ἔ-σβ-εσ-σα* : *ἔ-σβ-η-ν ἔ-σβ-η-κα*, *ἐ-κάλ-εσ-σα* : *καλ-ή-τωρ κέ-κλ-η-κα*, *κε-κόρ-εσ-ται ἐ-κόρ-εσ-σα* : *κε-κόρ-η-μαι ἀ-κόρ-η-το-ς*.

§ 662. Italic. Lat. *vīsō* (perf. *vīsī*), near kin to Goth. *ga-veisō* 'I look after some one, I visit', doubtless for **ueīd + sō* (not **uīd + tō*, Class XXIV, as Osthoff will have it, Morph. Unt. iv 77), cp. Skr. *vi-vīt-sa-ti* § 667. *quaesō* (perf. *quaesīvī*) for **quais-sō*, beside *quaer-ō*. *in-cessō ar-cessō* (perf. *-cessīvī*) from *cēd-ō cessī*. *ac-cersō* for **cers-sō* doubtless connected with *currō* for **cors-ō kys-ō*.¹⁾

queror ques-tu-s) for **qu-esō(-r)* beside Gr. *κω-κύω* 'I bewail, cry, shriek' Mid.H.G. *hiuweln* 'to howl, lament, cry' O.H.G. *hūwila hiuwila* 'owl'. Compare § 657 p. 192.

§ 663. Keltic. No *s*-presents seem to occur. The forms which Windisch (Wtb., p. 593 *b*) assign to a first person *gessim* 'I beg' are more probably conjunctive of the *s*-aorist of *guidim* (§ 826). On *seiss* 'placed itself, sat' and 'sits', see § 833.

§ 664. Germanic. O.H.G. *billu* 'I bellow', Goth. *at-þinsa* 'I draw towards me' O.H.G. *dinsu* 'I pull, tear', O.H.G. *friusu* 'I freeze', see § 657 p. 191. Goth. *fra-liusa* O.H.G. *vir-liusu* 'I lose' (*vir-lus-t* 'loss'), beside Goth. *la-n-s* f. 'ransom' Gr. *λύ-ω* Lat. *so-lvō* etc. O.Icel. *hrýs* 'I shudder' inf. *hrýðsa*, from *√ grey-* Skr. *krū-rá-s* 'coarse, horrible, gruesome, bloody', cp. Gr. *κρυ-σ-ταίνω* 'I cause to freeze' Lat. *cru-s-ta* and Osc. *krustatar* ('cruentetur' according to Bücheler). O.H.G. *wīsu* 'I avoid, eschew, shun' beside Lat. *vītō*, doubtless for **ueīt-sō* (**uīt-sō*), not for **ueit + tō* (**uīt + tō*) Class XXIV.

Goth. *uf-blēsa* 'I inflate, blow out' O.H.G. *blasu* 'I blow', beside O.H.G. *blāu* i. e. **bhlē-īō*, cp. Mid.H.G. *bluo-s-t* A.S. *blō-s-tma* beside Germ. **blō-īō* 'I bloom' and Lat. *flōs flōreō*.

§ 665. Balto-Slavonic. Lith. *tēs-iū* 'I lengthen' containing **tēs-u* = Skr. *tq-sa-ti* etc., see § 657 p. 191. Lith. *tres-iū* 'I am in heat', said of bitches, derived from **tr-es-e-ti* = Skr. *tr-āsa-ti* 'trembles' etc., see § 657 p. 192;

1) If Germ. **χrussa-* 'horse' (O.Sax. O.Icel. *hross*) is connected with *currō*, it stands to *ac-cersō* as Skr. *mṛk-ṣā-s* 'oomb, currycomb' to *mṛak-ṣa-ti*.

add Slav. *tręsetŭ* 'shakes, shatters' with a nasal infix, unless it is really **trem + sō-* (cp. Lith. *trimu* Lat. *tremō*), see § 636 p. 174.

The same *s* is sometimes found also with transformed and derivative verbs, and in nouns; as O.C.Sl. *q-cha-ti* 'to smell' (cp. Lat. *(h)alō* for **an-s-lo-*, I § 208 pp. 175 f., § 588 Rem. 2 p. 444), *ja-cha-ti* 'vehi' (cp. *ja-da* 'vehor' § 701), Lith. *baĩ-sa-s* 'voice, sound, tone' (cp. § 657 p. 192), O.C.Sl. *slu-chŭ* 'hearing, faculty of hearing' (cp. § 659 p. 194), O.C.Sl. *gla-sŭ* 'sound, voice' (I § 585 p. 441).

Class XXI.

Root + *-so- -aso-*, with reduplication ending in *-ĩ (-ũ)* forming the Present Stem.

§ 666. This class is represented by the Aryan Desideratives, many of which have little or nothing of the desiderative in their meaning (e. g. Skr. *ikṣa-tē* 'sees' from *√oq-*, from which a desiderative stem *ic-ikṣ-iṣa-* is made anew), and by an Irish future series. The Homeric future *διδῶ-σω* and Attic conjunctive aorist and future *διδαξῶ* can hardly have a direct connexion with these formations.

Very rare indeed are non-thematic forms with reduplication, such as Skr. partic. mid. *dī-dhiṣ-āna-s* beside *dī-dhiṣa-ti* from *√dhē-* 'set, lay'.

§ 667. Aryan. The Desiderative type is very prolific in Sanskrit.

√ster- 'sternere' Skr. *ti-stīr-ṣa-tē*. *√yen-* 'win, like' Skr. *vī-vā-sa-ti*, where *-vā-* = **-vṛ-*; in *jī-ghā-sa-ti* (*√ghen-* 'strike') *mī-mā-sa-tē* (*√men-* 'to think') and some other words the nasal came in afterwards by analogy, as it did in *vāñcha-ti* instead of **vācha-ti* § 671. *√geḥ-* 'compel, subdue' Skr. *jī-gī-ṣa-ti*. *√kleṣ-* 'hear' *śū-śrū-ṣa-tē*, cp. *śrō-ṣa-ti* § 659 p. 193. *√gheu-* 'pour, offer' Skr. *ju-hū-ṣa-ti*. *√derk-* 'see'

Skr. *dī-dṛk-ṣa-tē*. √ *ueṣid-* 'see, know' Skr. *vi-vit-sa-ti*, cp. Lat. *visō* § 662 p. 197. √ *meuq-* 'loose, set free' Skr. *mū-muk-ṣa-ti*, cp. *mōk-ṣa-tē* § 659 p. 194. √ *dhegh-* 'burn' Skr. *dī-dhak-ṣa-ti*. *badh-* 'press' Skr. *bī-bhat-sa-tē*. √ *dō-* 'give' Skr. *dī-t-sa-ti dī-dā-sa-nt-*. √ *dhē-* 'place, lay' Skr. *dhī-t-sa-ti dī-dhi-ṣa-ti*. From *gñē- gñō-* 'noscere' √ *gñen-* (§ 587 p. 128) Skr. *jī-jñā-sa-te* Avest. *zī-šndnōhemna-* (as regards *-šn-* see I § 403 p. 298).

On the reduplication of Skr. *īkṣa-tē* (unreduplicated O.Pers. *patiy-axšaiy* 'I inspect'), *īpsa-ti* 'tries to reach' (unreduplicated *apsa-nta*), *īrtsa-ti* 'wishes to advance or promote', see § 473 p. 17. Ved. *īyakṣa-ti* 'wishes to honour' may be regarded as regular for **yi-yakṣa-*, since *yi-* doubtless became *i-* as *yu-* became *u-* (I § 157 p. 141); the forms *yi-yakṣa-ti yi-yāsa-ti* are reformates following *si-saṇkṣa-ti* etc., just as beside the regular *ur-āṇá-s* we find the re-formate *vur-ī-ta*.¹⁾ The form *in-akṣa-ti* 'seeks to gain' is peculiar, cf. perf. *an-āś-a*.

Roots beginning and ending in a consonant, and containing no *i*, *u*, liquid, or nasal, drop the initial consonant after the reduplicator if the root does not form a syllable by itself (cp. Lat. *discō* for **di-tc-scō* § 678). Skr. *śīkṣatē* 'learns' Avest. *a-sixšant-* 'not learning' for pr. Ar. **ši-śk-ša-* beside Skr. *śak-nō-ti* 'is able'; for the loss of the sibilant cp. aor. *vṛkṣi* for **vṛšk-ṣi* and the fut. *vṛakṣyā-nt-* for **vṛask-ṣya-nt-* (beside *vṛścā-ti* 'tears to pieces' *pra-vṛask-a-s* 'slice, cut' O.C.Sl. *vṛaska* 'wrinkle'). Similarly *dīpsa-ti dhīpsa-ti* Avest. *diwōša-idyāi* beside Skr. *dābh-a-ti* 'injures', Skr. *bhīkṣa-tē* 'begs' beside Skr. *bhāj-a-ti*, *līpsa-tē līpsa-tē* beside *labh-a-tē* 'seizes, grasps' and others of the same sort. Some of these forms are certainly irregular. Instead of Skr. *pitsa-ti*, for example (from *pat-* 'fly, fall') we should expect **pipsa-ti*, to judge from Avest. *naṣṣu* for **nāpsu* (I § 471 p. 348).

On the analogy of the forms here mentioned arose Skr.

1) The *i-* of *ī-yakṣa-ti* is different from that of *ī-yāja*, see § 851.

hīsa-ti 'injures, hurts' from *han-* (*ghen-*), whose 3rd pl. *hīsanti* caused the coining of a sing. *hinās-ti* following Class XV (the 3rd sing. *hīs-tē* is perhaps like *dīdhiṣ-āṇa-s* § 660), and further perf. *ji-hīs-a* etc.

Instead of *-sa-* after roots with final consonant, the Sanskrit has often *-iṣa-* (*-ṣo-*). $\sqrt{qel-}$ 'to move' *ci-cariṣa-ti* (beside *cicarṣa-ti*). $\sqrt{ḡen-}$ 'gignere' *jī-janiṣu-tē*. $\sqrt{meld-}$ 'crush' *mi-mardiṣa-ti*. *vi-vidiṣa-ti* beside *vivitsa-ti* (see above). *bi-badhiṣa-tē* beside *bī-bhatṣa-tē* (see above).

The productive power of this desiderative type in Sanskrit is especially clear in forms like *ti-tarpayiṣa-ti* *pi-pāyayiṣa-ti* from the causals *tarpāya-ti* (from *trp-ñō-ti* 'satisfies itself') *pā-yāya-ti* (from *pā-ti* 'drinks').

The desiderative formation was itself often the foundation for a comprehensive verb structure; thus from *bhikṣa-tē* were formed perf. *bi-bhikṣē* fut. *bhikṣ-iṣya-tē* caus. *bhikṣ-aya-ti*, and from *mī-mā-sa-tē* were formed aor. *á-mīmāṣ-iṣṭa* pass *mīmāṣ-yá-tē*.

§ 668. Keltic. O.Ir. *nō-gigius* 'I will pray or ask' for **gi-get-sō* beside *gess-* from *-guidiu*, § 663 p. 197. *fo-lilus-[s]a* from *fo-long-* 'bear, endure'. Compare Zimmer, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxx 128.

F. CLASSES XXII AND XXIII.

PRESENT STEMS WITH *-sko-*.

§ 669. The *-s-* of *-sko-* I regard as the same element which we have discussed under Classes XIX—XXI; and *-s-ko-* I believe to be an extension like *-s-ḡo-*. Compare **meḡk-sk-* Lat. *misceō* and **meḡk-s-* Skr. *mēkṣaya-ti* perf. *mi-mikṣē* from $\sqrt{meḡk-}$ 'mix'; Lat. *dis-pescō* for **-perc-scō* and Skr. *pṛk-ṣ-* (see Grassmann, Wtb., s. v.); Gr. *διδά(σ)-σχω* 'I teach' and Avest. *dax-ša-t* 'he taught'; Skr. *ḡ-chá-ti* 'reaches, hits, attains', and *ḡ-ṣá-ti* *ár-ṣi-ti* 'moves quickly'

Avest. *yā-sa-iti* 'goes, goes on' and O.C.Sl. *ja-cha-ti* 'vehi'; Mid.H.G. *lū-sche* 'I lurk, watch for' (O.H.G. **hlū-skē-n*)¹) and O.H.G. *lū-s-trē-n* 'I listen, obey' *hlo-sē-n* 'I attend, listen to' Skr. *śrō-ṣa-ti śū-śrū-ṣa-tē* from $\sqrt{k}leu-$ 'hear'; Armen. *ba-çi* 'I opened' Gr. *φά-σκω* 'I make known, say' and Skr. *bhāsa-ti*; Gr. *γνώ-σκω γι-γνώ-σκω* Lat. *(g)nō-scō* and Lat. *gnō-ri-tur* 'cognitum sive compertum est' (Stolz, Lat. Gr.² p. 375) Skr. *ji-jñā-sa-tē* from *gnē- gnō-* 'learn', and others. In view of these, we may derive Lat. *mix-tu-s mis-tu-s* beside *misceō*, *dis-pes-tu-s* beside *dis-pescō*, *pos-tulō* Osc. *pes-tlū-m* 'templum' beside *poscō poposcē* and doubtless Skr. *pr̥ṣ-tā-s prāṣ-tum* beside *pr̥chā-ti papracha* from stems with no other extending suffix but *-s-*, **meṣk-s-* and so forth; and we need not regard Avest. *ter'sa-iti* 'is afraid' Lith. *triszū* 'I tremble, shudder' as being **tṛ-s + sko-* (cp. Skr. *tr-āsa-ti* etc., § 657 p. 192), but must regard it as **tṛ-s-ko-*. The compound suffix *-esko-* in O.Pers. *a-r-asa-m* 'I came, arrived at' beside Skr. *r-chā-ti*, in Avest. *iš-asa-iti* 'wishes' beside Skr. *ichā-ti*, in Gr. *ἀρε-σκω* 'I please' *φεύγε-σκω* 'I fled' corresponds to *-eso-* in Skr. *tr-āsa-ti tar-āsa-ti* and others (§ 655 p. 189, § 657 p. 192, § 659 p. 195).

-k- or *-kh-* (see below), without *-s-* preceding, seems often to occur in Greek words. The parallel diminutive suffixes Boeot. *-ιχο-ς* and Att. *-ισκο-ς*, and a comparison of *πτώ-ξ πτω-κ-ός*, *πτω-χός* (*πτώσσω*), with *πτω-σκ-άζω*²), and of *γλί-χο-μαι* 'I stick, adhere' with *γλί-σχ-ρο-ς*, justifies our assuming *-kho-* to be the suffix of *γλί-χο-μαι*, of *νή-χω* 'I swim', of *σμή-χω* 'I rub, stroke, wipe off', and *σμώ-χω* 'I rub or grind to powder', for *ψή-χω* 'I stroke, curry' and *ψώ-χω* 'I grind to powder', for *τρε-χω* 'I rub away, wear out', and for *στεν-άχω* 'I groan' (cp. *πλάθω* and such like words, § 694). In the

1) Connected, as it would seem, with Armen. *lsem* 'I hear' for **klu-sko-*. See Hübschmann, Arm. Stud. I 33; Bartholomae, Stud. Idg. Spr., II 41.

2) Compare Bugge, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXXII 39 f., on Armen. *tsk-nu-m* 'I hide myself, which is in any case a cognate word.

parallel group come verbs in *-σσω* such as *πτή-σσω ἐγρή-σσω ὀνειρώ-σσω*; see § 763 Rem.

It appears that *-sko-* and *-skho-* were used as variants in the parent language. Sanskrit has only *-skho-* (unless perhaps *-sko-* is the suffix of *वृश्चद्-ति* 'tears to pieces'), but both of them seem to occur in Armenian and Greek. Armenian has *-sko-* in *lsem* 'I hear' (see p. 201 footnote), *-skho-* in *harçanem*; Greek has *-sko-* in *βά-σκε*, and *-skho-* perhaps in *πάσχω* (see § 673), *γλίσχ-ος* (cp. *γλί-χο-μαι* etc., above).

The *k*-sound was sometimes palatal and sometimes velar in the original language. *-sk(h)o-* is pointed to by Avest. *ter'sa-iti*, Lith. *triszu*, Armen. *lsem harçanem*; and *-sq(h)o-* by Skr. *mārkhá-s* (beside *mārcha-ti*) Avest. *per'ska* (beside *per'sa-iti*, cp. Bartholomae, Stud. idg. Spr. II 49 f.), Armen. *alaçem*, Lith. *jėszkó-ti* O.C.Sl. *iska-ti*, Lith. *treszkù* O.C.Sl. *trěskù troska*; cp. Lith. *twiska* 'it lightens' beside Skr. *twiṣ-* 'beam, light' Avest. *ḫwis-ra-* 'sparkling'. The variation of guttural in *-ko-* and *-go-* has already been touched upon in our discussion of Noun Morphology, II § 90 pp. 274 f. Compare however vol. I § 414 pp. 303 f., § 587 Rem. 2 p. 442, and Bartholomae, *op. cit.* 48 f.

On the difficult question of the original shape of the *sk*-suffix we have a new paper by Zubatý, in Kuhn's Zeitschr., xxxi 9 ff.

Class XXII.

Root \dagger *-sko-* *-esko-* forming the Present Stem.

§ 670. Pr.Idg. In the following sections, I write the original forms always with *-sko-*, without distinguishing the variants *-sko-* *-sqo-* *-skho-* *-sqho-* (see § 669).

Roots that are capable of vowel gradation generally have the weak grade before *-sko-*.

✓ *ter-* 'move to and fro, tremble' (§ 657 p. 192). **ty-ske-ti*: Avest. *ter'sa-iti* O.Pers. *tarsa-tiy* 'is frightened', Lith. *triszu*

'I tremble, shudder', cp. § 669 p. 201. $\sqrt{gem-}$ 'go' **gm-ske-ti*: Skr. *gácha-ti*, Gr. imper. *βάσκε*. $\sqrt{prek-}$ 'precari' **prk-ske-ti*: Skr. *prchá-ti*, Armen. aor. *harçi*, Lat. *poscō* for **porc-scō*, cp. O.H.G. *forsca* 'question'. $\sqrt{aṣ-}$ 'desire, wish': Skr. *ichá-ti*, Umbr. *eiscurent* 'poposcerint, arcessierint', O.C.Sl. *iskā* 'I seek, try', cp. Skr. *ichā* 'a desire, wish' Armen. *aiç* 'attempt' O.H.G. *eisca* 'a demand, request' Lith. *jėszkó-ti* 'seek, try'. $\sqrt{es-}$ 'be': Gr. *ἔσκε* 'was', O.Lat. *escō*. $\sqrt{bhā-}$ 'show, make appear' (p. 56 footnote): Armen. *ba-çi* 'I opened', Gr. *γά-σκω* 'I make known, say, affirm'.

From **gn-ē gn-ō* 'noscere' $\sqrt{gen-}$ (§ 587 p. 128): O.Pers. *xšná-sā-tiy* conj. 'noscat' (I § 403 p. 298), Gr. Epir. *γνώσκω* (cp. Att. *γινώσκω*), Lat. *gnōscō nōscō*.

Of *-esko-* there no example in more than one language.

§ 671. Aryan. Skr. *r-chá-ti ar-cha-ti* 'hits, reaches, injures' (pluperf. *anarcha-t* § 854) $\sqrt{er-}$. Avest. *ter^s-sa-iti* O.Pers. *tarsa-tiy* 'is afraid': Lith. *trīszu*, see § 670. Skr. *mūrcha-ti* 'congeals, stiffens' (perf. *mumūrcha* etc.), beside partic. *mūrtá-s*. Skr. *hūr-cha-ti* 'slides, glides, falls' (caus. *hūrchaya-ti*), probably from *hvar-* 'lead astray, disturb' (2nd sing. mid. *ju-hūr-thās*). Skr. *gá-cha-ti* Avest. *jasā-iti* (*j-* instead of *g-*, see I § 451 Rem. p. 334): Gr. *βά-σκε*, $\sqrt{gem-}$ 'go', see § 670; Skr. *yá-cha-ti* beside *yam-a-ti* 'holds, directs', Avest. *yasaiti*¹⁾ and *yāsaitē* (the latter for **iñ-*); as regards the change of accent in *gácha-ti yácha-ti* (instead of **gachá-ti *yachá-ti*) see I § 672 p. 537, IV § 516 p. 82. Skr. *vāñcha-ti* 'wishes' (pass. *vāñch-ya-tē* etc.), which should regularly be **vā-cha-ti*, ground-form **uñ-ske-ti* (cp. desid. *vī-vā-sa-ti*),²⁾ $\sqrt{yen-}$ Skr. *ván-a-ti*, cp. O.H.G. *wun-sc* m. 'wish' (II § 90 p. 276). Skr. *yú-cha-ti* 'keeps afar, wards off' (with irregular accent, which should be

1) Connected perhaps with O.Pers. 3rd sing. mid. *ayasaia*, see Bartholomae, *Bezz. Beitr.* xiv 246 f.

2) The same analogical intrusive nasal in *ji-ghā-sa-ti*, see § 667 p. 198.

compared with that of *gīrāmi* beside *gīrdmi*, and its like, § 516 p. 82) beside *yu-yō-ti*. Avest. *šu-sa-iti šū-sa-iti* 'goes, hastens, rushes' ground-form **qiā-ske-ti* beside Skr. *cyāv-a-tē* (cp. I § 448 p. 333, § 473.4 p. 350). Skr. *prchá-ti* (perf. *papracha* and so forth) Avest. *per'saiti* 'asks' O.Pers. imper. *parsā*: Lat. *poscō*, see § 670. Avest. *ner'f-sa-iti* 'waned, decreases' (of the moon). Skr. *ichá-ti* Avest. *isaiti* 'desires, wishes', √ *aīs-*, see § 670. Skr. *uchá-ti* Avest. *usaiti* 'shines, flashes up' from Ar. *yas-* 'shine', cp. Lith. *aūszo* 'it dawned' where *sz* = *sk̃*. Avest. *xwafsa-iti*; √ *suep-* *sup-* 'sleep'; *tafsa-iti* √ *tep-* 'to warm', cp. Lat. *tepescō*; for the *fs* in these two present stems cp. Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. XIII 74 f. Avest. *yāsa-iti* 'goes, begins' beside Skr. *yá-ti*. O.Pers. *xšnāsdā-tiy* conj. 'noscat': Gr. *γνώσκω* etc., see § 670. Avest. *xwīsaiti* 'sweats' for **xwītsa-* (I § 473.2 p. 349) from √ *sueid-* may be one of the same class of forms, or it may contain *-so-* like *vax-sa-iti*, § 659, p. 194.

-esko- (§ 669 pp. 200 f.) only in Iranian. O.Pers. *a-r-asa-m* 'I came, reached' conj. *ni-rasātiy* beside Skr. *r-chá-ti* √ *er-*. Avest. *iš-asa-iti* 'wishes' beside *isa-iti* Skr. *ichá-ti* √ *aīs-*; cp. acc. *išase-m* 'a wish'. Avest. *hīš-asa-iti* 'has authority over, arranges, understands', √ *ar. saiš-*.

§ 672. Armenian. Here it seems that Idg. **-skh(o)-* has become *-ç-*, *-sk̃(o)-* has become *-s-*, and *-sq(o)-* or *-sqh(o)-* has become *-ç-* (cp. § 669 p. 201).

(1.) *-ç-* in aorist and present both: *harçi* 'I asked' pres. *harçane-m* (§ 620 p. 157): Skr. *prchá-ti* etc., see § 670 p. 203; it seems to me questionable whether Bugge is right in connecting *ançi* 'I went' (pres. *ançane-m*) with Skr. *gácha-ti* (Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXXII 33). Again, compounded aorists with *-ç-*, or *-aç-* *-eaç-*. *ba-çi* 'I opened' (pers. *ba-na-m* § 601 p. 144): Gr. *φάσχω*, see § 670 p. 203. *mna-çi* 'remained, awaited' (pres. *mna-m* § 581 p. 122), stem. *mnā-* from √ *men-*: cp. Gr. *μυμνήσχω*. *l-çi* 'I filled' 3rd sing. *e-li-ç* (pres. *l-nu-m* § 642 p. 180), stem *li-* = **plē-* from √ *pel-*. *ke-çi* 'I lived' (pres. *kea-m* § 581 p. 122) from √ *gei-*: similarly Gr. *ἀνα-ζωοποιῶμαι* 'I revive'. The aorist in *-açi*, as *gitaçi* 'I knew'

(pres. *gitem*), and *-eçi* (3rd sing. *-eaç*), as *lizeçi* 'I licked' (pres. *lizem*) seem to be of the same character as Lat. verbs in *-āscō -ēscō -īscō* and Greek in *-ασκω -εσκω*.

But it must be admitted that an explanation is to seek why this present suffix came to be used with the aorist, and as an aorist suffix became productive. Something of the same sort happened in Greek with the *to*-suffix; for *harçi*: *harçane-m* = *ἔβλασ-το-ν*: *βλαστ-άνω*, see § 682. It would follow that first *harçi* as compared with *harçanem* got the aorist use; and afterwards *baçi* and others like it were used in the same way. But the problem must remain unsolved so long as the history of the Idg. *s*-aorist in Armenian has not been traced.

(2). *lsem* 'I hear' doubtless for **klu-skō-* cp. Mid.H.G. *lūsche* 'I lurk, listen, play eavesdropper', § 669 p. 201.

(3) *-ç-* for *-sq-* or *-sqh-* in present stems with *-açe-m*, as *alaçem* 'I beg, pray', and in other compound suffixes (Hübschmann, Arm. Stud. I 94).

§ 673. Greek. *βά-σκε βά-σκε-τε* 'go thou, go ye': Skr. *gá-cha-ti*, $\sqrt{\text{gem-}}$, see § 670 p. 203. *προ-βλώσκω* 'I come forth' for **m[̥]-skō*. *ἀνα-βρώσκων· κατεσθίων* (Hesych.) for **g[̥]-skō* (cp. *βιβρώσκω* § 678); *θρώ-σκω* 'I leap' for pr. Gr. **th[̥]-skō*; cp. Skr. *hūrcha-ti mūrcha-ti* § 671 p. 203. *λάσκω* 'I make a sound, cry out' for **lak-skō*, beside *ἔ-λακ-ο-ν*. *ἴσκω* 'I make like, consider like' for **fik-skō*, also redupl. *ἑ-ίσκω* § 678, beside *ἔοικα*, $\sqrt{\text{ueik-}}$. *μίσγω* 'I mix' instead of **μίσκω* for **mik-skō* (γ instead of κ following *μῖγνῦμι ἐμίγην*), $\sqrt{\text{meik-}}$ *meig-*: cp. Lat. *miscē*, O.Ir. *con-mescatar* 'miscetur'. *ἐν-θύσκω· ἐντυγχάνω* Hesych. for **θυκ-skō*, cp. fut. *συν-θύξει· συναντήσῃ* Hesych., beside *ἔ-τυχ-ο-ν* (cp. Osthoff, Perf. 304 f.). El. *πάσκω* 'I suffer, experience' i. e. **πα(θ)-σκω* beside *ἔ-παθ-ο-ν πένθ-ος*; Att. etc. *πάσχω*, which seems to be built up with *-skho-* (§ 669 p. 202).

φά-σκω 'I make known, assert, say': Armen. *ba-çi*, $\sqrt{\text{bha-}}$, see § 670 p. 203. *χά-σκω* 'I gape, yawn', beside *ἔ-χαν-ο-ν χή-μη*, see § 611 p. 150. *βό-σκω* 'I feed, pasture' beside *βώ-τωρ*.

Epir. *γν-ώ-σκω* (Att. *γι-γνώ-σκω*) 'I get to know, learn': O.Pers. *xšnā-sā-tiy* etc., see § 670 p. 203. *ρή-σκο-μαι* 'I say' stem *ῥε-*, *✓με-*. *θρ-ή-σκω* νοῶ, *θρά-σκειν* ἀναμνησκειν Hesych., cp. Curtius Gr. Etym.⁵ 257. In *θνή-σκω* Dor. *θνά-σκω* 'I die' there is doubtless not really an *a*-suffix, as it may come from *✓ghen-* by way of **ghē-skō* = **φᾱ-σκω* (Osthoff, *op. cit.* 366 f.).

Att. *θρώ-σκω*, *θρή-σκω* Aeol. *θναί-σκω* Ion. *χρηῖσκομαι* have altered slightly in form by analogy of *-ισκω* (*εύρ-ίσκω* etc.), from which they get *ι*; the same may be said of Att. *μυμή-σκω* Aeol. *μυμναί-σκω* (§ 678).

ἀρέ-σκω 'I please'. *κορέ-σκω* 'I satisfy'. *γηρά-σκω* 'I grow old'. *γενειά-σκω* 'I grow a beard'. *μεθύ-σκω* 'I make drunk'.

Ionic iterative preterite: *φεύ-γεσκον* from *φεύ-γω* 'I flee', *ἐρί-ζεσκον* from *ἐρί-ζω* 'I strive', *βοσκεισκόμην* from *βοσκω* 'I pasture', *εἶπεσκον* from *εἶπον* 'I said', *αὐδήσασκον* beside *αὐδήσα* 'I spoke, said', *φάνεσκον* beside *ἐφάνην* 'I appeared'. As a possible course of the developement I suggest the following. The first step was, on the analogy of *φη-μί*: *φά-σκω* *φά-σκον* to form *ῖστασκον* from *ῖστημι*; again *ἦρεσα*: *ἀρέ-σκω* *ἄρεσκον* produced *κυλεσκόμην* beside *ἐκάλεσα*; and *γενειάζω*: *γενειά-σκω* *γενειάσκον* gave rise to *ῥίπτασκον* from *ῥίπτάζω*, and so forth. Each of these has its direct analogue; the next step was to form similar iterative preterites from stems which offered no such analogue among forms with *-σκο-*.

The origin of *-ισκω* in forms like *εύρ-ίσκω* 'I find' *άλι-σκομαι* 'I am caught' is not quite clear; compare the reduplicated *ἄρ-αρ-ίσκω* 'I join'. I now offer a new conjecture, and give up that which was suggested in vol. II § 90 p. 275. My present view is that *ι* is the same in this suffix as in *ὀρί-ννω* *ὀρίνω* *ἀγί-ννω* (§§ 650, 652 p. 186), that is to say, it is the "root determinative" *-i-*. Then we analyse *ἀραρί-σκω* as *ἀρ-αρί-σκω*, and connect it directly with *ἀρι-θμός* *νή-ρι-τος* O.H.G. *r-i-m* 'row, series, number'. See further in § 841, on *αἰσθω* 'I breathe', for **ᾱf-i-σθω*, and others of the same kind.

§ 674. Italic. Lat. *h-scō* (beside *hiā-scō*), beside *hi-ā-re* O.H.G. *gi-nō-m* O.Icel. *gī-n* (§ 605 p. 146, § 608 p. 147). *gā-scō*, beside Skr. *gráy-a-ti* (I § 402 p. 297). *scī-scō*, beside *sciō*. *nāscor* for **gnā-scō(r)*, ground-form **gṇ-scō*, √ *ḡen-* (I § 253 p. 206). *poscō* for **porc-scō*: Skr. *prchá-ti* etc., see § 670 p. 203. *com-pescō dis-pescō* for **perc-scō* or **parc-scō*, Osc. *com-parascuster* 'consultus erit' beside O.Lat. *comperce* 'compesce' (Paul. D.) Osc. *kú]m-parakineís* 'consilii' or 'convocatae contionis', doubtless connected with Skr. *parc-* 'mix, blend, unite, give in fullness' (*sam-parc-* 'communicare quid cum quo').¹⁾ *miscō* is doubtless derived from **miscō* (§ 802) Gr. *μίσγω*, see § 673 p. 205. Umbr. *eiscurent* 'poposcerint, arcessierint': Skr. *ichá-ti* etc., see § 670 p. 203. *vescōr* for **vē-ēscōr* i. e. *ēd+scō(r)*, √ *ed-*, cp. *vēscu-s* and *ēsca* (II § 90 pp. 275 f., G. Meyer in the Lit. Centralbl. 1890, col. 1513). *pō-scō* 'I drink' Cic. Verr. II 1.66 (Stowasser, Wiener Stud. XII 326 f.), cp. *pō-sca*. *pā-scō*, perf. *pā-vī*.

In *pos-tulare* Osc. *pes-tlúm* 'templum' Umbr. *pes-klum* 'supplicationem, sacrum' (*-klo-* for *-tlo-*, I § 367 p. 278),²⁾ *dis-pes-tu-s*, *mix-tu-s* *mis-tu-s*, and *pās-tu-s*, the group *-st-* need not be derived from *-sk-t-*. Compare O.H.G. *lū-s-trē-n* as compared with Mid.H.G. *lū-sche* etc., § 669 p. 201. This guides us in our view of Umbr. *persnimu imper.* 'supplicato', derived from an abstract **persni-* (§ 777) made with the suffix *-ni-* (II § 95 p. 286).

gn-ō-scō nō-scō, pf. (*g*)*nō-vī*: O.Pers. *xšnā-sā-tiy* etc., see § 670 p. 203. *cr-ē-scō*, pf. *crē-vī*. *qui-ē-scō*, pf. *quiē-vī*, cp. Avest. *šyē-iti-š* O.Pers. *šiyā-ti-š* II § 100 p. 297. *vi-ē-scō*, part. *viē-tu-s*, cp. Skr. *jyā-nī-š* 'frailty, frailness, weakness of old age' (not so Per Persson, Stud. Lehr. Wurzelw., 79).

1) *dis-pescō* was merely coined to express the opposite of *com-pescō*, as *dis-jungō* as the opposite of *con-jungō*. Compare the Author, Idg. Forsch. I 175. — Is Osc. *parak-* for **prak-* = **pṛk-* or for **prāk-* **pṛk-*? See a new treatment by Buck, Der Vocalismus der osk. Spr., 140.

2) Umbr.-Osc. *perk-* is a contamination of *pork-* and *prek-* (Lat. *po(r)scō* and *precārī*).

rub-ē-scō beside *rub-ē-s* O.C.Sl. *rūd-ē-ti*, *con-tic-ē-scō* beside *tac-ē-s* O.H.G. *dag-ē-s*, and others, see § 590 p. 132. *hi-a-scō* beside *hi-a-s* *hi-a-tu-s* Lith. *ži-ó-ju* 'I open my mouth', cp. *hi-scō* above.

A large number of new forms, the Inchoative or Inceptive Verbs, were produced by the analogy of *sci-scō* : *sciō*, *rub-ē-scō* : *rubēō*, *hi-a-scō* : *hiō* and similar parallel stems from one root. Examples of these are *obdormiscō* from *dormiō*, *flāv-ē-scō* from *flāveō*, *am-ū-scō* from *amō*. By degrees the endings *-iscō* *-ēscō* *-āscō* grew quite independent of the character of the stem to which they were affixed, and we get such forms as *conticiscō* *mītiscō*. The inceptive meaning was probably not due to anything in the suffix *-sco-*, but arose from the fact that certain verbs which had it, *crēscō* *ad-olēscō* to wit, of necessity implied an inceptive meaning. These verbs suggested a distinction, which was carried on into others, and the inceptive type arose; hence *caelum rubescit* was distinguished from *caelum rubet*, and so forth. In late Latin these verbs had a causal meaning, e. g. *innotēscō* 'I become known', later 'I make known'. On this see Sittl, *Arch. Lat. Lexicogr.*, I 516 ff.

Remark. It is very doubtful whether the Italic branch had forms with Idg. *-eskō* or forms like Gr. *ἐσθλῶ*. See Sittl, *op. cit.*, pp. 490 ff., Osthoff, *Perf.* 157, 257 f.

§ 675. Keltic. Only a few present stems have *-sko-*. O.Ir. *nascim* 'I bind' perf. *ro nenasc-sa*, beside *nasc* 'ring' O.H.G. *nuscia* 'clasp, buckle, brooch', *√ nedh-*, ground-form **ǵdh+sko-* (see Osthoff, *M. U.* v p. vi). *faiscim* (which has adopted *io*-flexion) Mod.Cymr. *guasgaf* 'I press, squeeze', possibly akin to Skr. *vah-a-tē* 'presses, squeezes'. With *ā*-flexion *con-mescatur* 'miscentur' (inf. *do mescad*), beside Gr. *μίσγω* *√ meĩk-*, § 673 p. 205.

§ 676. Germanic. Only a few present stems have *-sko-*. O.H.G. *ir-lisku* 'I am extinguished', originally probably 'I lay

myself down', ground-form **legþ+skō*, beside Goth. *ligu* 'I lie'.¹⁾ Mid.H.G. *krische* 'I shriek' pr. Germ. **krūt-skō*, beside Mid.H.G. *krīze* 'I shriek'. O.H.G. *wascu* 'I wash' probably pr. Germ. **wat-skō*, beside Skr. *unád-mi* 'I wet' Goth. *vatō* O.Ir. *usce* 'water'. Less certain is Goth. *þriska* O.H.G. *driscu* 'I thresh, thrash', which is compared sometimes with Lith. *treszkù* 'I crackle, crack, crash' O.C.Sl. *trěskû* 'noise, crash' *troska* 'thunder-clap', and sometimes with Gr. *ρῑῑῑω* 'I rub' (Idg. **trǵō* according to Thurneysen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxx 352). If we connect *þriska* with Lat. *terō* (Benfey, Gr. Wurzel-lex., II 263), it might be derived from **tr-eskō* and compared with O.Pers. *a-r-asa-m* Gr. *ἀρ-έ-σσω* etc. (§ 669 p. 201). Lastly, it seems we must place here Goth. *ga-þrisqa* 'I bear fruit, *τελεισφορῶ*', which Diefenbach connects with A.S. *wrīdan* 'to grow' and Skr. *vardh-* 'to grow' (Vergl. Wörterb. der Got. Spr., I 241).

Many present stems with *-sko-* have weak inflexion, and apparently were derived from *sko-*nouns. O.H.G. *wunsc(i)u* 'I wish' from *wunsc* 'a wish': Skr. *vāñcha-ti*, see § 671 p. 203. O.H.G. *zusc(i)u* Mid.H.G. *züsche* 'exuro, oburo', beside Skr. *du-nō-ti* 'burns'. Mid.H.G. *lūsche* 'I lurk, play eavesdropper' beside O.H.G. *lū-s-trē-n* 'I listen, obey', *✓kley-* 'hear' (cp. § 669 p. 201). O.H.G. *forscō-n* 'I ask' beside *forsca* 'enquiry, question': Skr. *prchá-ti* etc., see § 670 p. 203. O.H.G. *eiscō-n* 'I ask, demand' beside *eisca* 'request, demand': Skr. *ichá-ti* etc., see § 670 p. 203. Mid.H.G. *rūsche* 'I rush, roar', beside A.S. *hrūte* 'I rush, roar, snore'. Mod.H.G. *haschen* 'to snatch' = Goth. **haf-skōn* from *haf-* 'capere'. Very uncertain is the comparison of Goth. *and-hruska* 'I investigate, attempt, essay' 3rd sing. *-hruskái-þ* with Lat. *scrūtāri*; see I § 527 p. 383, and Fick, Bezz. Beitr. VII 95 (Thurneysen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxx 352 f.).

§ 677. Balto-Slavonic. Here too this class of present stems has quite fallen into the background. We find sometimes

1) According to Osthoff (Wiener Stud. x 174) for **les-skō*, akin to Mid.H.G. *er-leswen* 'to grow weak'.

Lith. *-sz-* O.C.Sl. *-s-* = Idg. *-sk-*, and sometimes Lith. *-sk-* (*-szk-*) O.C.Sl. *-sk-* = Idg. *-sq-*, see § 669 pp. 201 f.

Lith. *tvíska* 'flickers, lightens', cp. Avest. *ḫwisra-* 'gleaming, shining'. Lith. *treszkù* 'I crackle', cp. § 676. O.C.Sl. *iskā* 'I try': Skr. *ichā-ti* etc., see § 670 p. 203, cp. Lith. *jėszkaũ* 'I try' inf. *jėszkó-ti* (like O.H.G. *eiscōn*) and O.C.Sl. *ištā* 'I try' for **isk-ia* (I § 147 pp. 133 f.).

In addition, compare Lith. *aũszo* 'it dawned' (pres. *aũsz-ta*), beside Skr. *uchā-ti*, § 671 p. 204; *gaiszaũ* 'I loitered, tarried' (pres. *gaisz-tũ*), beside Lat. *haereō*; *driskaũ* 'I am torn in pieces' possibly from the $\sqrt{\text{der-}}$ whence *nu-dirta-s* 'flayed' Gr. $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega$.

It is impossible to decide whether the sibilant in Lith. *su-miszaũ* 'I meddled, mixed myself with, got into confusion' (pres. *su-misztũ*), *maiszy-ti* O.C.Sl. *měsi-ti* 'to mix' from $\sqrt{\text{mej-k-}}$ represents Idg. *-k-* or *-k-s-* (cp. Skr. *mēkṣaya-ti*) or *-k-sk-* (cp. Lat. *misceō* etc.).

Class XXIII.

Reduplicated Root + *-sko-* forming the Present Stem.

§ 678. This type is demonstrable only in Greek and Italic. Gr. $\delta\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\kappa\omega$ 'I teach' for **ḍi-ḍak-skw* cp. perf. $\delta\epsilon\text{-}\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\chi\text{-}\alpha$ $\delta\epsilon\text{-}\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\chi\text{-}\mu\alpha\iota$, Lat. *discō* for **di-tc-scō* cp. perf. *didic-i*, cp. Avest. *dax-ša-t* 'I taught' § 669 p. 201. In *discō* the root syllable is treated exactly as it is in Sanskrit desideratives of the type *śikṣatē*, see § 667 p. 199. For the α of $\delta\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\kappa\omega$ cp. Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. xvii 121.

Lat. *discō* is isolated in Italic; but Greek gives a number of reduplicated forms besides $\delta\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\kappa\omega$.

With *i* as the reduplicating vowel: $\tau\iota\text{-}\tau\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\kappa\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ 'I make, prepare' ($\tau\epsilon\text{-}\tau\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\kappa\epsilon\tau\omicron$ Hesych.) for **ti-tuk-sko-*, beside $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\text{-}\omicron\varsigma$ 'hammer, pick' Skr. *tōk-man-* 'shoot, sprout'. $\beta\iota\text{-}\beta\rho\acute{\omega}\text{-}\sigma\kappa\omega$ 'I eat, swallow', cp. $\beta\rho\acute{\omega}\text{-}\sigma\kappa\omega$ for **gṛ-scō* § 673 p. 205. $\gamma\iota\text{-}\gamma\acute{\nu}\omega\text{-}\sigma\kappa\omega$ 'nosco', cp. Epir. $\gamma\acute{\nu}\omega\text{-}\sigma\kappa\omega$ § 673 p. 206. $\mu\iota\text{-}\mu\acute{\nu}\eta\text{-}\sigma\kappa\omega$ 'I remind,

mention' beside Armen. *mna-çi* § 672 p. 204. *δι-δρά-σκω* Ion. *δι-δρῆ-σκω* 'I run'. On the iota of Att. *μιμνήσκω* Aeol. *μιμναίσκω* see § 673 p. 206.

Reduplicated with *ε*: *τε-τύσκετο* beside *τι-τύσκομαι*, see above. *ἐ-ίσκω* 'I make like' for **Fε-Fι(x)-σκω* beside *ἴσκω* § 673 p. 205. *δε-δί-σκομαι* 'I fear, am terrified' from *√dyei-* (cp. Osthoff, Perf. 388 ff.).

ἀρ-αρ-ίσκω 'I join', like *ἐνρ-ίσκω* § 673 p. 206.

G. CLASS XXIV.

ROOT + *-to-* (*-t-*) FORMING THE PRESENT STEM.

§ 679. The suffix *-to-* in verbs is often just as clearly the same as the noun suffix (II §§ 79 ff. pp. 218 ff.) as we found to be the case with *-no-*, *-so-*, and *-sko-*. Compare Gr. *ἐ-βλασ-το-ν* with *βλασ-τό-ς βλάσ-τη*.

Non-thematic forms are very rare, and only Aryan, so that I cannot set apart a class for this group alone. Skr. *dyu-t-āná-s* beside *dyā-ta-tē* 'shines', *á-cē-t-i* *ct-t-āna-s* beside *cē-ta-ti* 'takes notice of, observes', *yá-t-āna-s* *ya-t-āná-s* beside *yá-ta-te* 'joins itself, strives'. Compare the nouns *dyā-t- ct-t-ya-t-*, which belong to the same kind as *rt-t- hrít-t-* II § 123 p. 391; the connexion of the noun suffixes *-t-* and *-to-* is obvious.

-to- is confined to the present stem only in Greek, Italic, and Baltic, and there not always.

§ 680. Pr. Idg.¹⁾ **sp(h)l-tō* **sp(h)l-tō* from *√sp(h)el-* 'burst, split' (Skr. *phál-a-ti* 'bursts, splits in two'): Skr. *sphuṭa-ti* (secondary form *sphōṭa-ti*) 'bursts' (cp. *sphaṭita-s* partic. 'split, burst'), O.H.G. *spaltu* 'I split' (cp. Goth. *spīlða* 'writing tablet')

1) In Per Persson's work on *Wurzelerweiterung*, pp. 28 ff., the determinative *t* is assumed for many instances not here given; amongst others, for those in which we have held that *t* is part of the root proper: e. g. Skr. *karta-ti* 'outs' Lith. *kertù* 'I hew, cut', which are derived from the root of Gr. *κείρω*; and Skr. *várta-tē* 'vertitur' Lat. *vertō*, which are derived from the root of Lat. *ver-mi-s*.

Mid.H.G. *spelte* 'lance splinter'. From $\sqrt{qe\dot{x}}$ (Skr. *ci-nō-ti* 'ranges side by side, puts in layers, directs one's notice towards'): Skr. *cē-ta-ti* 'takes note of, observes', O.C.Sl. *čr-te-tŭ* 'counts, reads, honours', cp. Skr. *ct-t-āna-s* § 679. Lat. *plec-tō* 'I twist, twine' beside *plicō*, O.H.G. *flih-tu* 'I twist' (cp. Goth. *flah-ta* 'a braid, twist'), cp. Gr. *πλεκ-τό-ς* 'woven, twisted' *πλεκ-τή* 'rope, net'; the stem *plek-* which runs through these is itself an extension of a $\sqrt{pa^x l-}$, see below. From $\sqrt{pe\dot{k}}$ (Gr. *πέκ-ω* 'I comb' Lith. *pesz-ù* 'I pluck off, tear off, pull out'): Gr. *πέκτω* (and *πεκτέω* § 801) 'I comb, shear, pluck, pull', Lat. *pec-tō* 'I comb, hackle, hack the ground with a mattock', O.H.G. *fih-tu* 'I fight, do battle' (*feh-ta* 'a fight').¹) O.H.G. *bristu* O.Icel. *brést* 'I break, tear, burst' is very nearly akin to the O.Ir. weak verb *brissim* 'I break' (-ss- for -st-, I § 516 p. 376), and both must be connected either with Gr. *πέρθω* or with Goth. *brika* (cp. Stokes, *Mém. Soc. Ling.*, v 419 ff., Per Persson, *Wurzelerweiterung* 19, 38, and 45); whether *brissim* originally belonged to the first conjugation and then passed into the third, or whether it was originally denominative, is a doubtful point.

In a few words, -e- is interposed between the root and -tō-; cp. Gr. *-σχε-το-ς ἐρη-ε-τό-ν* Skr. *darś-a-tā-s* and the like, II § 79 p. 199; further, Gr. *ἄ(F)-ε-τ-μα ἄ(F)-ε-τ-μό-ν* from $\sqrt{u\dot{e}}$ $\sqrt{u\dot{o}}$ 'blow'. $\sqrt{m\dot{e}}$ -tō (beside Gr. *ἀμάω* 'I mow, gather' *ἄν-τλο-ν* 'bilge-water', O.H.G. *mā-t* 'math, mowing', Skr. *ám-a-tra-m* 'vessel, jug'): Lat. *metō* (*messui messum*), O.C.Sl. *mete-tŭ* 'turns, verrit' (inf. *mesti*, *sŭ-metŭ* 'dung, manure, ordure'), cp. Mod.Cymr. Mod.Bret. *medi* 'to reap' Mid.Ir. *methel* 'a party of reapers' O.Corn. *midil* 'messor'. O.C.Sl. *pl-e-te-tŭ* 'twines,

1) For the meaning 'fight' compare O.H.G. *roufen* 'pull, pluck', reflex. 'wrestle, fight, out one's way'. Kluge's view, given in his Dictionary, that *fih-tu* is connected with Lat. *pŭg-nus pŭg-nāre*, that from the pl. pret. *fuhtum*, which was regarded as a similar form to *fluhtum*, \sqrt{fuhtu} was changed to *fih-tu* by analogy of *flihtu*, does not convince my judgement. On the contrary, I regard *fuhtum* as an adformate of *fluhtum*. On O.H.G. *fust*, cited by Kluge, see II § 101 p. 306, III § 164 p. 3.

plaits, braids' (inf. *plesti*) beside Goth. *fal-pa* 'I fold' ground-form **pľ-tō*, beside Gr. *δί-πάλ-το-ς* Skr. *puṭa-m* 'a fold' and Gr. *ά-πλό-ς* (III § 182 p. 50), from the same root as *plek-Lat. plicō plectō* (see above). If this view of *pletā* is not accepted we must take refuge in the explanation suggested in vol. I § 545 p. 399. For it is impossible, in my opinion, to derive *pletā* from **plektā*, notwithstanding the arguments of Jagić and Miklosich to the contrary (Jagić, Arch. slav. Phil. x 196, and Miklosich, Festgruss an Böhtlingk, 88); compare Kluge, Etym. Wört.⁵ s. v. *falten*, and Wiedemann, Lit. Prät. 193.

§ 681. Aryan. Skr. *sphuṭa-ti*, *cé-ta-ti*, see § 680. *naṭa-ti* 'dances, plays' Ved. *ṇṛ-tá-māna-s* (compare *ṇṛtya-ti*), beside *nar-má-s nar-man-* n. 'joke, sport'. *kuṭa-ti* 'curls, twists itself', akin to Lat. *cur-vo-s*. *yá-ta-tē* 'unites with, strives', beside *ya-tá-s* part. of. *yam-a-ti*, cp. *yātāna-s* § 679 p. 211. *dyó-ta-tē* 'shines' á-*dyu-ta-t*, from *dyu-* *div-*, cp. *dyutāná-s* § 679 p. 211. *věš-ta-tē* 'wraps itself up, clothes or shrouds itself' (*věštaya-ti vištítá-s*) beside *veš-ta-s* 'band, cord, covering', which doubtless has nothing to do with *viš-* 'enter', but is connected with Lith. *výs-ta-s* 'woman's bodice, stays' *výstau* 'I swaddle or swathe' a child, from *vej-* 'to wind'. *cěš-ta-ti* 'is in motion' (perf. *cicěšta*) beside *cěš-ta-m* 'motion'. *lōš-ta-tē* 'heaps up' beside *lōš-tá-s lōš-tu-š* 'clod or lump of earth'; if the same root is contained in another *-to*-form, Lith. *lúsz-tu* 'I break' intr. (pret. *lúž-an*), — compare Skr. *lēš-tu-š* 'clod' from *riš-* *liš-* 'tear, break off' — *lōštatē* must be a derivative from the noun, or at least must have modified its meaning in association with (cp. § 794, on Skr. *manáya-ti*).

§ 682. Greek. There are numerous forms in *-π-τω*, and a few which have *-τω* preceded by some other sound than *π*. We begin with the latter. *πέκ-τω* has been mentioned already, § 680 p. 212. *ἐμορτεν ἀπέθανε* Hesych., cp. *μορ-τός* 'mortal'. *φάρα-το-μαι* beside *φράσσομαι* (= **φρακ-λο-μαι*) 'I shut myself in, fortify myself'. *ἐ-βλασ-το-ν*, pres. *βλασ-τάνω* 'I spring up, arise' (*βλασ-τός* 'shoot, bud'), orig. probably 'I get high' (used

of buds and shoots), beside βλωθ-ρός 'springing high, grown high' (I § 306 p. 242); ἡμαρ-το-ν Lesb. inf. ἀμβρότην (for *ἀμβρατην, I § 292 p. 233), pres. ἀμαρτάνω 'I miss, err', probably from ἀ-μαρ-το- ἀ-μβρα-το- 'having no share' (from the root of μέρ-ος μύρ-ο-ς), cp. ἀμαρεῖν · ἀμαρτάνειν Hesych. (Curtius, Verb II² 10 ff., and the Author, Sprachwiss. Abhandl. 160); on the present stems βλαστάνω ἀμαρτάνω see § 621 p. 158. Att. ἀνύτω beside ἀ-νύω ἄ-νυ-μι 'I complete' (§ 639 p. 177) and partic. ἀν-ήνυ-το-ς 'that cannot be completed', and similarly Att. ἀρίτω beside ἀρύω 'I create'.¹⁾

Of the numerous Verbs in -π-τω (Curtius mentions 48 of them), as τύπ-τω 'I strike' σκάπ-τω 'I dig' πέπ-τω 'coquo', those whose root originally ended in a velar have the first claim to a place in our group; such stems are πέπτω from √peq-, βλάπτω beside Skr. *marc-*. However, it is possible to see the suffix -ίω- (Class XXVI) in every single one; and indeed the denominatives χαλέπτω (from χαλεπό-ς) and ἀστράπτω (from ἀστραπη) in all probability come from *χαλεπ-ιω and *ἀστραπ-ιω (I § 131 p. 119).

Remark. I see no cogent reason for denying that π₁ may become πτ (cp. Kretschmer, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxi 436 f.). All that can be said against deriving τύπ-τω (cp. τύπ-ο-ς) from *τυπ-ιω is that it may just as well contain the present suffix -ίω-. But we cannot derive from forms in -τω those whose root ended in φ, as κρύπτω, which comes from the root of κρύφα; nor those whose root ended in q or g, as πέπτω beside older πέσσω (√peq-), νίπτωμαι beside older νίλω (√neig-). Still, such forms as κρύπτω can easily be due to the analogy of τύπτω, the point of contact between the stems being κρύψω τύψω etc. (cp. new forms like σφάττω instead of σφάζω, following φράττω, § 714); and thus again, in view of πέψω etc., we have no proof that πέπτω νίπτωμαι and all the rest are not simply adformates of τύπτω. It is also quite possible (in spite of Kretschmer's arguments, as cited, p. 437) that Hom. ἐνίπτω beside ἐνίσσω (ἐνίσσω?), and beside ἡνίκαπον ἐνίνικον, was also an adformate of τύπτω, although in this verb there is no ἐνίψω (for ἐνίψω in Il. 2 137 etc. is not from this stem), and this as far as it goes is in favour of a stem with orig. -το-.

§ 683. Italic. Lat. *plec-tō*, *pec-tō*, *me-tō*, see § 680 p. 212. *oitor ūtor* (cp. Osc. *úittiuf* 'usio, usus', Pelig. *oisa*

1) τίπτω does not come in this group; see § 552, page 107.

abl. 'usa, consumpta') perhaps akin to Gr. *οἶ-ρο-ς* 'fate, lot' from \sqrt{ei} - 'go' (Danielsson, Pauli's Alt. Stud. III 198 f.). *flec-tō* perhaps from the root of *falx*. *plec-to-r* 'I am struck, punished', either to be set beside *plāga plangō*, in which case we must assume that it came from **plactor* when used in compounds, without an accent (cp. *plicō*, I § 65 Rem. 2 p. 53); or akin to Lith. *plėsz-iu* 'I tear, snatch' (cp. Gr. *δέρω* 'I flay' and 'cudgel'), in which case it must be pronounced *plēctor*. *nectō* belongs to \sqrt{nedh} - 'bind', and in its ending probably imitated *plectō*; see Ber. sächs. Ges. der Wiss., 1890, p. 236 foot-note 2. With *plexu-s* i. e. **plect+to-*, and *ūsus* i. e. **oi-t+to-*, we naturally compare *fassu-s* i. e. **fa-t+to-*, from *fa-teor* Gr. *-φα-το-ς* 'said'. Uncertain: Osc. *krustatar* conj. 'cruentetur' according to Bücheler, akin to Gr. *κρυσ-τ-αίνω*, § 664 p. 197.

§ 684. Keltic. It is doubtful whether *brissim* 'I break' originally belongs to this class, see § 680 p. 212.

Remark. The so-called *t*-preterite, which came out of the 3rd sing. mid. in *-to*, does not belong to this class. See § 516, page 82.

§ 685. Germanic. O.H.G. *spal-tu*, *flih-tu*, *fihtu*, *bris-tu*, Goth. *falpa* O.H.G. *faltu* see § 680 pp. 212 f. Goth. *ga-vida* 'I bind up' O.H.G. *witu* 'I bind' doubtless for **wi-tō*, cp. O.H.G. *wi-d* 'line, cord' *wī-da* 'withe, willow' [Eng. *withy*] Skr. *vī-tā-s* 'enfolded, enveloped' Lith. *vej-ù* 'I twist a string'; as the present got into the company of *giba-gita* and suchlike, there were formed Goth. *ga-vap* O.H.G. *wat*; cp. below, Goth. *vinda*. O.H.G. *līdu* 'I suffer' (O.H.G. *leid* O.Icel. *leið-r* 'painful, paining, hated') probably orig. (pr. Germ.) **li-pō* and connected with O.H.G. *lēves* 'alas' (stem **lai-wa-*). Goth. *hal-da* 'I protect, guard' O.H.G. *haltu* 'I hold, guard' ground-form **kI-tō*, cp. Gr. *βου-κόλο-ς* 'cowherd'. Goth. *fra-gilda* 'I repay' O.H.G. *giltu* 'I pay back, give equivalent, offer', pr. Germ. **zel-pō* (if we follow the indications given by O.Swed. *giälla* as compared with O.Icel. *gjalda*, we must accent the root), akin to Gr. *ᾠ-φελον ὀ-φλεῖν*, \sqrt{ghel} -. Goth. *us-alpan-s* 'obsolete' and O.Icel. *aldenn* 'grown old' point to *al-pa-* as the verbal stem,

cp. O.H.G. *al-t* 'old', beside Goth. *a-la* 'I grow up'. The ending of a few onomatopoeic verbs, as Goth. *kriusta* 'I crunch' (*krust-s* 'a crunching'), O.Icel. *gnest* 'I crack', seems to be of the same sort as that of O.H.G. *bristu* O.Icel. *brest* (O.H.G. *brastōn* 'to crack, crackle'); compare the Mid.H.G. weak verb *krīsten* 'groan with pain or exertion' beside *krīzen* Mid.Dutch *crīten* 'groan, shriek' (*-st-* is not for *-tt-*).

Remark 1. O.H.G. *wisu* 'I shun', which is connected with Lat. *vīdō*, and which Kluge assign to this class (Paul-Braune's Beitr. ix 152), seems more likely to be of the *so*-class. See § 684 p. 197.

Extended by an *i*-suffix: Goth. *faúrh-tja* O.H.G. *furiht(i)u* 'I fear' (pret. *forah-ta*), whence the adj., originally participle, *faúrh-t-s* O.H.G. *foraht* 'afraid, afraid'.

The suffixal ending *-ntō* is common in Germanic: Goth. *standa* O.H.G. *stantu* 'I stand' ✓ *sta-*, Goth. *vinda* O.H.G. *wintu* 'I wind or twist' ✓ *wei-*, O.H.G. *swintu* 'I disappear' beside O.H.G. *swī-nu*. The forms pret. *stōþ* and pres. *gavida* make it probable that the nasal is due to the analogy of Class XVI. For the word *swintu*, but for no others, we have some ground for assuming that a *no*-present (Class XIII) has been extended by *-to-*. See § 634 p. 172, and compare Lith. *siuncziù* § 686, O.C.Sl. *ob-reštā* § 687.

Remark 2. Osthoff's view is that the Idg. had a *simple* suffix *-net-* *-nt-*, which is preserved in the above named Germanic words and in others. This to my mind carries no conviction with it. (See, for Osthoff's arguments, Zeitschr. deutsch. Phil., xxiv 215 ff., and Anzeiger für idg. Spr. und Altertumskunde, i 83.)

§ 686.¹⁾ Balto-Slavonic. In Lithuanian (and Lettic) are numerous present stems in *-stu* and *-sztu* with intransitive and inchoative meaning. *-stu* arose in roots or stems ending in a

1) The Lithuanian and Lettic verbs in *-tu* are very neatly explained by Johansson (Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxii 507 ff.) as derived from middle forms of the 3rd sing. in *-s-to*; e. g. 3rd sing. *rimsta* for **rīm-s-to*, cp. Skr. *s-aor. d-ra-s-ta*; perhaps also forms with no *s*, as *viřsta* = **uřt+to*, cp. Skr. *á-erī-ran*. When the injunctive *rimsta viřsta* had come to be looked on as parallel to *bēga sūka* (see § 999. 2), the forms *rimstu viřstū* were coined on the analogy of *bēgu sūkū*, and so forth.

dental explosive or *s*, and *-sztu* in roots with final palatal explosive. *virš-tù* 'I fall down', pret. *virt-aũ*. *bl̥š-ta* 'evening draws on', pret. *blind-o*. *girs-tù* 'I get to hear' pret. *gird-aũ*. *ges-tù* 'I am quenched, go out', pret. *ges-aũ*.¹⁾ *t̥š-tù* 'I stretch, lengthen myself', pret. *t̥š-aũ* (cp. *t̥š-s-iũ* § 657 p. 191, § 665 p. 197). *lúsz-tu* 'I break' intr., pret. *lúž-au*. *-sztu* may also come from *-stu* by the influence of preceding *r*, as in *mirsztu* 'I forget' pret. *mirsz-aũ*, beside Skr. *marṣ-* (I § 587.1 p. 442).

Verbs in *-stu* were the starting point for many new formations, as *kił-stu* 'I raise myself', pret. *kił-aũ*; *styr-stù* 'I stiffen', pret. *styr-aũ*; *pa-žĩ-stu* 'I know', pret. *pa-žinaũ*; *rúk-stu* 'I grow sour, ferment', pret. *rúg-au*; *džiũ-stu* 'I grow dry, wither', pret. *džiũv-au* inf. *džiũ-ti*. New forms in *-sztu*; *m̥r-sztu* 'I die', pret. *mir-iaũ*, cp. Gr. *ἐ-μορ-τε-ν* § 682 p. 213.

Often the stems which serve as groundwork for these words already have present formative suffixes; e. g. *tvĩ-stu* 'I swell out' (pret. *tvín-aũ*) derived from **tv-inu*, see § 624 p. 161; *jũnk-stu* 'I grow accustomed' (pret. *jũnkau*) from **junku* akin to Skr. *uc-ya-ti*, *v̥š-tù* 'I increase, grow larger' from **vinsu* cp. pret. *vis-aũ*, see § 635 p. 173; *aũsz-ta* 'day dawns' from a *sko*-present **ausza* connected with Skr. *uchá-ti*, see § 677 p. 210.

Denominatives too were formed in this class. *gelstù* 'I grow yellow' pret. *geltaũ* from *gel̥ta-s* 'yellow', *karstù* 'I grow bitter' pret. *kartaũ* from *kartù-s* 'bitter', *brankstù* 'I grow dear' pret. *brangaũ* from *brangù-s* 'dear', *žũstu* 'I fish' pret. *žuvaũ* from *žuv-ĩ-s* 'a fish'. Compare § 793.

Remark 1. Bezenberger (Beitr. ix 336) and Wiedemann (Lit. Prät., 60) deny that the Lithuanian *to*-present series is connected with those of the other Idg. languages. It certainly is queer that only one Lith. *to*-present has cognates in other languages, namely *mirsztu* 'I die', which comes from the same root as Gr. *ἐ-μορτε-ν*; and this comparison is a very precarious foundation for any theory.

1) Parallel stem, dial. *gistu*. The *i* in this and similar forms (see Wiedemann, Lit. Prät., 8) I regard as a re-formation on the analogy of Lith. roots such as *gris-* *glib-* (beside *gres-* *gleb-*) with *ri li* = *r ĺ*. Similarly O.C.Sl. *tiči* etc. following *rīci*, § 534 p. 96.

siuncziū 'I send' (inf. *siūsti*) doubtless instead of **siuntu* like *jūng-iu* instead of **jung-u* etc.; and if this word be connected with Skr. *sāv-a-ti suv-d-ti* 'sets in motion, drives, sends' (Wiedemann, Lit. Prät., 84) we should have in **su-n-tō* a present like Goth. *vi-n-da* § 685 p. 216.

Remark 2. The 3rd sing. *ē-t(i)* 'goes' *lēt(i)* 'remains' *mēt(i)* 'sleeps' *sēs-t(i)* 'sits' (§ 511, pp. 76 f.), gave rise to the dialectic forms Lith. *eitū eitū eitam eitat, lēktū mēktū sēstu*, and so forth, and similarly, in Lettic, 1st pl. *ītam* follows *ī-t* 'goes' (Bezzenberger in his Beitr. ix 384 ff.). This re-formation, which has an exact parallel in Keltic (§ 506 p. 72), was in some degree due to the *to*-present stems: *-t(i)* and *-t(a)* were regarded as the same in structure.

§ 687. O.C.Sl. *čŕ-tq, m-e-tq, pl-e-tq*, see § 680 p. 212. *rastq* 'I grow' inf. *rasti* (*rastū* 'growth', *rastī* 'usury, interest') for **rād + tq*, cp. *rodū* 'birth'. Mention should also be made of *ob-rētū* 'I found', if this is to be connected with *rējā* 'I knock'; to this the present *-rēštq* (§ 636 p. 174) would have just the same kind of relation as Goth. *sta-n-da* to *stōþ* (§ 685 p. 216).

H. CLASS XXV.

Root + *-dho-* and *-do-* forming the Present Stem.

§ 688. Although under certain circumstances *dh* could become *d* in the parent language (I § 469. 8 p.), that is not the reason why I class *-dho-* and *-do-* together now. It is not that I regard them as being always variants of the same suffix; but simply because in some languages *dh* and *d* ran together and became indistinguishable, which makes it often quite impossible to say which of the two is used with a given form.

The *dh*-suffix which we see in forms like Gr. *βῆθ-θω πῆθω πλῆθ-θω φλεγέθω* has often been derived from $\sqrt{dhē}$ 'place, do' (Skr. *dādha-ti* etc.), this being deduced from other compounds of this root, both old and new, about which there can be no doubt, as **syē-dhē* **syē-dhē* **syō-dhē* 'make one's own' in Skr. *sva-dhā* 'custom, wont' Gr. *ἔθ-ων* 'consuetus' *ἔθ-ος* *ἥθ-*

-oṣ *īwo-ṣ-a*, Skr. *śrād-dadhāmi* 'I believe, trust' Lat. *crēdō* O.Ir. *cretim* (II § 4 p. 9, § 160.1 p. 479), Avest. *yaož-dāiti* *yaož-dađāiti* 'makes something right, purifies' from *yaoš* = Skr. *yōṣ* 'weal, luck, happiness'. This may indeed be the real origin of all such stems. The consonant which began the second part of the compound stem became practically the 'root-ending' in *βοῖδω βέβροῖθα*, very much in the same way as the *p* in *gōp-a-ti ju-gōp-a gōp-sya-ti* etc. from *gō-pā- gō-p-ā-*.

Just so the suffix *-d-* may sometimes be the $\sqrt{dō-}$, which in addition to its meaning 'give' had other meanings like those of *dhē-* (Osthoff, *Perf.* p. 237), cp. I § 404 pp. 298 f., on Skr. *mṛdā-ti* pr. Ar. **mṛž-da-ti*.

The thematic stems in *-o-* (*-dho-*, *-do-*) were originally not the only ones which contained these additional suffixes. But although not the only stems, thematic stems were commonest of all in this connexion, and without doubt this was generally true in the original language. We shall have occasion to point this out when we find other stems parallel to those in *-o-*.

§ 689. Pr. Idg. *-dho-*¹⁾ $\sqrt{yel-}$ 'to wish, rule' (Lat. *vel-le* O.Ir. *flaith* 'lordship'): Goth. *val-da* 'I have power, rule', O.C.Sl. *ola-da* 'I have power, rule' (for **vol-da*), both for $\sqrt{dh-}$, cp. Lith. *val-d-aũ*; parallel stem Lith. *vel-du* 'I rule' *pa-vėldu* 'I inherit' (Pruss. *weldūnai* pl. 'heritages'). From **sger-dh-*, beside Lith. *skīr-ti* 'to sever, part': O.H.G. *scrintu* 'I burst, am shattered' by transfer to Class XVI (§ 634 p. 171), Lith. *skėrdžiu* 'I burst, or blow up', which is derived from a form **sker-du* (§ 765). From the root of Skr. *yu-* 'to mix, stir, disturb': Skr. *yō-dha-ti* 'gets in motion' (*yúdh-ya-tē*,

1) Per Persson, in his *Wurzelerw.*, pages 35 ff., sees the determinative *dh* and *d* in many instances besides those for which they are here assumed. Some of these are words in which *dh* or *d* is taken in this book to be part of the root proper; e. g. Skr. *gfdh-ya-ti*, which he derives from the root of O.H.G. *ger* 'desiring', and Gr. *μῖδω* Goth. *mita*, which he derives from $\sqrt{mē-}$ 'measure'. For a new discussion of forms with determinative *d* see Johansson, *Idg. Forsch.* II 42 ff., and 46 ff.

2nd sing. *yōt-si*), Lith. *ju-dù* 'I move trembling', *jundù* 'I get into a trembling movement, into uproar' (pret. *judaũ* inf. *jùsti*) by transfer to Class XVI (§ 635 p. 172), compare Gr. *ῥομῖν-η* 'battle' i. e. **v̥θ+σμιῖν-* (II § 115 p. 359), Lat. *juba jubeō* (Bugge, Bezz. Beitr. xiv 58 f.).¹⁾ From *rē-* (Lat. *reor rē-ri*): Skr. *ā-rā-dha-t* 'brought to a happy conclusion, set right' (*rādh-ya-tē rādh-nō-ti*), Goth. *ga-rēda* 'I consider, I bestir myself' *ur-rēda* 'I give judgement, decide' O.H.G. *rātu* 'I advise, think of, conjecture, prepare carefully', cp. O.C.Sl. *raditi* 'to consider, care for'. From the same root as Lith. *kló-ju* 'I spread abroad': A.S. *hla-de* 'I load, cover with portable things' (ground-form **qlō-dhō*), O.C.Sl. *kla-da* 'I invite, lay down' (cp. Kluge, Etym. Wört. s. v. *laden*).

Two other forms, which others with less reason regard as reduplicated, will also come in here: Skr. partic. *dōdhat-* 'shaking, violent, storming' (*dūdhi-i-ṣ* 'violent') and Gr. *θρίσσομαι* (for **θνθ-λο-μαι*) 'I shake or stir myself', both connected with Skr. *dhū-* 'to shake'.

§ 690. Pr. Idg. *-dō-*. *√(s)ger-* (Gr. *σκαίρω* 'I leap, jump, dance'): Skr. *kūr-da-ti* 'jumps, leaps', cp. Gr. *κραδ-άω* 'I swing, brandish' *κόρδ-ᾱξ* a kind of dance, Mid.H.G. *scherze schirze* (weak verb) 'I jump in a lively way'. *√mel-* (Lat. *molō*, Skr. *mlā-ti* 'grows soft, slackens' O.Ir. *mlāith* 'soft, slack', see § 580 p. 122): Skr. *vi-mrada-ti* 'softens', A.S. *mel-te* 'I melt, grow soft' (Goth. *ga-maltein-s* 'loosening, solution'), cp. Skr. *mṛdú-ṣ* 'soft' compar. *mrádīyas-*, Gr. *ἀμαλδένω* 'I soften, weaken' *βλαδ-αρό-ς* 'slack, loose, loosened', Lat. *molli-s* for **mold-ū-i-s*; Skr. *mrad-* = **ml-e-d-* with the same intermediate vowel *e* which is seen in Gr. *ῥ-σγ-ε-θο-ν* § 694 Lat. *m-e-tō* § 680 p. 212; from the same root we have a stem **mel-dh-* Skr. *mārdha-ti* 'slackens, gets lazy or sluggish' Gr. *μαλθακό-ς* 'soft, tender' (beside *μαλακό-ς*) *μάλθαω* (gen. *-ων-ος*) 'weakling'

1) Another, but hardly better explanation of *jubeō* may be seen in Bezenberger's Beitrage, xvi 216 (Froehde).

O.Sax. *mildi* 'mild, gracious, gentle', so that it is impossible to decide whether *-dh-* or *-d-* is contained in O.Ir. *meldach* 'acceptus, gratus', Lith. *meldžiū* 'I beg', O.C.Sl. *mladū* 'tender'. Connected with Lat. *sāl sal-is*: Lat. *sallō* for **sal-dō* (I § 369 p. 280), Goth. *sal-ta* 'I salt'. $\sqrt{ghey-}$ 'pour' (Gr. $\chi\acute{\epsilon}\omega \chi\acute{\upsilon}-\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}$): Lat. *fundō* (perf. *fūdī*) conjugated in Class XVI (§ 632 p. 169),¹⁾ Goth. *giuta* O.H.G. *giuzu* 'I pour'. $\sqrt{pley-}$ 'float, swim' (Gr. $\pi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}(f)\omega$): O.H.G. *fluizu* O.Icel. *flyt* 'I flow', Lith. *plaudžiū* 'I wash, purify' (inf. *plaušti*), *pludžiū* 'I chatter' (inf. *plūsti*), *plūstu* 'I begin to swim, get swimming' (pret. *plūdau*), cp. O.Ir. *do-lod-sa* 'ivi' 3rd sing. *do-luid* § 697. $\sqrt{sprey-}$ (Lett. *sprau-jū-s* 'I rise, spring up', of seed): Mid.H.G. *spruize* A.S. *sprūte* 'I sprout' (A.S. *spreót* 'stalk, shaft' O.H.G. *spruiza* 'prop, pillar' O.H.G. *sprozzo* 'sprout'), Lith. *spráudžiū* 'I push forcibly into a narrow space, press' (inf. *spráusti*) *sprūstu* 'I push my way out of a holdfast or fix, get out' (pret. *sprūdau*). With Lat. *clāv-i-s*: *clau-dō*, compare O.Fris. *skūte* (for **sklūt-*) 'I close' (O.H.G. *sliuzu* is doubtless **slūzu* transformed by analogy).

Following the same lines of reasoning, I derive Skr. *svāda-tē* Gr. $\eta\delta\epsilon-\tau\alpha\iota$ from **syā-de-tai* 'enjoys with gusto', and Skr. *svāda-ti* Gr. $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\alpha\nu\acute{o}-\varsigma$ 'suavis' from **sy-e-de-ti* (cp. Skr. *mr-a-da-ti* above); these forms are obviously akin, and I can see no other way of bringing them together.

§ 691. Aryan. (1.) *-dho-*. Skr. *yō-dha-ti*, *á-rā-dha-t*, *dō-dhat-*, see § 689. Skr. *á-kru-dha-t* 'got angry' (*krúdh-ya-ti*), Avest. *xrao-da-itī* 'is anxious', $\sqrt{grey-}$ Skr. *krū-rás* 'coarse, rough, terrible, gruesome'. Avest. *a-rao-đa-p* 'flowed' (*raođayē-itī*) from *srey-* Skr. *srāv-a-ti* (*r-* = **sr-*, cp. O.Pers. *rauta-* I § 558.3 p. 414), cp. Skr. *vi-srúh-* 'stream, body of water' (*-h-* = *-dh-*, I § 480 p. 354), Gr. $\rho\nu\theta-\mu\acute{o}-\varsigma$. Skr. *srē-dha-ti* 'he goes wrong', beside *a-srēmán-* 'without error, faultless'. Skr. *sādha-ti* 'gets to the goal, puts in order' may be derived from $\sqrt{sē-}$ (Skr. *sā-* 'to bring to an end, conclude' *vy-ava-sāmi*

1) For *f* in *fundō*, see Buck, Am. Journ. Phil. XI 215 f.

a-sā-t, Lat. *sē-ru-s*, O.Ir. *sī-r* 'lasting long or for ever' Umbr. *sevom* Osc. *sivom* 'omnino' = **sē-yo-m*).

§ 692. (2.) *-do-*. Skr. *kūr-da-ti*, *mr-a-da-ti*, *svā-da-ti* *sv-ā-da-ti*, see § 690 p. 220. Skr. *tar-da-ti* (gramm.) 'pierces, splits, opens' (*trṇāt-ti*), akin to *tār-a-ti* 'traverses', cp. Lith. *trėndu* 'I am eaten of worms or moths' § 637 p. 174 and *trėdė* 'diarrhoea' *pra-trįstu* 'I fall ill of diarrhoea' (pret. *-trįdau*).¹⁾ Skr. *khā-da-ti* 'bites to pieces, chews' beside *khān-a-ti* 'digs, grubs'. Skr. *mṛḍā-ti* 'is gracious, pardons' for **mṛḥ-ḍa-*,²⁾ cp. Avest. *mer'ēdika-* n. 'grace, pardon', either from the root of *merḡ-* 'wipe off' Skr. *mṛjā-ti* 'wipes off, purifies of guilt', or from that of Skr. *mṛṣ-ya-tē* 'forgets' Lith. *mirsz-ti* 'to forget' (cp. Lith. *už-mirsz-dinu -mirėdinu* 'I cause to forget'). Skr. *īḍa-tē* 'honours, praises, prays to' (*īḍ-tē*) for **iḥ-ḍa-tai*, either connected with *yāj-a-ti* 'honours, reverences, offers' partic. *iṣ-ṭā-s* Gr. *ἄγ-ιος* 'honourable, sacred', or with Lat. *aes-tumāre* Goth. *āis-tan* weak verb 'to revere, observe, have regard for' O.H.G. *ēr-a* 'honour'; it should be remarked that the Gothic verb may be derived from Idg. **aiḥ-d-* or from Idg. **aiḥ-s-*, either one or the other. Avest. *xraoḥ-da-iti* 'hardens' (*xruēd-ra-* 'hard') beside Gr. *κρυο-ταίνω* 'I make to freeze', in which *s* is itself an extension (§ 664 p. 197); perhaps from the same root, Skr. *krūḍaya-ti* 'makes thick' *krōḍā-s* 'breast, boar'. Lastly, we are doubtless right to add Skr. *hṛḍa-māna-s* *hīḍa-māna-s* 'being angry with some one, hostile' Avest. *zōišda-* 'ugly, disagreeable, αἰσχρός'.³⁾

§ 693. 3. *-dho-* or *-do-*, uncertain which. To this place belong Avestic verbs. *syaz-da-iti* 'gives place, disappears', cp.

1) *y* in *-trįstu* is not original. By analogy of *i*-roots were formed *trėdėšiu* 'I have diarrhoea' *traidinū* 'I excite diarrhoea'.

2) More exactly *mṛḍā-ti*, answering to *liḍhā-* for **liḥḍhā-* (I § 404 pp. 298 f.). The long *ṛ* is certain from the metre; see Benfey, *Vedica und Verwandtes*, pp. 1 ff., Oldenberg, *Die Hymnen des Rig-Veda*, I 477.

3) The unextended root is not really contained in Lith. *pa-įeida* 'insult, wound' (cp. Zubaty, *Bezz. Beitr.* xvii 327); this is against the known laws, see I § 476 p. 351 f., and Burg in Kuhn's *Zeitschr.* xxix 363.

siḍdye-iti siḍdye-iti 'drives away', seems to be akin to Skr. *śiṣ-* 'to be over, left behind' (*śinās-ti śiṣ-aya-ti*). *vōiḥ-da-iti* 'hurls, throws against something', perhaps connected with O.C.Sl. *vich-rŭ* 'whirlwind' Russ. *vichati* 'shatter, agitate'.) *avanauhab-da-itē* 'falls asleep', from Ar. *suap-* 'to sleep' (I § 159 pp. 141 f.). *snā-da-iti* 'washes', beside Skr. *snā-ti*.

§ 694. Greek. (1.) *-dho-*. *ἐ-δρα-θo-ν ἔ-δρα-θo-ν* 'I slept' (pres. *δρα-θ-άνω* § 621 p. 158), beside Lat. *dor-miō* Skr. *dr-a-ti*. Hom. opt. *βε-βρά-θoι-ς* 'comedas' (Od. 4. 35) from *βι-βρώ-σχω* ✓ *ger-*: cp. Lith. *gīr-d-inu gēr-d-inu* 'I give to drink' (*ger-iū* 'I drink'). *ἤλυ-θo-ν* 'I came', beside *προσ-ήλυ-το-ς* perf. 2nd pl. *ἐλήλυ-τε*. *ἐρέχ-θω* 'I pull to and fro, tear, hurl', doubtless akin to O.H.G. *ruc* 'jerk, jolt, sudden change of place'. *ἔσθω* 'esse' (*ἔσθ-ίω* §§ 713, 765) beside *ἔθ-ω*. *ἄχ-θo-μαι* 'I am galled or wearied by burdens', beside *ἄχ-νυ-μαι*. *πλή-θω* 'I am full', beside *πίμ-πλη-μι*. *κνή-θω* 'I shave, rub, scratch', beside *κνή* (§ 737). *πύ-θω* 'I make rot' (perf. *πέπυθα*), beside *πύo-ν* 'pus': Lith. *pū-d-inu pū-d-au* 'I make rot' Lett. *pa-pū-d-e* 'fallow field' beside *pāo-ū* 'I make rotten'. *βρέ-θω* 'I weigh, press hard upon' (perf. *βέβριθα*), beside *βριαρό-ς βαρ-ύ-ς*.

ἔ-σχ-ε-θo-ν 'I held', beside *ἔ-σχ-ε-ς* ✓ *segh-*. *κατα-βλ-έ-θαι* *καταπίνει* Hesych., beside O.Ir. *gelid* 'consumit' O.H.G. *chela* 'throat'. *φλεγ-έ-θω* 'I burn', beside *φλέγ-ω*. *νεμ-έ-θo-μαι* 'I pasture', beside *νέμ-o-μαι*. *τελ-έ-θω* 'I am', beside *τέλλω*.

-α-θω = **-ə-dhō*. *πελ-ά-θω* 'I draw near', beside *πέλα-ς* *πελά-σσαι*. *διωκ-ά-θω* 'I pursue', beside *διώκ-ω*. *ἀμύνά-θω* 'I ward off', beside *ἀμύνω*. *μετα-κί-ά-θω* 'I go after, pursue', beside *κίω* 'I go'. Here perhaps should come *γῆθoμαι* Dor. *γάθoμαι* (perf. *γέγηθα γέγαθα*) and *γηθέω* 'I enjoy, am pleased', for **γαῤ-α-θ-*, beside *γαίω* 'I take pleasure' for **γαῤ-μω* and *γαῦ-ρο-ς* 'proud': Lat. *gaudeō* for **gāvideō* (I § 612 p. 462), — observe that *gāvīsus* seems to imitate *vīsu-s*, which would show

1) Still more uncertain is Bartholomae's comparison of the word with Skr. *vīdu-* in *vīdu-pāṭman-* (Bezz. Beitr. xiii 87).

it to have been formed at some time when there was a present **gāvideō* still in use; as regards the ending *-εω -εō*, see § 801.

μινύ-θω 'minuo' beside Skr. *mī-nō-mī*, *φθινύ-θω* 'I destroy' beside *φθίνω φθίνω* for **φθινύ-θω* Skr. *kṣi-nō-mi*, see § 639 p. 177, § 652 p. 186.

βαρύ-θω 'I am weighted' beside *βαρύνω βαρύ-ς*, cp. end of § 611.

§ 695. (2.) *-δο-*. *ἐλ-δο-μαι* Hom. *ἐέλδομαι* 'I wish, desire' for **ελ-δο-*, beside Lat. *vel-le*; cp. Goth. *val-da* O.C.Sl. *vla-da* Lith. *vel-du* with *-dho-* § 689 p. 219. *ἔφλα-δον* 'I popped, burst', beside Skr. *phal-a-ti* 'bursts' or beside *φλ-αίνω* § 621 p. 158. *ἔφλι-δε-ν* *διέρρεεν* Hesych. (*φλιδ-άνει* Hesych., *φλιδή* 'superfluity, abundance') beside *Φλίās* (Curtius, Gr. Etym.⁵ 301). *τένδω* 'I gnaw', doubtless for **τεμ-δω* and connected with *τίμ-νω*; cp. Lat. *tondeō*.

-δ- is very common in other formations, both in verbs and nouns. We may mention further *κρα-δ-άω κόρ-δ-ᾶξ* and *άμαλ-δ-ένω βλα-δ-αρό-ς* § 690 p. 220. Other examples: *κλα-δ-άσαι* 'σεῖσαι' Hesych., beside *άπο-κλάς κλη-ρος* 'lot' (a chip or piece of wood, or other substance, broken off): Lat. *per-cellō* for **cel-d-ō* § 696. *ἐ-ροί-δ-αται, ράσσετε* for **ράδ+σα-τε*, beside *ραίνω* 'I sprinkle' § 621 p. 159. *κε-χλιδ-ύτ-α* *άνθοντα* Hesych., *χλιδή* 'softness, luxuriance, wantonness', *δια-κεχλοιδώς* *διαρρέων* *ύπό τρυφής*, from *χλίω* 'I am soft, effeminate'. *μει-δ-άω* 'I smile' *φιλο-μμειδής*, akin to Skr. *smāy-a-tē*: cp. Lett. *smai-da* 'a smile' *smī-dinā-t smī-dinā-t* 'to make laugh'. *κλύζω* 'I flood' for **κλυ-δ-ιω*, *κλύ-δ-ων* 'wave': Goth. *hlū-t-r-s* 'pure, clean', connected with O.Lat. *cluere* 'purgare' and *cloāca*. *ἐκ-φλύζω* 'I break out' (of a sore or abscess) for **φλυ-δ-ιω*, beside *ἐκ-φλύω*.

§ 696. Italic. (1.) *-dh-* in Lat. *ju-b-eō*, see § 689 p. 220, and probably *gaudeō* for **gāvideō*, see § 694 p. 223.

(2.) *-d-* in *sallō* for **sal-dō*, *fundō fūdī*, *clau-dō*, see § 690 p. 221. *per-cellō* for **cel-dō* from the same root as *clad-ēs* (I § 306 p. 243), and connected with Gr. *κλα-δ- κλά-*, see § 695.

cū-dō, once also **cau-dō* (Conway, Verner's Law in Italy, p. 72), connected with Lith. *káu-ju* 'I strike, forge, fight' O.C.Sl. *kop-a* 'I forge'.

(3.) *-dho-* or *-do-* (doubtful). *frendō* beside *fremō* (cf. Osthoff, M. U. v 94 f.), perhaps for **fremidō*. *caedō*, according to Holthausen, P.-B. Beitr. xi 554 f., connected with Mid.Dutch *heie* 'hammering block' *heien* 'to strike, ram, stamp' Mid.H.G. *heie* f. 'mallet, wooden hammer'. Other possible forms are *tendō* from *✓ten-*, see § 564 p. 111, and *dē-fendō* *of-fendō*, which may be connected with Gr. *θεῖω*, and come from *✓ghen-* (is *fēnu-m* 'hay' for **fen-sno-* or **fend+sno-*, meaning 'something cut'?)¹

§ 697. Keltic. *-d-* is perhaps the suffix of *do-lod-sa* 'ivi' beside *luath luad* 'quick, fleeting', beside O.H.G. *fluz-u* § 690 p. 221 (so Zimmer, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxx 215 f.).

§ 698. Germanic. (1.) *-dho-*. Goth. *val-da* O.H.G. *waltu* 'I rule, hold sway', O.H.G. *scrintu* 'I burst, blow up', Goth. *ga-rēda* 'I reflect upon, meditate' O.H.G. *rā-tu* 'I advise', A.S. *hla-de* 'I load', see § 689 p. 220. O.Icel. *bregð* 'I set moving quickly, I swing' A.S. *bregde* 'I swing, throb' O.H.G. *brittu* 'I swing, throb' (for *-tt-* see Braune, Ahd. Gr.² § 164 Anm. 2 p. 135) doubtless for **bhregð-* *-dhō*, beside O.C.Sl. *brīz-ŭ* 'quick' *brīz-ati* 'to run quickly'; in Kluge's view of the treatment of pr. Idg. med. asp. + tenuis (Paul-Braune's Beitr. ix 152 f., Paul's Grundr. i 327), another possible ground-form would be **bhreggh+to* (Class XXIV).

§ 699. (2.) *-do-*. Mid.H.G. *scherze* 'I jump quickly about', A.S. *mel-te* 'I grow soft', Goth. *sal-ta* O.H.G. *salzu* 'I salt', Goth. *giu-ta* O.H.G. *giuzu* 'I pour', O.H.G. *flū-zu* 'I flow', Mid.H.G. *spriu-ze* A.S. *sprū-te* 'I sprout', O.Fris. *slū-te* O.H.G.

1) If *-fendō* should be connected with Skr. *bādha-tē* 'compels, oppresses', the latter must be kept distinct from Skr. *vadh-* Avest. *vaδ-* (Gr. *ωδew*). *-fendō*, which may have once been **fandō*, would then belong to Class XVI § 632. Yet another explanation is given by Fick, Wtb. i⁴ 463, who compares O.Icel. *detta* 'to fall down'. Conway, Class. Review v 297, explains *tendo* *-fendō* as being for **ten-iō* **ghen-iō* = Gr. *τελω* *δελω*.

služu 'I shut', see § 690 pp. 220 f. O.Sax. *writu* O.H.G. *rīzu* 'I tear, wound, write', cp. Gr. *ῥι-νῃ* 'file, rasp' *ῥι-νό-ς* 'hide still on the body' (but *δέῃω* from *δέγω*). O.Icel. *vel-t* 'I roll' trans. O.H.G. *walzu* 'I roll, turn myself', the latter for **ul-dō*, beside Lith. *vel-ti* 'to full, mill' Lett. *wel-t* 'to roll, full, mill', compare Lith. *vel-d-inu* 'I have something full or milled'. Goth. *svil-ta* 'I die slowly away', O.H.G. *swilzu* 'I am devoured by fire, I spend myself in coitu, pine away', O.Icel. *svelt* 'I hunger', beside A.S. *swelan* 'to smoulder, burn slowly and glow': cp. Lith. *svil-d-inu* 'I get something singed'. O.H.G. *sciu-zu* O.Icel. *skgt* 'I shoot': Lith. *szau-d-ỹ-klė* 'shuttle' *szdu-d-au* 'I shoot or move again and again' *szau-d-inu* (causal of the last) Lett. *schau-d-e-klis* 'spooler bobbin' *schau-d-r-s* 'hasty, hot', beside Lith. *szdu-ju* 'I shoot'. O.H.G. *glī-zu* O.Sax. *glitu* 'I gleam, shine', akin to O.Sax. *glī-mo* 'a gleam or sheen, a brightness'. O.H.G. *wā-zu* 'I blow' ground-form **uē-dō*, connected with O.H.G. *wā-u* 'I blow' Skr. *vā-ti*: cp. Lith. *vē-d-inū* 'I expose to the air, I air'. According Fick Wtb. 1⁴ 539 f., O.H.G. *lāzu* Goth. *lēta* 'I let', with which we have connected Gr. *ληθεῖν* (§ 521 p. 85), would come from *✓lē-*.

§ 700. Balto-Slavonic. When Balto-Slavonic *-do-* comes from Idg. *-dh-o-*, and when from Idg. *-do-*, can only be made out by help of the cognate languages.

(1.) *-dho-*. Lith. *vel-du* 'I rule' O.C.Sl. *vla-dq* 'I rule, hold sway', Lith. *skėrdžiu* 'I burst' instead of earlier **sker-du*, Lith. *ju-dū* 'I move trembling' *jundū* 'I begin to move all a-tremble', O.C.Sl. *ra-d-iti* 'to meditate or reflect upon', see § 689 p. 219. Lith. *gīr-d-inu* *gēr-d-inu* *gīr-d-au* 'I give to drink', *pū-d-inu* *pū-d-au* 'I cause to rot' Lett. *pa-pūde* 'fallow land', see § 694 p. 223. With Lith. *ĩ-stó-d-in-ti* 'to give admittance to' Lett. *stá-d-i-t* 'to set, place, plant' *stá-d-s* 'a plant' we may compare Gr. *στα-θ-ερό-ς* 'standing firmly' *στα-θ-μός-ς* 'standing place'. O.C.Sl. *i-dq* 'I go' (inf. *i-ti*) may be closely connected with Gr. *ἵ-θ-μα* 'course, way, step'.

(2.) *-do-*. Lith. *plau-d-žiu* 'I wash, purify' *plu-d-žiu* 'I chatter' *plūstu* 'I begin to swim' *pláu-d-in-ti* 'I cause to be

rinsed' Lett. *plū-d-inā-t* 'I make overflow', Lith. *spráu-d-žiu* 'I compel' *sprūstu* 'I rush out of a narrow place', see § 690 p. 221. Lett. *smāi-da* 'a smile' *smī-d-inā-t* 'to make laugh', see § 695 p. 224. Lith. *vél-d-inu* 'I cause to be milled or fulled', *svl-dinu* 'I cause to be singed', *szau-d-ỹ-klē* 'shuttle' Lett. *schau-d-r-s* 'hot, hasty', Lith. *vė-d-inù* 'I air', see § 699 p. 226.

Some of these distinctions between orig. *-dh-* and *-d-*, made by help of other languages, are naturally very little to be trusted. As *-d-ina-* was a very fertile suffix in both Lettic and Lithuanian, there need be no very real connexion between such endings as those of *svl-dinu* and Goth. *svil-ta*.

§ 701. (3.) In many instances it is quite impossible to distinguish between orig. *-dho-* and *-do-*.

On the doubtful points in the explanation of Lith. *mel-d-žiu* 'I beg' O.C.Sl. *mā-dū* 'tender', see § 690, p. 220.

Lith. *vér-du* 'I boil' pret. *vir-iaũ* inf. *vir-ti*. *mér-d-žiu* and *mér-d-mi* 'I lie a-dying' (inf. *mér-d-ė-ti*), from *miř-ti* 'to die' (Lat. *morbu-s* for **mor-dho-s*?). Lett. *e'ŗ/chu* 'I separate' for **er-d-ju* (pret. *e'ŗdu* inf. *e'ŗst*), beside Lith. *yr-ũ* 'I separate, myself, set myself free'. Lith. *skél-du* and *skél-d-žiu* 'I split, burst' intrans. (inf. *skél-d-ė-ti*), *skél-d-in-ti* 'to make or cause to be split', from *skelũ*, i. e. **skel-ju* 'I split' (inf. *skél-ti*).¹⁾ Lith. *grimstũ* 'I sink' pret. *grimzdaũ* inf. *grĩmsti*, beside Lett. *grĩmstu* *grĩmu* *grĩmt*, points to a pres. **grem-du* or **grim-du*; and Lett. *gi'nstu* 'I perish' pret. *gi'ndu* inf. *gi'n-t* to a present **gin-du*. Lith. *sru-d-žiu* 'I make bloody' (inf. *srusti*) beside *pa-srũv-o* 3rd sing. 'flowed'. Lith. *gė-du* 'I sing' and *gė-d-mi* (3rd sing. *gėsti*), cp. *gaĩda-s* 'singer' *gaidỹ-s* 'cock', akin to Skr. *gāya-ti* 'sings' *gē-ṣṇú-ṣ* *gē-ṣṇa-s* 'singer' (cp. Per Persson, *op. cit.*, 117, 197).

From the series containing *-dho-* and *-do-* were formed a large class of Lith.-Lett. Causals and Frequentatives, ending in (Lith.) *-d-inu* inf. *-d-inti*, and in (Lith.) *-d-au* inf. *-d-y-ti*. Many

1) Per Persson (Wurzelerweiterung, 38) connects *skėldėti* with Gr. *κλαδίζω*, Lat. *per-cellō* (§ 695 p. 224). If so, its *d* would come from Idg. *d*.

of these have been cited already. With *-d-inu* compare Gr. *δαρ-θ-άνω* beside *ἔ-δαρ-θ-ο-ν* (§ 694 p. 223), *φλι-δ-άνει* beside *ἔ-φλι-δε-ν* (§ 695 p. 224). The verbs in *-d-au* *-d-y-ti*, with frequentative meaning, often show a root syllable of the second strong grade (see § 790), as *skál-dyti* 'to split again and again' from *skél-du* 'I split myself' *skél-dinu* 'I cause to be split'.

To the same dental group belongs the partic. II. pres. act. in *-dama-s*; here the *m*-suffix is the same as in *věša-ma-s* fut. *věszi-ma-s* etc. (II § 72 p. 166), and had the original middle meaning. Therefore the form *skél-dama-s*, for example, which is now attached to the verb *skelù*, originally belonged to *skél-du skél-d-ěiu* just as *skél-dinu* did.

O.C.Sl. *ja-da* 'I ride, vehor' ¹⁾ beside inf. *ja-ch-a-ti* (§ 665 p. 198).²⁾ *bada* 'fio' may be derived from $\sqrt{bhey-}$, by assuming **bhū-a-dhō* **bhū-a-dō* (cp. Lat. *-bam* for **bhū-a-m*) or **bhū-dhō* **bhū-dō*, which got a nasal in Class XVI (§ 637 Rem., p. 176); or even if we suppose that a present **bona* for **bhū-onō* (Class XIV, § 624 p. 162) was extended by *-dhō* or *-dō* (cp. Lith. *kaĩtin-drinu* 'to cause to be heated' derived from *kaĩt-inu* 'I heat').

I. CLASSES XXVI TO XXXI.

PRESENT STEMS WITH *-jo-*.

§ 702. This suffix appears in the forms *-jo-* *-je-* or *-ijo-* *-ije-*. Examples of *-jo-* are Skr. *hár-ya-ti*, Gr. *χαίρω* for **χαρ-ιω*, Goth. *vaúr-k-ja*, Lith. *spir-iù sė-ju* O.C.Sl. *sě-ja*. Of *-ijo-*: Skr. *mr-iyá-tē* Gr. *ἔσθ-ίω*, Lat. *suf-fio* (for **dhū-ijō*) *farc-iō*, O.Ir. *b-iu* (for **bhū-ijō*), A.S. *beo* (also for **bhū-ijō*). We are reminded of *-no-* : *-njo-* (§ 596 p. 138); and the same double forms reappear in the noun-suffix *-jo-* (I § 117 pp. 109 f., § 120 pp. 111 ff., II § 63 pp. 122 ff., III § 194 p. 74)

1) For the initial, cp. Zubatý, Archiv für slav. Phil., xiii 628.

2) The derivation of Ved. *yáda-māna-s yádura-s* from *yā-* 'go' (Grassmann, Wörtl., s. v. *yād*) is extremely doubtful.

which must be the same suffix as this of the verbs (compare such stems as Skr. *pū-ya-ti* 'stinks' *pū-ya-m* 'ill-smelling discharge, matter', § 487 pp. 41 f.).

Another point in common between the two suffixes is this. In some forms of the verb-system we find a weak grade, *-i-*, or *-ī-*. Examples are: *-i-*, Lat. 2nd sing. *cap-i-s*¹⁾ from *cap-iō*, O.H.G. 2nd sing. *hev-i-s* from *heffu* (= Goth. *haf-ja*), Lith. 2nd pl. *tūk-i-te* from *tik-iū*; examples of *-ī-*, Lat. 2nd sing. *farc-ī-s* from *farc-iō*, O.C.Sl. 2nd sing. *vel-i-ši* from *vel-ja*.²⁾ This *-ī-* is not found in the present system of Aryan or Greek; and it is more than chance that these very languages have discarded the weak forms of the same sort from their declension of noun stems with *-io-*.

Details as to the Indicative Present will now be given.

Aryan and Greek as a rule have only *-io-* and *-ie-* interchanged, as in the other thematic classes. E. g. Skr. *hár-ya-mi* *hár-ya-si* *hár-ya-ti* etc., like *bhár-a-mi* *bhár-a-si* *bhár-a-ti*;³⁾ Gr. *χαίρω* *χαίρεις* *χαίρει* etc. like *φέρω* *φέρεις*, and so forth.

Latin keeps only *-io-* and *-ī-*; e. g. *cap-iō* *-i-s* *-i-t* *-i-mus* *-i-tis* *-iu-nt*, *farc-iō* *-i-s* *-i-t* (for *-ī-t*); parallel to *farcīs* is Umbr. *heris* 'vis'.

In Keltic the inflexions are not all quite clear. With *-io-* we have nothing but the 1st sing. (O.Ir. *-lēcīu*) for certain; and *-ī-* can be shown in one or two persons (besides the isolated forms Mod.Cymr. imper. *bŷt bint*, see § 719); thus no doubt can be felt that there once existed a series of forms with *-io-* : *-ī-*. We see *-i-* or *-ī-* in 2nd sing. imper. O.Ir. *lēc*, 3rd pl. O.Cymr. *scamneġint* 'levant' *nertheñnt* 'they strengthen' (= O.Ir. **nertaiġit*), cp. 3rd sing. *istlinnit* 'he makes known'

1) The view that *cap-i-t* comes from **cap-īe-ti* (I § 185 p. 122) must be given up.

2) Goth. *vaúrkeis* (1st sing. *vaúrkeja*) can hardly be compared with such forms as Lat. *farcis* O.C.Sl. *veliši*; it is formed on the analogy of *fra-vardeis* = Skr. *vartaya-si* and the like (§ 781. 2).

3) Forms like Avest. *irišinti* as contrasted with Skr. *riṣ-ya-nti* prove nothing for Idg. *-i-* in Avestic. See Bartholomae, Handb. § 95 a Anm. 1 p. 41, and § 290 p. 126.

(O.Ir. *sluindid*) Mid.Cymr. *chwareid* 'plays'. Also O.Ir. 3rd pl. *-lēcet* may be **-lēt-* (**-lēto*), and the 1st pl. *-lēcem* may be **-lēmō(s)*; the 3rd sing. *-lēci* may be derived from **-lēt* or **-lējē-t*. The 1st sing. *lēcim* is a re-formate, like O.C.Sl. *bimī* Serv. *hvalim* (cp. *scaraim caraim*).

The same variation, *-jo-* : *-i-* (see above), is seen in Germanic. But here not only the 1st sing. and 3rd pl. have *-jo-*, but the 1st pl. as well (O.H.G. *heffe-mēs* Goth. *hafja-m*). We should therefore assume as the proethnic scheme in this branch, *-jō -i-zi -i-đi -ja-m -i-đi -ja-nđi*. The Gothic forms *haf-ji-s haf-ji-p* are in all probability instead of **haf-i-s *haf-i-p*, on the analogy of *hafja hafjam hafjand* on the one hand, and *satja satjis* etc. on other; this view is supported by *liga ligis* etc. found instead of **lig-ja *lig-i-s* (cp. O.H.G. *liggu ligis*).¹⁾ Thus it cannot be shewn that Germanic once had the same inflexion as Aryan and Greek.

This variation is found again in Balto-Slavonic; Lith. *lėž-iū lėž-i lėž-ia lėž-ia-me lėž-ia-te* like *sukū suki sūka sūka-me sūka-te*, O.C.Sl. *bor-ja bor-je-ši bor-je-tū bor-je-mū bor-je-te bor-jatū* like *bera bere-ši bere-tū bere-mū* etc. Also the variation *ī*, and here Lith. has regularly *-i-* while Slavonic has regularly *ī*; Lith. *smird-žiū smird-i smird-(i) smird-i-me smird-i-te* O.C.Sl. *smrěda smrěd-i-ši smrěd-i-tū smrěd-i-mū smrěd-i-te smrěd-ētū* (§ 637 Rem. p. 176).

Lastly, in Armenian *-i-* (= Idg. *-i-* or *-ī-*) runs through all the persons, as *xaus-i-m* 'loquor' *-i-s -i* pl. *-i-mē -iē -i-n*.

In view of these facts it is likely that the parent speech had a twofold inflexion. Some of the *jo*-presents had *-jo-* : *-jē-* analogous to the variation between *-o-* : *-e-*, and others had *-jo-* : *-ī-*. The latter was found, if we may trust the evidence of the Balto-Slavonic group, in such *jo*-verbs as had an *ē*-stem as well as a *jo*-stem, as O.C.Sl. *mīnja mīnē-ti*; and if this be

1) The same levelling in late Old High German, *ligu* instead of *liggu* following *ligis*, *bitu* instead of *bittu* (Goth. *bidja*) following *bitis* (cp. Goth. *us-bida*).

so, *-iō-* : *-ī-* must be assumed for Greek stems like *μαίνο-μαι* (aor. *ἐμάνην*), cp. §§ 708, 727. As regards the question, which persons took *-iō-* and which took *-ī-*, two points may be considered certain. (1) The 1st sing. had *-iō* or *-iḡō*, and the 3rd pl. *-iō-nt(i)* or *-iḡō-nt(i)*.¹⁾ (2) *-ī-* was used with the 2nd and 3rd sing. and the 2nd pl., as also in the 2nd sing. imperative (Lat. *cape* for **capi*, *farcī*, O.Ir. *lēic*, O.H.G. *ligi*). The 1st plural seems to have had *-iō-*. Further details may be sought below.

§ 703. There is none of the formative suffixes of the present stem which is added so often as *-iō-* to stems which have some other suffix already. Compare Skr. *sn-ā-ya-tē* Lat. *nō* (for **snā-(i)ō*) beside Skr. *sn-ā-ti* Lat. *n-a-s*, Skr. *jñ-ā-yā-tē* O.H.G. *kn-āu* (ground-form **ḡn-ē-iō*) O.C.Sl. *zn-a-je-tŭ* (ground-form **ḡn-ō-je-t(u)*) beside Gr. *ἐ-γν-ω-ν*, Lat. *taceō* (for **tac-ē-iō*) Goth. *ṡahđi-ṡ* (for **tak-ē-je-ti*) beside Lat. *tac-ē-s* O.H.G. *dag-ē-s* (Class X §§ 578 ff.); Lesb. *κλίννω* (for **κλι-ν-ιω*) beside O.Sax. *hli-nō-n* etc. (Classes XII, XIII § 611); Skr. *iṣ-an-yā-ti*, Gr. *ιαίνω* (for **i(n)-uv-ιω*) beside Skr. *iṣ-ana-t*, Gr. *ὀλισθ-αίνω* beside *ὀλισθ-άνω*, O.H.G. *gi-wah-annu* beside Goth. *af-lif-na* (Class XIV §§ 616 ff.); Greek *πρίσσω* (instead of **πρινσ-ιω*) Lat. *pīns-iō* beside Lat. *pīns-ō*, Lith. *jūng-iu* beside Lat. *jung-ō* (Class XVI §§ 627 ff.); Skr. *i-ṣ-ya-ti* beside *i-ṣa-ti*, Goth. *vah-s-ja* beside Avest. *vax-ša-iti*, Lith. *tē-s-iū* beside Skr. *tq-sa-ti* Goth. *-ṡin-sa*, Skr. *tr-as-ya-ti* Lith. *tr-es-iū* beside Skr. *tr-āsa-ti* Gr. *τq-ί(σ)ω* (Class XX §§ 657 ff.), with which is associated the future of which we have examples in Skr. *dā-s-yā-ti* and Lith. *dū-s-iu* (§§ 747 ff.); O.C.Sl. *ištq* (for **isk-ia*) beside *iskq* (Class XXIII § 677), O.C.Sl. *ob-reštq* beside *-rē-tŭ?* (Class XXIV § 687); Skr. *yú-dh-ya-tē* beside *yō-dha-ti* Lith. *ju-dū*, Skr. *rđ-dh-ya-tē* beside *á-rā-dha-t*, Gr. *ῑσ-θ-ιω* beside *ῑσ-θω*, *κλύ-ζω* for **κλυ-δ-ιω* as contrasted with *ἐ-qli-δο-ν*, Lith. *spráu-d-žiū* beside Mid.H.G. *sprie-ze*, Lith. *skél-d-žiū* beside *skél-du* (Class XXV §§ 688 ff.).

1) I consider Lat. *fiunt* to represent the old inflexion, and not Osc. *fiiet* *fi[ii]et*. The Oscan form took the ending of verbs in *-mi*, as did *censazet*. Cp. § 1022.

As a secondary suffix *-io-* originally bore the chief accent, which is usually kept in Sanskrit; *jñ-ā-yá-ti trā-yá-tē gr̥bhā-yá-ti* (§§ 734, 736); *iṣ-an-yá-ti*; fut. *dā-s-yá-ti*. Thus too the intensive Skr. *dē-diṣ-yá-tē* is a secondary form as contrasted with *dē-diṣ-tē*.

This puts in the right light the present formation of later denominatives, which generally have *-io-*, and that too with its original chief accent; e. g. Skr. *namas-yá-ti arāti-yá-ti pṛtanā-yá-ti gōpā-yá-ti* Gr. *τελείω* for **τελεσ-ιω* etc. We thus see that denominatives had originally no special set of inflexions; their present system was the same as that of the Primary classes. Forms like 1st pl. Armen. *jana-mē* Gr. Aeol. *τίμα-μεν* Lat. *planta-mus* O.Ir. *no chara-m* Goth. *salbō-m* Lith. *jū'sto-me* were originally on the same level as Skr. *dr-ā-mas* Gr. *ἔδρ-α-μεν* Lat. *in-trā-mus*; and presents like Skr. *jīva-ti* Lat. *vīvi-t* O.C.Sl. *žive-tŭ* (from *jī-vá-s* etc.) were the same in principle as Skr. *āja-ti* Lat. *agi-t*. And to these such *io*-forms as Skr. *pṛtanā-yá-ti dēva-yá-ti* Gr. *τιμάω φιλέω* bore the same relation as Skr. *trā-yá-tē* to *trā-tē* (*trā-sva*), *dēdiṣ-yá-tē* to *dēdiṣ-tē* etc.

§ 704. So involved and so intricate are these questions, that it is practically impossible to present the history of the verbal *io*-suffix in such a way that it shall be clear in every point, and all the needs of the student be met at once. Such an attempt would make it necessary to treat the same material again and again from different sides; and for this we have not the space. Be it then expressly understood that the classification here given has been made with a view to giving a general grip of the subject; and many important principles have not been made so prominent as might be wished.

We classify Present Stems + secondary suffix *-io-* (§ 703) according to the original stems; and we count as separate Present Classes (viz. nos. XXVII to XXX) those in which the *io*-suffix, together with the particular kind of stem it may be attached to, has become a type for forms of some particular

kind. This is not the case with the *-io-* extension of present stems in *-sko-*, *-to-*, or *-dho-* *-do-*; wherefore the said stems are only mentioned in an excursus (§§ 762 ff.).

Class XXVI.

Root + *-io-* *-iio-* forming the Present Stem.

§ 705. This Class falls into two divisions, in one of which the root-syllable, and in the other the thematic vowel carries the word accent. The root-syllable when accented has a strong grade of vowel (1st strong grade in the *e*-series), when unaccented is weak. (A) Accent on Root-Syllable: **ghér-io-* (Skr. *hár-ya-ti* Umbr. fut. *heriest*); (B) Accent on Thematic Vowel: **ghy-íō-* (Gr. *χαίρω*). Further examples of (A) are Skr. *tán-ya-ti* = Gr. *στείνω*, *pác-ya-tē*, *mád-ya-ti* (also Goth. *hafja* O.H.G. *heffu* 'I lift' pr. Germ. **háf-iō* = Lat. *cap-iō*?); and of (B), Skr. *mr-iyá-tē dṛś-yá-tē tud-yá-tē ś-yá-ti* (on the obliteration of this orig. difference of accent in Sanskrit, see § 710). A similar double series is seen in Class II, as Skr. *kárṣ-a-ti* and *kṛṣ-á-ti*, and in Class XIII, as O.H.G. *willu* and *wallu* (§ 513 pp. 78 f., § 607 p. 148).

§ 706. Proethnic Idg. — Type A., **ghér-io-*.

✓ *gher-*: Skr. *hár-ya-ti* 'takes pleasure in, desires', Umbr. *heris* 'vis' *heriest* fut. 'volet' Osc. *heriad* 'velit' (like *fakiiad* 'faciat'); cp. Gr. *χαίρω* 'I rejoice', type B. ✓ *yer-* 'hide, cover': Lat. *op-(v)eriō ap-(v)eriō* (*v* dropt after the labial as in *piu-s* for **pu-īō-s*, *suf-fīō -bō -bam*, see I § 170 pp. 149 f.),¹⁾ Lith. *už-veriu* 'I close, shut' *at-veriu* 'I open' (cp. Osc. *veru* 'portam' Umbr. *verof-e* 'in portam' and Lith. *var̃-tai* pl. 'door'). ✓ *sten-*: Gr. *στείνω* (beside *σείνω*) 'I groan' Aeol. *τέννει* *στένει*, βούχεται Hesych., O.C.Sl. *sten-jā* 'I groan, lament' (inf. *stena-ti*); the Skr. *tán-ya-ti* 'groans, roars' (cp. *stanayitnú-* beside *tanayitnú-* 'roaring, thundering') may come from **ten-íō-* or

1) Another but less probable derivation of these Latin verbs is given in vol. I § 499 p. 366.

As a secondary s
which is usually kept
-yá-ti (§§ 734, 736);
intensive Skr. *dē-diṣ-*
with *dē-diṣ-ṭē*.

This puts in the
denominatives, which
original chief accent
-yá-ti *gōpā-yá-ti* (C
that denominatives
their present syste
classes. Forms l
Lat. *plantā-mus* (C
were originally o
-μεν Lat. *in-tra-*
O.C.Sl. *žive-tŭ* (C
as Skr. *āja-ti*
Skr. *pṛtana-ya-*
relation as S
dēdiṣ-ṭē etc.

§ 704.

that it is pr
verbal *io-sa-*
point, and
Such an a.
material a
have not
classificati

(cp. Skr. pass. *bhā-ya-tē*, not found in our texts), and their structure be the same as **tr-a-iō* (§ 735), compare § 495 p. 55.

§ 707. Type B: **ghy-íō*.

✓ *mer-* 'die' **mr-iō-* and **mṛ-iō-*: Skr. *mr-iyá-tē* Avest. *mer^e-ye-iti*, Lat. *mor-ior* (I § 120 p. 112), cp. below **bhy-iō-** **bhu-iō-*. ✓ *der-* 'tear, flay': Skr. *dīr-yá-tē* for **dṛ-je-*, Lith. *dir-iū*; type A, Gr. *δεῖρω* Lesb. *δέροω*. ✓ *sper-*: Gr. *σπαίρω* 'I pant, struggle', Lith. *spir-iū* 'I strike with my foot, kick'. ✓ *sgel-*: Gr. *σάλλω* 'I scrape, hack' for **σκυλ-ιω*, Lith. *skilū* (for **skil-iū*) 'I strike a light, kindle'. ✓ *men-* 'think of, meditate': Gr. *μαίνομαι* 'I am wild, enravished, mad', O.Ir. *do muiniur* 'I think or believe' (for **man-iō-** **mṇ-iō-*), O.C.Sl. *mǎn-ja* 'I think'; to either (A) or (B) may belong Skr. *mán-ya-tē* 'thinks' Avest. 1st sing. *man-ya* O.Pers. 2nd sing. conj. *maniyāhy* (I § 125 p. 116). ✓ *ghen-*: Skr. *han-yá-tē* 'is struck' instead of **ghan-yá-tē* (I § 454 Rem. p. 335), O.C.Sl. *žn-ja* 'I cut off, reap'; of type A from this root we have Gr. *θείνω*. ✓ *gem-* 'go': Skr. *-gam-yá-tē*, Gr. *βαίνω*, Lat. *ven-iō* (I § 204 p. 170, § 208 p. 174); *veniō* might also if we wished be classed as an example of type A. ✓ *bhey-* 'become, be' **bhy-iō-* and **bhū-iō-* (so above we had **mr-iō-* and **mṛ-iō-*): Gr. **φ(F)-ίω* implied by *φῖ-ρυ* (§ 713), Lat. *fīō* instead of **f(u)-iō* with *ī* following *fīs* etc. (§ 717), O.Ir. *b-iu*, A.S. *b-eó* (cp. § 722),¹⁾ Skr. pass. *-bhū-ya-tē*, Gr. Lesb. *φύω* (on Ion. Att. *φύω φῦω* see § 523 p. 87, § 527 Rem. 2 pp. 90 f.); from the same root come Lat. *fī-liu-s* and Alban. *bin* 'I bud' (see G. Meyer, Alban. Stud. III 33, who however, as I think wrongly, assumes *bhī-* as a variant 'root' as well as *bhū-*). ✓ *dhey-* 'shake, stir

1) A different explanation of these verbs is given by Bartholomae, Stud. idg. Spr., II 189 ff., where we see **bhūiō* **bhūisi* **bhūiti* 3rd pl. **bhūiōnti* given as the proethnic forms. This does not agree either with the *ī* of A.S. and O.H.G. *bis* (§ 722), nor with the *ī* of Lith. *bi-ti* *-bi-me* etc. (§ 727); obviously the relation of Lith. *-bi-me* and O.C.Sl. *bi-mū* is the same as that of *smīrdi-me* and *smīrdi-mū*.

up': Lat. *suf-fiō* for **-fu-iō*, Skr. pass. *dhū-yá-tē* 'is shaken', Gr. Lesb. *θυίω* 'I storm, roar' (*θύω* *θύω* like *φύω* *θύω*, see above), O.Icel. *dý* 'I shake' (inf. *dý-ja*). *✓ qei-*: Skr. *ct-ya-tē* 'is tried, respected', connected probably with Gr. *τίω* 'I pay' (parallel form *τιώ*, cp. § 527 Rem. 2 pp. 90 f.); Arcad. *τιίω* either for **τει-ιω* (A), or more probably an ad-formate of *τίσω* *ἔτεισα*. Skr. *kṣi-yá-tē* 'is destroyed' *kṣi-ya-tē* 'exhausts itself, disappears'; from the same root is probably Gr. Hom. *φθίω* 'I am destroyed'. Skr. *pī-ya-ti* 'abuses, thinks little of', partic. Goth. *fijands* O.H.G. *ftent* ('foe'). *✓ uerg-* 'work': Avest. *ver-z-ye-iti*, Gr. *ῥέζω* instead of **φράζω* **φραγ-ιω* (I § 299 p. 238), Goth. *vaúrk-ja*; Gr. *ἔρδω* O.H.G. *wirk(i)u* are of type A, § 706 p. 234. *✓ gherd-* (Lith. *gerdu-s* 'cry, message, news', Pruss. *po-gerdaut* 'to say'): Gr. *φράζω* 'I give to understand, announce', Lith. *gird-žiù* 'I apprehend, hear', ground-form **ghyd-iō*. *✓ ghredh-* (Goth. *gridi-* 'step, grade'): Skr. *gr̥dh-ya-ti* 'steps swiftly towards something', Lat. *grad-io-r* (cp. Osthoff, *M. U.* v p. III). *✓ leiq-* 'linquere': Skr. *ric-ya-tē* and pass. *ric-yá-tē*, Gr. *λίσσομεν* *ἐάσσομεν* Hesych.; cp. p. 129 with the footnote about Latin *licet*. Skr. *chid-yá-tē* 'is cut off', Gr. *σχίζω* 'I split' for **σχιδ-ιω*. Skr. *kup-ya-ti* 'gets in motion, gets excited', Lat. *cup-iō*, O.C.Sl. *kyplja* 'I flow in waves, boil' for **kyp-ja*. Gr. **φύζω* 'I flee', implied by Hom. *πεφυζότες* (Curt. Verb I² 327), Lat. *fug-iō*. Skr. *śúṣ-ya-ti* 'dries up, withers' (tr.), O.C.Sl. *sūšq* 'I dry' (intr.) for **sūch-ia* (inf. *sūcha-ti*); of type A we have Lith. *saus-iù* 'I dry' (intr.).

Gr. *κασσέω* 'I patch' for **κατ-σιῦ-ιω*, Goth. *siu-ja* 'I sew', Lett. *schu-ja* O.C.Sl. *šijq* for **sij-ia* 'I sew' (I § 60 p. 47, § 131 p. 118, § 143 p. 128, § 147 p. 132), Skr. *sīv-ya-ti* 'sews' (part. *syū-tá-s*). Gr. *πτύω* 'I spit, spew' for **(s)pīa-iō* (I § 131 p. 119), O.Icel. *spg* 'I spit, spew' (inf. *spg-ja*) for **spū-iō*, Skr. *ṣṭhīv-ya-ti* 'spits, spews', not actually found (partic. *ṣṭhyū-tá-s*), instead of **sthīv-ya-ti* (§ came from forms like *tīṣṭhēva abhi-ṣṭhyū-ta-s*, and then spread all over the verb; Bartholomae,

Ar. Forsch. III 34);¹⁾ of type *A*, Lith. *spiau-ju* O.C.Sl. *plju-ja* (I § 147 p. 132); Goth. *speiva* is either for **spīu-ō* parallel to Skr. *ṣhīṣ-a-ti*, or for **spīeū-ō* parallel to Lith. *spiau-ju* (so Streitberg, Idg. Forsch. I 513 f.).

Remark. On these roots with the variants *iū* and *iē*, see Bartholomae *loc. cit.*, Kretschmer in Kuhn's *Ztschr.* XXXI 386, Per Persson's *Wurzelerweiterung* 154 ff. As regards the variants **siū-iō* and **siē-iō*, **spīu-iō* and **spīeū-iō*, it seems most likely that the ending *-iū-iō* is due to the analogy of those forms where *-iū-* preceded some sonant; to take an example, Skr. *ṣhīṣya-ti* being modelled after the fashion of *ṣhīṣa-ti* *ṣhīṣita-s*, and *stīya-ti* following *sivaya-ti* *sīvana-m*; so also *dīva-ti* (beside *dyā-tā-s*) follows *-divan-* *divana-m* etc. (cp. Osthoff, *M. U.* IV 317); *vice versa*, Lith. *siū-ā* instead of **siē-ō* is due to the analogy of *siū-ti* etc.

✓ *dhē-* (*dhā-*, cp. Lat. *ad-fa-tim*) 'suck' **dhā-iō*: Skr. *dhā-ya-ti* 'sucks' (I § 109 p. 161), Goth. *da-ddja* 'I suckle' (I § 142 p. 127), O.C.Sl. *do-ja* 'I suckle'; parallel forms of type *A* are O.H.G. *tāu* 'I suckle' Lett. *dē-ju* 'I suck' common ground-form **dhē-iō*, cp. Skr. *dhā-yū-ṣ* 'thirsty'. ✓ *dē-* (*dā-*) 'bind': Skr. *d-ya-ti*, Gr. *δέω* for **dē-iū* instead of **dā-iū*, as *δε-τό-ς* for **dā-ro-ς* = Skr. *dī-tā-s*. ✓ *stā-* (*stā-*) 'stare': Skr. pass. *sthī-ya-tē* instead of **stha-ya-tē* (§ 498 p. 61), O.C.Sl. *sto-ja* 'I stand', probably also O.H.G. *stēt* (§ 708 p. 240); parallel *A*-forms, Avest. *a-stā-yā* etc., § 706 p. 234.

With some roots ending in a vowel, the *i* of the present stem, being regarded as the root-final, was allowed to spread through other tenses. Side by side with Skr. *d-yā-ti* 'divides' (fut. *dā-sya-ti* etc.) is the bye-form *dā-ya-tē*, i. e. **dā-je-* (I § 109 a. p. 101), whence by analogy *dayi-tā-s* *day-aya-ti*; so too we notice *cha-ya-ti* *chayi-tvā* *chāy-aya-ti* beside *ch-ya-ti* 'cuts up' (partic. *chā-tā-s*). The pr. Greek form which answered to *dā-ya-tē*, to wit, **dā-iū*, regarded as made up thus **dāi-ω*, served as the starting point for *δαί-σω* *δαι-τέο-ς* *δαί-νδ-μι*, and from these again we get *δαί-ομαι*, which became associated in

1) Why Sanskrit has *-i-*, and not *-p-* like the rest, is unknown. This may be one of those pairs of doublets, such as Skr. *skambh-* and *stambh-* 'support', which cannot be regularly derived from a single original form.

one group with *δάσσομαι δάσσοσθαι*. *δα-ί-ο-μαι* may be compared with the Lith. *gu-i-jù* 'I hunt': from *gu-jù* (*gujaũ*) = Lett. *gu-ju* (bye-forms Lett. *gũ-nu* Lith. *gáu-nu*, § 615 p. 153) sprang *guì-siu guì-ti*; from these again come the presents *gui-jù* and *gui-nù*. Similarly we find Lith. part. pret. *sėj-ęs jój-ęs* from *sė-ju jó-ju* (*sėjau jójau*). The principle here exemplified throws light on such forms as Skr. *dhē-nú-ṣ* 'milking' beside Skr. *dhá-ya-ti* O.H.G. *tau*. Compare Per Persson's further remarks on this matter, *Wurzelerweiterung* pp. 115 ff.

Pairs of forms like Skr. *d-yá-ti : dá-ya-tē* recal the two forms of the *īṣ*-optative, seen for example in Idg. **dh-īṣ-t* and **dhā-īṣ-t*, § 939.

§ 708. A special class of verbs comprises those which have *-ē-* as parallel suffix to *-īo-*. Sometimes the *-ē-* is found only outside the present stem; sometimes both *-ē-* and *-īo-* are found in the present, in which case *-ē-īo-* occasionally takes the place of *-ē-*. The *-īo-* in Balto-Slavonic has regularly the ablaut *-ī-*; and I have already conjectured (§ 702 p. 230) that this ablaut is proethnic in this very class.

-īo- in the present with *-ē-* outside the present stem is seen in Greek and Balto-Slavonic. Take as examples: Gr. *μαίνομαι, ἐ-μάνη-ν μεμάνη-ώς μεμάνη-μαι μανή-σομαι*, O.C.Sl. *mānjā, mñě mñě-vũ mñě-chũ* (Lith. *mñė minė-siu*, on the pres. *menù* see below). *χαίρω, ἐ-χάρη-ν κεχαρη-ώς κεχαρή-σω*. *χαίω* (**χαF-χω*) *ἐ-χάη-ν*. Lith. *smirdžiu smirdė-ti* O.C.Sl. *smrĭdĭq smrĭdĕ-ti* 'to stink'. In Slavonic, beside *govljā govĕ-ti* 'venerari, vereri' (: Lat. *favĕre*) we see also *govĕjā*, a later re-formate.

In Germanic we have the much discussed class of which one is Gothic *haban* 'to have' (the 3rd Weak Conjugation).¹⁾

1) See Sievers, *P.-B. Beitr.* viii 90 ff.; Mahlow, *Lang. Voc. A, E, O*, pp. 12 f., 19 ff., and 148 f.; Kögel in *P.-B. B.* ix 504 ff.; Bremer, *ibid.* xi 46 ff.; Kluge, in Paul's *Grundriss* i 379 f.; Streitberg, *Germ. Comp. auf -ōz-*, in the University Calendar of Freiburg in Switzerland, 1890,

Its connexion with the Balt.-Slav. *īo* : *ē*-class is shown by such forms as O.H.G. *dolēm*: Lith. *tylėti*, O.H.G. *lebēm*: O.C.Sl. *-lǫpěti* (Gr. ἀλιφῆ-ναι), Goth. *muna munáis*: Lith. *minėti* O.C.Sl. *mǫně-ti* (Gr. μυνῆ-ναι), Goth. *vita vǫdais*: Lith. *pa-vydėti* O.C.Sl. *vidě-ti*. *īo*-structure is seen in forms like O.Sax. 1st sing. *hebbiu libbiu* pl. *hebbiad libbiad* A.S. *hæbbe libbe*; *libbiu* = O.C.Sl. *-lǫplja*. Then we find *-ē-* in such as O.H.G. *habē-m habē-s* etc., and *-ē-* + *-īo-* in Goth. 2nd sing. *habái-s* 3rd sing. 2nd pl. *-ái-þ* (I § 142 p. 126).

Besides these, we find in Germanic other forms which an impartial critic cannot but regard as forms of our Class II; such, for example, are Goth. 1st sing. *haba* 1st pl. *habam* 3rd pl. *haband*, O.H.G. *habu* A.S. *hafu*.¹⁾ It is true that the West-Germanic forms could easily be explained as due to the analogy of other verbal forms; but the Gothic ones are incomprehensible if so regarded.²⁾ Now in Balto-Slavonic and Greek, forms of Class II are found associated with *ē*-forms, as Lith. *menù minėti* as contrasted with O.C.Sl. *mǫnjā mǫněti*, O.C.Sl. part. *vidomŭ* beside *vidimŭ* from *viděti*, Gr. ἐθέλω ἐθέλωσω (§ 727) — compare Umbr. *neiřhabas* 'ne adhibeant' beside *habe* 'habet' *habetu* 'habeto'. Another explanation is therefore possible, and to my mind more likely to be true. It is possible that in Germanic as well, some of the verbs in question had this form of the present stem, and that this *o*-type was made the rule for all verbs in Gothic. In that case, the relation of Goth. *haba* (O.H.G. *habu*) and O.Sax.

pp. 15 f., 18 ff., and 32; Sievers, in Paul Braune and Sievers' Beitr. xvi 257 ff.; Bartholomae, Stud. idg. Spr. ii 143 ff. Hirt, Idg. Forsch. i 204; Streitberg, Zur Germ. Sprachgeschichte, pp. 73 ff.

1) The 2nd and 3rd sing. O.H.G. *hebis hebit* may be examples either of *o*-flexion or of *īo*-flexion. It is quite certain that *hebita* and *ge-hebit* are the latter.

2) O.H.G. *habu* A.S. *hafu* may be instead of (O.Sax.) *hebbiu*, as O.H.G. *ligu* instead of *ligg(i)u* following *ligis* etc. On the other hand, we have no right at all to put Goth. *haba* on the same level as *liga* instead of **ligja* following *ligis* etc.

hebbiu might be compared with O.C.Sl. *vidomŭ* and *vidimŭ*, or with Lith. 3rd sing. *smirda* and *smirdi*. There is yet another possibility. With Streitberg, we may derive *hab-and* from **-ēndi*,¹⁾ and assume that *haba habam* were formed on the analogy of *batra batram* : *bairand*. There is nothing at all to be said for Hirt's conjecture that 1st sing. *haba* comes from **-ē-m*, with secondary personal ending.

That pr. Germanic also knew the inflexion with *-ē- + -iō-* seems to follow from O.H.G. *rērēm* 'I bellow, bleat, roar'; this word is akin to Lith. *rė-ju*, and points to pr. Germ. **rai-rē-iō* (§ 741). Compare further § 548 p. 105, on Goth. *rei-ra* 'I tremble, quake' 2nd sing. *rei-rái-s*, which is connected with Skr. *lē-láy-a-ti*.

In this group falls also O.H.G. *stēm stām* 'I stand', which varies between *a* and *ē* in all its persons. This must be due to an original series in which some persons had only *ē* and others only *a*. *a* comes from pr. Germ. *ē*, but *ē*, as the A.S. and O.Fris. *a* shows, comes from pr. Germ. *aī*. The verb is intimately connected with O.C.Sl. *stojā stōja-ti* (for **stojē-ti*), in whose present stem *stoji-* (2nd sing. *stoji-ši* etc.) = Idg. *stō-ī-*, the *ī* is as regular as in *ladi-ji* Lith. *mō-ji-s* and the like (vol. II p. 122 footnote 2); compare Skr. pass. *sthī-ya-tē* instead of **stha-ya-tē* (§ 707 p. 237, § 709). The **stojē-* of the infinitive stem cannot be original, because this suffix *-ē-* which we are now treating was added to the Root (in its weak grade), not to the present stem. **stojē-* is then doubtless a contamination of **st-ē-* and **sto-jī-* (similarly *la-jā la-ja-ti* 'to bark, give tongue' as contrasted with orig. Lith. *lō-ju lō-ti*, and Gr. *χαίρω ἑχαίρωσα* as contrasted with *χαίρω*, instead of **χαιο-ω*, *ἐχάωρη*, *χαρησούμαι*, and *ἐχάωρημαι*). The two stems, **stō-īō-* and **st-ē-*, are combined in the West Germanic present scheme, which before levelling ran something like *stām stēs stēt stāmēs stēt stānt* (see Bremer, as cited, p. 43), i. e. **st-ē-mi*

1) In view of *vind-s* for **vē-nto-s*, Streitberg assumes that *ē* becomes *a* only in syllables not bearing the chief accent (p. 18).

**sta-īi-zi* etc. *stām stāmēs stānt* run parallel to *habēm habēmēs habēnt*, and *stēs stēt* to *hevis hevit* (1st sing. *heffu*).

The verb *gām gēm* 'I go' is the exact counterpart of *stām stēm* in every respect. As to the origin of this verb many different theories have been set forth. If our explanation of *stām stēm* is right, it is advisable to link *gām gēm* with Skr. *ja-hā-ti* 'deserts, gives up' pl. *ja-hi-mas* aor. *á-hā-t, jí-hī-tē* 'goes, yields', in which case we must assume the stems **gha-jo-* **gha-ī-* and **gh-ē-*. The latter stem reappears in Gr. *κί-χ-η-μι κί-χ-η-μεν*, if this verb belongs to the same root (§ 594 p. 135).

In Latin, the whole present scheme has *ē-*, and the 1st sing., but this person only, has *-jo-* in addition: *videō* for **-ē-īō*, 2nd sing. *vidē-s* etc.: Lith. *pa-výdžiu -vydē-ti* Goth. *vīta vitái-þ*. Compare further *rubeō*: O.C.Sl. *rūžda rūdē-ti*, and *valeō*: Lith. *galù galėti*, and so forth, § 590 p. 132. Italic likewise had at one time forms with *-jo-* (and without *-ē-*) in this group of verbs; this we see from Osc. *staít* 'stat' *stahínt* 'stant' Umbr. *stahitu* 'stato'. These imply a stem **sta-ē-*¹⁾, which must be regarded as for **stai-ē-* and compared with O.C.Sl. *stojá-ti*; that is, it is a contamination of **sta-jo-* and **st-ē-*. Again, the *c* of *licet* beside *linquō* may perhaps justify our assuming an earlier **liciō* for **licy-īō* (Skr. *ricya-tē* Gr. *λίσσωμεν*); see p. 129 footnote. The *o*-present Umbr. *-habas* 'habeas' beside *habe* 'habet' has been spoken of already (pages 239 f.).

What conclusion is to be drawn from a comparison of the Greek and Balto-Slavonic with Germanic and Italic? It is natural to suppose that the two former divide *-jo-* and *-ē-* amongst their forms more nearly as the original language did; and that the latter came to have *ē*-forms in their present on account of their final confusion of Imperfect-Present with Aorist-Present, and the loss of the augmented preterite as an independent tense. Lat. *vidē-s vidē-tis* may be called injunctive,

1) For the proof that Osc. *í* must be orig. *ē*, and not orig. *ī*, I have to thank my pupil G. Bronisch.

and compared immediately with Lith. *mínė mínė-te* Gr. (ἐ)μάρη-ς (ἐ)μάρη-τε, the imperative *vidē* may be compared immediately with *minē-k*, which stood to *mínė* just as *dū'-k* to Skr. *á-dā-t*; and the only difference between O.H.G. *habēm habēs* etc., or Lat. *videt vident*, and these Lithuanian and Greek preterites is that they have the primary personal endings. Compare too Lat. *tagit* beside *tangit*, and others of the kind (§ 583 p. 125); compare too *dat* with preterite sense (Veg. Aen. i 79, ix 266, xi 172) like *-bat* (§ 505 p. 71 with footnote 2). This state of things was partly due to the analogy of *ē*-verbs with non-syllabic root; these carried the *ē*-suffix right through the verb; for example, Lat. *-pleō* for **pl-ē-iō -plēs* (Skr. *prā-si á-prā-t* Gr. *πλή-το*), Goth. *vaia* for **μ-ē-iō* (O.C.Sl. *vě-ja*, Skr. *vā-ti* Gr. *ᾠ-σι*). If in these the present and preterite both had originally *ē*, the connexion of the two would be very close when the preterite ceased to form a distinct category; it would then be quite natural for *ē*-verbs with syllabic root to run the *ē* right through the present, and, given Lat. *vidērem* (cp. O.C.Sl. *viděchŭ* Lith. *pa-vidėsiu* Gr. Dor. *ἰδῆσῶ*, § 813) and Lat. *vidē-bam vidē-bō*, to form a present *videō vidēs* etc. on the analogy of *-pleō* beside *-plērem plē-bam -bō*; or suppose we say, quite natural for existing injunctive forms such as *vidēs vidētis* to be treated as if they were the same in character as *-plēs -plētis*, and used for the present, soon to be followed up by *videō videt* etc. which filled the gaps in the system. This levelling and filling up of the gaps was completed in Latin by the beginning of the historical period; but in Germanic it never was completed at all. In Germanic all monosyllabic *ē*-stems, except two which crystallised, were absorbed by the *iō*- conjugation (§ 592); so the action of this principle can be clearly seen only with forms which contain *-ē- + -iō-*, as Goth. *vitāis vitáiþ*. The reason why Gothic chose to replace **vitaia *vitaiaim *vitaiaand* by *vita vitam vitand* to complete the tense lay in the number of syllables in these words.

Thus O.Sax. *libbiu libda* is a verb like Goth. *vaúrkJa*

vaúrhta (§ 722). The reason why we find in parallel use O.H.G. *lebēt* and Goth. *libáiþ* etc. is simply that in these languages there once was a non-present stem **líp-ē-*, but no such *ē*-stem was ever connected with *vaúrhtjan*.

We need not be surprised that it was *īo*-stems that became joined with *ē*-stems in one verbal system. Both these suffixes have at all periods been used by preference in making forms with intransitive meaning. Observe how *īo* is so used in the Aryan *ya*-passive (§ 710), and *ē* in the Greek aorist passive with *η* (§ 589 p. 130).

Lastly, I must foreguard against a misconception. In contrasting *īo* as a present suffix with *ē* in non-present stems, I must not be understood to mean that all non-present forms originally had *-ē-*. We have in Greek *κέκλυμαι κεντό-ς* beside *καίω: ἐκάην καήσομαι, μανοῦμαι μέμνην* beside *μαίνομαι: ἐμάνην μεμάνημαι*; so in Latin, *vidē vīsu-s* beside *videō, habui habitu-s* beside *habeō*, in Germanic pret. O.Sax. *habda* O.H.G. *hapta* O.Icel. *hafða* partic. *hafðr* beside O.Sax. *hebbiu:* O.H.G. *habēm* etc. How this *ē* managed to spread in non-present stems (as *καήσομαι* beside *καίω*, *μεμανηώς* beside *μέμνην*, O.H.G. *habēta* beside *hapta*), is a question which need not concern us here.

Remark. In § 583, page 125, we assumed an *ā*-aorist beside the *ē*-aorist, and explained *-ā-* in Lat. *occupāre* on the same principle as *-ē-* in *vidēre*. It is particularly easy to see resemblance between *vidēre* and *arāre*. *arō arās, arārem:* O.C.Sl. *orjā oruchū = videō vidēs, vidērem:* O.C.Sl. *vižda vižechū*.

§ 709. Aryan. Type A. Skr. *hár-ya-ti, raj-ya-ti pác-ya-tē, sphā-ya-tē, ā-dāya-māna-s*, Avest. *jaidyē-iti* O.Pers. *jadiyā-mīy*, Avest. *yezimna-*, Avest. *ā-stāya* O.Pers. *niy-āstāya*, Skr. *pás-ya-ti* Avest. *spas-yē-iti*, see § 706 pp. 233 f. Avest. *urvaes-yē-iti* 'moves, proceeds' (*urv-* for *vr-*, I § 157 p. 141), parallel *B*-stem *urvis-yē-iti*. Skr. *náh-ya-ti* 'binds' ✓ *nedh-* (part. *naddhá-s*). Skr. *nás-ya-ti* Avest. *nas-yē-iti* 'disappears, is destroyed' ✓ *nek-*. Skr. *pád-ya-tē* 'goes, falls', Avest. *pað-*

-*ye-iti* 'goes, gets somewhere' ✓ *ped-*. Skr. *mád-ya-ti* 'enjoys itself, carouses' beside 2nd sing. *mát-si* Class I.

Type B. Skr. *mr-iyá-tē* Avest. *mer^e-ye-iti* (it is uncertain how we should read the O.Pers. 3rd sing. pret., whether as *amariyata* = Idg. **e-mṛ-je-to* or as *amriyata* = Idg. **e-mr-ije-to*, see I § 289 p. 231), Skr. *dīr-yá-tē*, *han-yá-tē*, *-gam-yá-tē*, *-bhā-ya-tē*, *dhū-yá-tē*, *cī-ya-tē*, *kṣī-yá-tē* *kṣī-ya-tē*, *pī-ya-ti*, Avest. *ver^ez-ye-iti*, Skr. *gṛdh-ya-ti*, *ric-yá-tē* *ric-ya-tē*, *chid-yá-tē*, *kup-ya-ti*, *śūṣ-ya-ti*, *śīv-ya-ti*, *ṣṭhīv-ya-ti*, *dhā-ya-ti*, *d-ya-ti* 'binds', *sthī-ya-tē*, *d-yá-ti* 'divides' *dá-ya-tē*, see § 707 pp. 235 ff.

Other, forms which have not the passive meaning. Skr. *jír-ya-ti* *jár-ya-ti* 'falls into decay' beside *jár-a-ti* Class II A and *jur-á-ti* Class II B. *dām-ya-ti* 'tames, conquers' for **dṃ-je-ti*. *tām-ya-ti* 'grows stupefied, faint' for **tṃ-je-ti*. *mī-ya-tē* 'grows less'. *pū-ya-ti* 'stinks'. *fj-ya-ti* 'rushes on'. *hṛṣ-ya-ti* 'is excited, or happy'. Avest. *pešyēinti* 'they fight' pr. Ar. **pīt-ia-nti* (I § 260 p. 212). Skr. *drúh-ya-ti* 'tries to hurt', Avest. part. *drujint-* 'lying, deceiving' O.Pers. *adūrūjiya* (read *adurujiya*) 'lied'. Skr. *pra-diśya-ti* 'points to', Avest. *dis-ye-iti* 'shows, teaches'. Skr. *ś-yá-ti* 'whets', Avest. *s-ye-iti* 'cuts', ✓ *kō-*.

Passive. Skr. *kr-iyá-tē* Avest. *ker^e-ye-tē* 'is made'. Skr. *str-iyá-tē* *stīr-ya-tē* 'sternitur', Avest. *strya-mna-* i. e. *striya-mna-*. Skr. *śīr-ya-tē* 'is broken to pieces', O.Pers. *asariyata* 'was killed', common ground-form **kṛ-je-*. Skr. *bhr-iya-tē* Avest. *bairyeṭē* 'fertur', the Avestic form being for **bhṛ-je-*. Skr. *yam-yá-tē* 'is held or inclined'. Skr. *śrū-yá-tē* 'is heard', Avest. *sru-ye-tē* 'is heard, heard of': cp. O.C.Sl. *po-slu-ja*, type A. Skr. *nī-yá-tē* 'is led, brought'. Skr. *dṛś-yá-tē* 'is seen'. Skr. *śas-yá-tē* 'is praised', O.Pers. 1st pl. *ḡah-yā-mahy* 'we are mentioned', ✓ *kens-*. Skr. *yuj-yá-tē* 'is yoked or harnessed'. *uc-yá-tē* 'is spoken', ✓ *ueq-*. *bhid-yá-tē* 'is split' (*bhīd-ya-tē* 'splits, goes in two'). *idh-yá-tē* 'is kindled', ✓ *aīdh-*. *aj-yá-tē* 'is anointed' from *-añj-*. Avest. *da-ye-tē* 'is set, placed' ground-form **dhə-je-tai*, ✓ *dhē-*; Skr. *dhī-yá-tē* like *sthī-ya-tē* (§ 707 p. 237) with the determinative *-ī-*.

§ 710. As a general rule, passive forms in Sanskrit accent -*yo-*, and non-passive forms the root. But this difference in accent had originally nothing to do with active or passive. It depended upon the grade of the root, strong or weak as the case might be. A few forms which are not passive still accent the suffix, as *ś-yá-ti mr-iyá-tē*, which is a relic of the former state of things. The retraction of accent in *dhá-ya-ti* (earlier **dhā-īé-ti*) *dá-ya-tē* (instead of **dā-īé-tai*, § 707 p. 237) *gṛdh-ya-ti ric-ya-tē* etc., which seems proved for protoethic Aryan by the evidence of Avest. *pešyēinti*, § 709 (I § 260 pp. 212 f.), may be compared with the retraction in *dás-ya-ti gṛ-a-ti h̥n-va-ti gá-cha-ti* and the like (§ 516 p. 82).

The reason why the Middle of this particular present class became a Passive system in Aryan, is that the greater number of the verbs in it were intransitive; so in Greek a passive system grew out of an intransitive, I mean the passive aorist in -*ηr*, § 589 pp. 129 f. But not all the forms of the group can be called passive. To *mr-iyá-tē* 'dies', for instance, the term cannot be applied; nor can it to all aorists in -*ηr*, *ῥορέη* 'flowed' for example.

So constant a mark of the passive did an accentuated -*yá-* become, that the intransitive *pác-ya-tē ric-ya-tē* were turned into passives by accenting them *pac-yá-tē ric-yá-tē*, and the language even tolerated *smar-yá-tē*, despite its strong root (cp. *hár-ya-ti*).

In Sanskrit, as in the two Iranian languages, passive forms occur with active personal endings, as well as middle; e. g. Skr. epic *dr̥ṣ-ya-ti* 'is seen' (Holtzmann, Gramm. aus dem MBh., 25 f.), Avest. *xwar-yē-iti* 'is eaten'. It is impossible to understand the forms till we know their accentuation.

Remark. It is sometimes said that the intr. active *dáhyati* 'burns up' as compared with the pass. *dahyáte* 'is burnt', since both practically mean the same thing, was the origin of the active forms with passive meaning, *dr̥ṣyati* and the like. This we could only venture to say if we knew for certain that the word was accented *dr̥ṣyati*.

§ 711. Armenian. Verbs in *-im*, which originally had middle or passive meaning: *xausim* 'loquer', *erevim* 'I appear'. This *i*-suffix was put to the same use as *-yá-* in Sanskrit, for making the passive conjugation. Each active verb in *-em* became middle or passive by the simple change of *e* to *i*. This often resulted in *i* being added to stems which had already some other present sign: e. g. *airni-m* 'I am made, I become' from *air-ne-m* 'I make'. The endings *-anim* and *-anem* are used side by side, as in Greek *-ainw* beside *-anw*; thus *mer-ani-m* 'I die' (aor. *mer-ay*) like Gr. *μυραίνω* 'I wear away, destroy'.

§ 712. Greek. Type A. *στείνω*, *ἔρδω*, *λεύσσω*, *ῥέζω* 'I colour', *θέσσεσθαι*, *πέσσω*, *ᾄζομαι*, *πλήσσω*, *κρώζω*, see § 706 pp. 233 f., *δείρω*, *τέλω*, see § 707 p. 236. Att. *φθείρω* Arcad. *φθήρω* Lesb. *φθέρω* 'I destroy', pr. Gr. **φθερ-ω* (akin to Skr. *kṣár-a-ti* 'flows, dissolves'); parallel *B*-stem, Dor. *φθαίρω*. Ion. *αίρω* Lesb. *αέρω* (*αύερω*?) 'I raise' for **ἀ-φερ-ω*; parallel *B*-stem Hom. Att. *αἶρω*. *πείρω* 'I pierce'; cp. O.C.Sl. *porjetŭ* 'cuts to pieces' (inf. *pratŭ*) for **př-je-*, type *B*. *στέλλω* 'I arrange, equip' for **στελ-ω*. *σκέλλω* 'I dry'. *κτείνω* Lesb. *κτέννω* 'I slay'; parallel in type *B*, Lesb. *κταίνω*. *χέζω* 'caco' for **χεδ-ω* (perf. *κέχοδα*). *δαίω* 'I kindle' for **δαF-ω* (perf. *δέδηε*): cp. Skr. pass. *dū-ya-ti*, type *B*. Of the same sort as *δαίω* are doubtless *καίω* *κάω* 'I burn' and *κλαίω* *κλάω* 'I weep'; see I § 131 pp. 118 f.

Remark. *πλέω* *χέω* and the like, found in the text of Homer and Hesiod (Curtius, Verb i² 804 f.), can be explained **πλεF-ω* (Lith. *pláu-jū*) and so forth. But there is practically no objection to regarding them, as many scholars do, as corruptions for Aeolic forms of Class II, *πλέω* = **πλεF-ω*.

§ 713. Type *B*. *χαίρω*, *σπαίρω*, *σκάλλω*, *μαίνομαι*, *βυίνω*, *θνώ*, *τίω*, *φθίω*, **ράζω* 'I do', *φράζω*, *λίσσωμεν*, *σχίζω*, *πιφνύδotes*, *κασσῶ*, *πτῶ*, *δέω*, *δαίω* 'I divide', see §§ 706 f. pp. 233 ff. *φθαίρω*, *αἶρω*, *κταίνω*, see § 712. *βάλλω* 'I throw' for **βαλ-ω* **gl-ēd*, *✓gel-*. *καίνω* 'I kill' probably for **καμ-ω*, compare *καμόντες* 'the dead' (then *ἐκανον* got *ν* from the present): Skr.

śām-ya-ti 'becomes still, is extinguishd' for **kṣi-je-ti* (καίνω differently explained by Kretschmer, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxi 428, 432; Fick, i⁴ 43). πύρω 'I make shy', cp. Lat. *cōn-ster-nā-re*, σέρω 'I drag' cp. σαίρω 'I sweep' (with γλ), σκύλλω 'I tear to pieces, towse, worry' cp. Lith. *skelù* (**skel-iù*) 'I split'; the *v* of this form needs explanation. δίω 'I beseech, fly, fear' doubtless for **di-λω*: Skr. *dī-ya-ti* 'flies'; of type A, Lett. *dēi-ju* 'I dance' (inf. *dī-t*); the forms *δίετε* *δίεται* and such like were associated with *ἵετε* *ἵεται*, and this caused the formation of *ἐν-δίεσαν* *δίεμαι* and others by analogy of the parts of *ἵημι*. φράσσω 'I enclose' for **φρακ-λω*: Lat. *farc-iō* with *ar* = *ḡ*, connected with *frequ-ēns*. μᾶσσω 'I press, knead' ground-form **mṣq-īd̥* ✓ *menq-*, cp. the forms, belonging to Class XXXII, O.C.Sl. *męcā* (2nd sing. *męci-ši*) 'I soften' (inf. *męci-ti*) Lith. *minkau* 'I knead' inf. *minky-ti*. σκάζω 'I limp' ground-form **sqṛg-īd̥*, akin to Skr. *khānj-a-ti* 'limps'. νίζω 'I wash' ground-form **niḡ-īd̥*: Skr. pass. *nij-ya-tē*. σιρίζω 'I prick, pierce' for **στιγ-λω*: O.H.G. *sticch(i)u* 'I stitch' (§ 722). λίσσομαι 'I pray' for λιτ-χο-μαι, cp. λιτ-έ-σθαι, Class II B. κνίζω 'I scratch, prick, stir up' for **κνιδ-λω*, beside O.Icel. *hnú* 'I knock against, hurt with a knock' Class II A. ὀρύσσω 'I dig' for **ὀρυκ-λω*: Lith. *rauk-iù* 'I wrinkle', (A). ἀπο-μύττω 'I blow my nose' for **μυκ-λω*: Skr. pass. *muc-yá-tē* 'is set free'; Lith. *mauk-iù* 'I scratch slightly, touch softly', type A.

The theory that ὄζω 'I swell', for **ōd-λω*, does not belong to type A, is doubtful, in spite of an appeal to Lith. *ū'd-žiū* 'I smell'; it is also uncertain to which section belongs ὄσσομαι 'I see', for **oq-īo-* (cp. I § 319 p. 258). It is risky to connect ὄσσομαι with Goth. *ah-ja* 'I believe, surmise'.

Forms with Idg. *-iḡo-*. ἰδ-ίω 'I sweat' is usually connected directly with Skr. *svid-ya-ti* O.H.G. *swizzu*. If that is so, ἔξ-τίδισαι is due to the analogy of denominatives in *-i-īd̥-* and ἰδτω (Aristoph.) is a reformaté like *κονίω* (§ 775). ἐσθ-ίω beside ἔσθω 'esse' for **ed + dhō*, cp. § 694 p. 223, § 765. A form **φίω* = Idg. **bhū-iḡd̥* follows from *φῖ-ρυ* 'sprout, shoot, scion' *φῖ-ρυ-ς* 'begetter', which must have been derived from it

as though the verbal stem were *φρ-* (§ 707 p. 235); a similar origin must be supposed for Lat. *fr-tu-m cupr-tu-s* and others (§§ 715 ff.).

§ 714. The identity of ending in *σφάζω ἔσφαξα* (*σφαγ-* 'slay') and forms like *φράζω ἔφραξα* (*φρακ-* 'enclose') produced *σφάττω* as a bye-form to *σφάζω*, by analogy with *φράττω*. *Vice versa*, we have *βράζω* in late Greek instead of *βράττω* (*βρατ-* 'seethe, bluster, roar') by analogy of such words as *φράζω* (*φραδ-* 'give to understand'), because almost all the forms of verbs in *-r-*, *-θ-*, and *-δ-* are alike except in the present stem, *ἔβρασ(σ)α* like *ἔφρασ(σ)α*, and so forth. See Mucke, *De Consonarum in Greca lingua geminatione*, 1 (1883) pp. 17 ff.; Osthoff, *Perfect* 296 ff. and 322 f.

As regards the relation of *μάλνομαι* to *ἐμάνην μεμάνημαι* *μεμανῶς μανήσομαι*, or of *χαίρω* to *ἐχάρην κεχαρηνῶς κεχαρήσοι*, see § 708 pp. 238 ff.

§ 715. *Italic*. In Latin, post-consonantal *-iō* became *-iō*, just as **mediu-s* became *mediu-s* (I § 135 p. 122); thus *morior* for **moriō(r)* **mriō*. In Oscan, *-iō-* is seen in *heriād* 'velit', and other words.

Lat. *in-ciēns* for **cū-īe-* (as *sociu-s* for **socu-īo-s*, vol. I *loc. cit.*) beside *qu-eō* = Skr. *śv-āyāmi* (§ 790). So also *farcio* for **farcu-īō* beside *frequ-ēns*.

Why we have now *-i-* and now *-r-*, as in *cap-i-s farc-r-s*, no rule has so far been discovered to show. Often enough the same verb has both quantities, as *morī-mur* and *mori-mur*; so that we find in Latin both the peculiarities which we saw divided between Baltic and Slavonic (Lith. *smirdi-me* O.C.Sl. *smrīdi-mū*). In Umbrian and Oscan all the recorded forms have *-r-* — doubtless an accident: Umbr. *heris hereitu heritu* beside *heriest* 'volet' cp. Skr. *hár-ya-ti, an-ovihimu* 'induimino' (*ihi* == *r*) beside Lith. *aviù* 'I wear something on my feet' (1st pl. *āvi-me*).

As the present stems of which Lat. *farcio* is one were inflected just like denominatives in *-i-īo-* (§ 777), it cannot be

wondered at that the analogy of these denominatives caused non-present forms with *-i-* to be coined, such as *farci-tus* beside *fartu-s* from *farciō*; cp. § 713 on Gr. *ἔξ-ἰδίου* and *φι-rv*.

In the lists which follow below, *i* or *ī* is added in brackets to show the quantity of the weak-grade vowel in the 2nd singular etc.; and it is stated whether *ī* is ever found outside the present stem.

§ 716. Type A. Lat. *ap-(v)eriō op-(v)eriō* (*i*, *aper-ui aper-tu-s operī-mentu-m*): Lith. *ũž-veriu*, see § 706 p. 233. *fer-iō* (*i*, *feriī feri-tūru-s*): Lith. *bar-iū* 'I scold' O.C.Sl. *bor-ja* 'I fight' and probably O.Icel. *ber* 'I strike' (inf. *berja*) from the ground-form **bhṛ-iō*, type B. Ital. *her-iō her-iō her-i-* in Umbr. *heris heriest hereitu* Osc. *heriad*, see § 706 p. 233, § 715. Lat. *spec-iō* (*i*, *spec-tu-s*): Skr. *pāś-ya-ti*, see § 706 p. 234. Umbr. *an-ovihimu* 'induimino': Lith. *av-iū* 'I wear something on my feet' (1st pl. *āv-i-me* inf. *avē-ti*) and Lett. *āu-ju* 'I put something on my feet' (1st pl. *āu-ja-m* inf. *āu-t*) O.C.Sl. *(ob-)u-ja*, same meaning (1st pl. *-u-je-mū* inf. *-u-ti*). Lat. *pav-iō* (*i*, *pavi-vi pavi-tus*): Lith. *piū-ju* 'I cut, mow, slay' (*piū-ti-s* 'slice, harvest'). *haur-iō* (*i*, *haus-tu-s hauri-tu-s*). *jac-iō* (*i*, *jac-tu-s*). *crōc-iō* (*i*, subst. *crōci-tu-s*), see § 706 p. 234.

To the same group must belong Lat. *nōli nōlite*, from a lost verb **veliō*; cp. O.C.Sl. *veljā velē-ti* 'to command', O.H.G. 1st sing. *willu* 'I wish' Goth. *viljan viljands*, see § 505 p. 69.

stō (Idg. **stā-iō*) came under the influence of presents like *in-trō* for **tr-a-iō*; hence *stās* etc. See § 584 Rem. p. 126. A similar explanation may be given of *for fatur*, see § 495 p. 56 and § 706 p. 234.

§ 717. Type B. Lat. *mor-ior* (*i* or *ī*, *mor-tuo-s mori-tūru-s*), Avest. *mer^a-ye-iti*, see § 707 p. 235. *or-ior* (*i* or *ī*, *or-tu-s ori-tūru-s*), ground-form **ṛ-iō*, akin to Skr. *ṛ-ṇō-mi* § 639 p. 177. *par-iō* (*i*, *peperi par-tu-s pari-tūru-s, pariret*) for **pṛ-iō* (I § 306 p. 242). *re-periō* 'I bring to light again, find'

(ī, *-pertu-s*): Lith. *per-iū* (1st pl. *pēr-i-me*) type *A*. *fīō fī-s fiere fierī* (*fī-tu-m*, cp. Gr. *φῖ-rv* § 713 p. 247): O.Ir. *b-iu* etc., Idg. **bhū-īō*, see § 707 p. 235; *f-īō f-īunt* (instead of **f-īō *f-iunt*) took *ī* from *fīs* etc., a peculiarity which is explained by the unique character of this verb — it is the only one in which the suffix *-īō* carried the chief accent; Osc. *fiiet* 'fiunt' with the ending *-ent* instead of *-ont* (p. 231 footnote). *suf-fīō* (*ī, -fī-vī -fī-tu-s*) ground-form **-dhū-īō*: cp. Skr. *dhū-yá-tē* etc., see § 707 p. 236. *in-ciēns* for **-cū-īe-*, cp. Gr. *ἐγ-κύνω* 'I am pregnant' and Lat. *qu-eō* (§ 715 p. 248); probably *-ciēns*: *-xύνω* = *fīō* (pr. Ital. **fū-īō*): *φύνω* Lesb. *φύνω*. *cliēns*, from *✓klei-* 'clinare' (Leo Meyer, Bezz. Beitr. v 182 f.), probably for **cli-īe-*: cp. Skr. pass. *śrī-ya-tē*. *grad-iōr* (*i, gressu-s; ag-gredior* with *i* or *ī*): Skr. *gr̥dh-ya-ti*, see § 707 p. 236. *lac-iō* (*i, -lectu-s*) for **l̥k-*, beside O.H.G. *locchōn* 'to entice' (Osthoff, *M. U.* v p. III). *farc-iō* (*ī, fartu-s farcī-tu-s*). *cup-iō* (*i, cuperet cupīret cupī-vī cupī-tu-s*): Skr. *kup-ya-ti* etc., see § 707 p. 236. *fug-iō* (*i, fūgī fugi-tūru-s*): Gr. *περνίζετε*, see § 707 p. 236. *in-quiō in-quiunt* (*i*) for **sq-īō*, cp. *inqu-a-m* (Class X § 583 p. 124) Gr. *ἐν-σπ-ε* 'said', *✓seq-*.

suō (*sū-tu-s*) and *spuō* (*spū-tu-s*) probably for **sū-(ī)ō *spū-(ī)ō* as *neō* for **nē-(ī)ō*: Gr. *κυσσώω πτῶω* etc., see § 707 p. 236.

§ 718. It is often doubtful to which type, (A) or (B), a word belongs. *ven-iō* (*ī, vēnī in-ventu-s*), beside Skr. *-gam-yá-tē* etc., see § 707 p. 235. *cap-iō* (*i, cēpī cap-tu-s*): Goth. *haf-ja* O.H.G. *heff(i)u* 'I lift up'. *sap-iō* (*i, sap-uī sapī-vī*): O.H.G. *int-seff(i)u* 'I mark'. *ap-iō coepiō* (*i, aptu-s*); cp. § 600 p. 144 on Skr. *ap-nō-mi*. *sal-iō* (*ī, sal-uī salīī*): Gr. *ἀλλομαι* 'I leap' for *ἀλ-ιο-*. *fod-iō* (*i, fossu-s, fodī-rī*).

§ 719. Keltic. It is difficult to understand the Keltic inflexions, because the Third Conjugation in Irish has absorbed all Denominatives in *-īō -e-īō* and *-i-īō*, and all Causals in *-e-īō*. General remarks on the *īō*-conjugations in § 702 pp. 229 f.

An account of the confusion in Irish between the First and Third Conjugations is given in § 520 p. 84.

Type A. O.Ir. *-lēciu* 'I leave, let' for **leikṡ-iō* (I § 436 Rem. p. 325): Skr. *ric-ya-tē* etc., type B, see § 707 p. 236. *midīur* 'I give judgement or opinion', beside Gr. *μέδομαι* 'I meditate upon'. *-ciu* 'I see' for **ces-iō*.

-tau -tō 'I am' for **stā-iō*: Avest. *a-stā-yā* etc., see § 706 p. 234. For the inflexion of this present stem see § 584 Rem. p. 126.

Type B. O.Ir. *do muiniur* 'I think, believe' for **man-iō* Idg. **mṡ-iō*: Gr. *μαίνομαι* etc., see § 707 p. 235. *-gainedar* 'is born' from *✓gen-*: cp. Gr. *γείνομαι*, type A. *biu* 'I am' for **bhṡ-iō*: Lat. *fīō* etc., see § 707 p. 235; the stem **bhṡ-i-* must be contained in Mid.Cymr. imper. 3rd sing. *bit* 3rd pl. *bint* (but Mod.Cymr. *bydd-* for **bij-*), while *-iē- -iō-* is the suffix in Ir. 3rd sing. *biid bīth bīd* 3rd pl. *biit bīt* and 1st pl. *-biam* 3rd pl. *-biat*. *-gniu* 'I make' for **ḡn-iō ✓gen-* 'gignere', goes like *biu*.

Belonging to either (A) or (B): Mid.Ir. *airim* 'I plough': Goth. *ar-ja* Lith. *ar-iū*.

§ 720. Germanic. On the *iō*-suffix here, see § 702 p. 230. There was a confusion between some persons of the present in this class and those of Denominatives in *-e-iō* or *-i-iō*, and Causals in *-e-iō*. This caused a general commingling of the forms, reaching to non-present stems; the course of which it is very difficult to trace.

Verner's Law (I § 529 pp. 384 ff.) proves that some verbs were accented on the root in protoethnic Germanic: Goth. *haf-ja* O.H.G. *heff(i)u* Goth. *skap-ja* (pret. *skōþ*), beside O.H.G. *int-seff(i)u*. See § 705 p. 233. In *skap-ja* the accent seems to have been shifted, as in Skr. *ḡj-ya-ti* etc. (§ 710 p. 245); for Gr. *ἀσκητής* 'scatheless', which must be connected with *skap-ja* (pret. *skōþ*), points to a *✓skath-*. That Germanic inherited forms with an accented suffix, type B (cp. *mr-iyá-tē tud-yá-tē*) seems to follow from O.Sax. *thiggian* A.S. *dicgean*

'to receive, assume' from $\sqrt{teq-}$ (Lith. *tėk-ti* 'to reach') and A.S. *friczean* 'to experience' from $\sqrt{prek-}$ (Lat. *precārī*).

On present stems with *-iō-* as bye-forms of the *ē*-present, such as O.Sax. *hebbiu* beside O.H.G. *habē-m* (Goth. *haba habái-s*), see § 708 pp. 238 ff.

§ 721. Type A. O.H.G. *wirk(i)u* 'I work' (pret. *worhta worahta*): Gr. *ἐργάω*, see § 706 p. 234; parallel *B*-stems O.H.G. *wurk(i)u* Goth. *vaúrkJa*. O.H.G. *liggh(i)u* 'I lie' (pret. *lag*), O.Icel. *ligg* (inf. *liggja*) from $\sqrt{leggh-}$; Goth. *liga* instead of **ligja* follows *ligis* etc., as in later O.H.G. we get *ligu* instead of *ligg(i)u* following *ligis* etc. (§ 702 p. 230). O.H.G. *sizzu* 'I sit' (pret. *saz*), O.Icel. *sit* (inf. *sitja*): compare probably *πιέζω* 'I press' (lit. 'I sit upon') for **πι-σεδ-ζω* (cp. Skr. pass. *pīdyatē* for **pi-zd-je-*), perhaps also *ἔζομαι* (see § 563 p. 111); Goth. *sita* like *liga*. Goth. *ga-hvatja* 'I incite' (part. *hvassa* 'whetted, sharp') O.H.G. *wezzu* 'I whet, sharpen' (pret. *wazta*), beside Skr. *cud-* (pres. *cōda-ti*) 'to inflame, incite'. Goth. *hlah-ja* 'I laugh' (prep. *hlōh*). Goth. *saia* O.H.G. *sāu* 'I sow', pr. Germ. **sē-iō*: Lith. *sėj-u*, see § 706 p. 234. O.H.G. *tau* 'I suckle' ground-form **dhē-iō* beside Goth. *da-ddja* (*B*), see § 707 p. 237.

§ 722. Type B. O.Icel. *ber* 'I strike' (inf. *berja*, pret. *barða*) pr. Germ. **bar-iō* ground-form **bhḡ-iō*: Lith. *bar-iù*, see § 716 p. 249. Goth. *hul-ja* (pret. *hulida*) O.H.G. *hull(i)u* (pret. *hulta*) 'I cover, hide' ground-form **kl-iō*, beside O.H.G. *hilu* 'I conceal'. O.Icel. *symja* 'to swim' beside *svima*, pret. *svam*, pr. Germ. **s(y)um-ja-*. A.S. *beo* 'I am' ground-form **bh(y)-iō*, 2nd and 3rd sing. *bis bið* 3rd pl. *beoð* (part. *beonde*), O.H.G. 2nd sing. *bis bist* (for its 1st sing. we have *bim*, see § 507 pp. 73 f.): Lat. *fiō* etc., see § 707 p. 235. O.Icel. *dý* 'I shake' (inf. *dý-ja*, pret. *dū-ða*): Skr. *dhū-yá-tē* etc., see § 707 p. 236. O.Icel. *lǫ* 'I destroy, shatter, crush' (inf. *lǫ-ja*, pret. *lū-ða*): Gr. *λέω* (cp. § 527 Rem. 2 pp. 90 f.). Goth. *vaúrkJa* (pret. *vaúrhta*) O.H.G. *wurk(i)u* (pret. *worhta*) 'I work' beside O.H.G. *wirk(i)u*, type A: Avest. *ver'z-ye-iti* etc., see § 707 p. 236,

§ 721. Goth. *þaurseiþ mik* 'I thirst', lit. 'it thirsts me' (pret. *þaurside*): Skr. *tṛṣ-ya-ti* 'thirsts'. O.H.G. *gurt-(i)u* 'I gird' (pret. *gurta*), beside Goth. *gairda* Class II A. O.H.G. *wurg(i)u* 'I throttle' (pret. *wurcta*): Lett. *wirschu* 'I jerk' (inf. *wirft*): parallel we have Lett. *werfchu* (*we'rfchu* and *wérfchu*) 'I turn, twist' Lith. *verž-iù* 'I tie', type A. Goth. *þugk-ja* 'I think' (pret. *þūh-ta*); parallel *þagk-ja*, which may answer to Lat. *tongeō*, see § 894. Goth. *bug-ja* 'I buy' (pret. *baúhta*). Goth. *bidja* O.H.G. *bitt(i)u* 'I beg, pray', ground-form **bhidh-ið* $\sqrt{bhejdh-}$, whose pret. is *baþ bat* following words like *sat* (I § 67 Rem. 3 p. 57); Goth. *us-bida* O.H.G. *bitu* a re-formate like *liga*, see § 702 p. 230. O.H.G. *int-rihhit* 'revelat', later *-rihhit* (part. *int-rigan*). O.H.G. *sticch(i)u* 'I embroider, stitch' (part. *ki-stickit*): Gr. *σιζω*, see § 713 p. 247. O.H.G. *swizzu* 'I sweat' (pret. *swizta*): Skr. *svid-ya-ti* 'sweats': the suffix *-iðo-* is perhaps seen in Gr. *ῥιδ-ιω* (§ 713 p. 247). Goth. *skap-ja* 'I hurt' (pret. *skōþ*), cp. Gr. *ἀ-σκηθής* 'unscathed', § 720 p. 251. O.H.G. *ita-ruch(i)u* 'rumino': Lith. *rūg-iu* 'I gulp, belch'. O.H.G. *scutt(i)u* 'I shake, shatter' (pret. *scutta*): cp. Lat. *quat-iō -cutiō*.

Goth. *siu-ja* 'I sew': Gr. *κασσῶ* etc., O.Icel. *spý* 'I spew' (pret. *spjó* and *spūða*): Gr. *πρῶ* etc. See § 707 p. 236. Goth. *da-ddja* 'I give suck': Skr. *dh'i-ya-ti* etc., see § 707 p. 237.

§ 723. We are often in doubt whether forms belong to (A) or (B). Goth. *haf-ja* O.H.G. *heff(i)u* 'I lift up' (pret. *hōf, huob*): Lat. *cap-iō*. O.H.G. *int-seff(i)u* 'I mark' (pret. *-suab*): Lat. *sap-iō*. Goth. *ar-ja* O.H.G. *er-iu* 'I plough' (pret. O.H.G. *iar ier*): Mid.Ir. *airim* Lith. *ar-iù* O.C.Sl. *or-ja* 'I plough'. O.H.G. *swer-iu* 'I swear' (pret. *swuor*).

In quite a large number of the above named verbs with weak preterites it is doubtful whether the original ending of the present ought not rather to be assumed as *-éiō* (Class XXXII). Thus, for example, Goth. *hulja* may be derived from **kʰl-éið*, with the same weak root-syllable as is found in Skr. *turáya-ti* and elsewhere (§ 790).

§ 724. Balto-Slavonic. We first deal with forms of which the type is seen in Lith. *lėž-iù lėž-ia-me* O.C.Sl. *bor-ja bor-je-mū*. Next, the type Lith. *smird-žiù smird-i-me* O.C.Sl. *smr̥žda smr̥d-i-mū* (see § 702 pp. 230 f.). These are combined with a different formation in the infinitive stem, for which reason we add the infinitive in each case.

§ 725. 1. Forms with *-io-* *-ie-* running right though.

Type A. Lith. *už-veriu* 'I close, shut' (*-ver-ti*): Lat. *op-(o)eriō*, see § 706 p. 233. *ger-iù* 'I drink' (*gér-ti*). *kelù* (**kel-iù*) 'I lift, raise' (*kél-ti*). *želù* (**žel-iù*) 'I grow green' (*žél-ti*). O.C.Sl. *mel-ja* 'I grind' (*mlēti* for **mel-ti*). *stel-ja* 'I stretch out, spread' (*stīla-ti*). *sten-ja* 'I sigh' (*stena-ti*): Gr. *στένω*, see § 706 p. 233. *vem-iù* 'I vomit' (*vēm-ti*).

Lith. *pláu-ju* 'I wash, lave, rinse' (*pláu-ti*), O.C.Sl. *plu-ja* 'I swim, sail on board ship' (*plu-ti*, parallel *plovā plu-ti*), ground-form **pley-iō*. Lett. *áu-ju* (*áu-t*) O.C.Sl. (*ob-ju-ja* (*-u-ti*) 'put on covering to the feet' (Lith. *aunù* instead of older **au-ju*), ground-form **ey-iō*, cp. Lith. intrans. *av-iù av-ē-ti* § 727. Lith. *száu-ja* 'I shoot' (*száu-ti*), O.C.Sl. *su-ja* 'I throw, sling' (*sov-a-ti*), ground-form **skeu-iō*.

Lett. *lēi-ju* (*lī-t*) Lith. *lē-ju* (*lē-ti*) 'I pour' for **lei-iō*, compare perhaps with O.C.Sl. *li-ja* 'I pour'. Lett. *slēi-ju* (*slī-t*) Lith. *szlē-jù* (*szlē-ti*) 'I lean against, support', cp. Lith. *szlei-vi-s szlei-va-s* 'bandy-legged', ✓ *klei-*. Lett. *smēi-ju* 'I laugh' (*smī-t*), ✓ *smei-*. Lith. *lē-ju szlē-jù*, possibly for the regular **lei-ju *szlei-ju* by analogy of *lē-ti lē-tu* etc., cp. I § 68 Rem. 2 p. 61.) O.C.Sl. *li-ja* may be placed under Type B (§ 726) along with Lith. *ly-jù* 'I rain' *pa-szly-ju* 'stumble'. Parallel are *līja* and *lēja*, also *smēj-a sē* 'I laugh' *zēj-a* 'hio'. These latter forms, analysed as *lēj-a smēj-a zēj-a*, belong with *sēk-a* 'I hew, cut' to Class II A (cp. Gr. *μῆδομαι* etc. § 514 p. 81), and

1) Unsatisfactory as this hypothesis seems, I think it better than the one set forth by Hirt in *Idg. Forsch.* 1 33 ff.

we must connect with them the Lettic preterites *lēj-u smēj-u slēj-u*.¹⁾

Lith. *vercziù* 'I turn' (*veřs-ti*). *verk-iù* 'I cry' (*veřk-ti*). *szelp-iù* 'I help, support' (*szel̥p-ti*). *sreb-iù* 'I sip, lap' *srēp-ti*; also *srēb-iù* (by levelling with *srēbiau srēpti*) and *srob-iù* (*srōp-ti*). O.C.Sl. *črēplja* 'I make, create' for **kerp-ja* (*črēpa-ti*). *plēžq* 'I crawl' for **pelz-ja* (*plēza-ti*).

Lith. *blend-žiū-s* 'I grow dark', said of the sun (pret. *blendžiau-s*).

Lith. *lauk-iu* 'I wait for, expect' (*lauk-ti*): Gr. *λείσσω*, see § 706 p. 234. *rauk-iù* 'I wrinkle' *rau̯k-ti* ✓ *reyq*, cp. Gr. *ὀρώσσω* (B) § 713 p. 247. *mauk-iù* 'I rub smooth' (*mau̯k-ti*) ✓ *meyq*, cp. Skr. *muc-yá-tē* etc., see § 713 p. 247. *praus-iù* 'I wash my face' (*praūs-ti*), cp. Skr. *vi-pruṣya-ti* 'spurts out, trickles'.

Lith. *lėž-iù* (*lėsz-ti*) O.C.Sl. *ližq* (*liza-ti*) 'I lick', ground-form **leiğh-iō*, cp. Skr. par. *lih-ya-tē*, (B). Lith. *pėsz-iu* (*pėsz-ti*) O.C.Sl. *pišq* (*pīsa-ti pīsa-ti*) 'I write', ground-form **peṣk-iō*, cp. Skr. *piś-yá-tē* 'is made ready, fitted up', (B). Lith. *žėd-žiu* 'I form, shape' (*žėsti*), O.C.Sl. *ziždq* 'I form, build' (*zīda-ti*).

Lett. *dedfu* 'I burn' trans. for **deg-iu* (*deg-t*): Skr. *dah-ya-ti*, pass. *dah-yá-tē*, ✓ *dhegh*-. O.C.Sl. *češq* 'I strip off, comb' (*česa-ti*), ✓ *ges*-.

Lith. *rėž-iu* 'I cut, tear' (*rėsz-ti*), O.C.Sl. *rěžq* 'I cut' (*rěza-ti*). Lith. *jėg-iù* 'I have power, I can' (*jėk-ti*), beside Gr. *ἔβην*. Lith. *ū'd-žiu* 'I smell' (*ū'sti*), cp. Gr. *ὄζω* § 713 p. 247. O.C.Sl. *plačq* 'I cry, lament' (*plaka-ti*): Gr. *πλήσσω*, see § 706 p. 234. Lith. *krok-iù* *krog-iù* 'I give the death rattle, grunt' (*krōk-ti*): Gr. *ροῶζω* etc., see § 706 p. 234.

Lith. *spė-ju* 'I have leisure or space' (*spė-ti*), O.C.Sl. *spě-ja* 'I succeed' (*spě-ti*): Skr. *sphā-ya-tē*, see § 706 p. 234. Lith. *sė-ju* (*sė-ti*) O.C.Sl. *sě-ja* (*sě-ti*) 'I sow': Goth. *saiā*, see § 706 p. 234. Lett. *dė-ju* 'I lay eggs' (*dė-t*), O.C.Sl. *dě-ja* 'I lay,

1) Zubatý's derivation of *zējā* from **ziā-ia* (Lith. *zió-ju*) is wild in the extreme (Archiv slav. Phil. XIII 623).

set, place' (*dē-ti*): Skr. 3rd sing. mid. *a-dhā-ya-ta* 'he placed for himself'. Lith. *stó-jũ-s* 'I place myself, take my stand' (*stó-ti-s*), O.C.Sl. *sta-jā* 'I place myself' (inf. *sta-ja-ti*): Avest. *a-stā-yā* etc., see § 706 p. 234.

Lith. *spiaũ-ju* (*spiaũ-ti*) O.C.Sl. *plju-jā* (*pljŭva-ti*) 'I vomit', cp. Gr. *πρῶω* etc., (*B*); see § 707 p. 236. O.C.Sl. *žu-jā* 'I chew', a bye-form of *živ-a*, Class II *B*, § 534 p. 95.

§ 726. Type *B*. Lith. *dir-iũ* 'I flay' (*dir-ti*): Skr. *dīr-ya-tē*, see § 707 p. 235. *spir-iũ* 'I kick' (*spir-ti*): Gr. *σπαίρω*, see *ibid.* *skir-iũ* 'I part, cut' (*skīr-ti*) ✓ *squer-*. *gir-iũ* 'I praise' (*gīr-ti*), beside *gēr-as* 'good'. Lith. *bar-iũ* 'I scold' beside *bar-ũ* (*bār-ti*), O.C.Sl. *bor-jā* 'I fight' (*brati* for **bor-ti*), ground-form **bhṛ-īō*: O.Icel. *ber* 'I strike' (inf. *berja*) for pr. Germ. **bar-īō*, which probably comes from a form **bhṛ-īō*; on the other hand, we have Lat. *fer-īō* following type *A* (§ 716 p. 249). Lith. *skilũ* (**skil-iũ*) 'I strike fire, kindle' (*skil-ti*): Gr. *καίλλω*, see § 707 p. 235. Lith. *kalũ* (**kal-iũ*) 'I strike, forge' beside *kal-ũ* (*kāl-ti*), O.C.Sl. *kol-jā* 'I slaughter' (*klati* for **kol-ti*), ground-form **qī-īō*.

O.C.Sl. *žin-jā* 'I cut off, reap' (*žē-ti*): Skr. *han-yā-tē*, see § 707 p. 235.

O.C.Sl. *ry-jā* 'I grub up, dig' (*ry-ti*) beside *rŭv-a* 'I tear out', Class II *B*, O.H.G. *riu-ti* 'land made fruitful by digging'; Lith. *ráu-ju* 'I pull out of the earth, pull up' (*ráu-ti*), (*A*). Lith. *ly-jũ* 'I rain' (*lŷ-ti*) with which O.C.Sl. *li-jā* is perhaps connected; parallel Lith. *lė-ju*, (*A*), § 725 p. 254. Lith. *gy-jũ* 'I get well, revive' (*gŷ-ti*).

Lith. *rũg-iu* 'I gulp, belch' (*rũk-ti*): O.H.G. *ita-ruch(i)u* 'rumino'. *grũd-žiu* 'I stamp' (*grũs-ti*). O.C.Sl. *sũšq* 'I dry' for **such-īq* (*sũcha-ti*): Skr. *śũṣ-ya-ti*, see § 707 p. 236. *lũžq* 'I lie' for **lũg-īq* (*lũga-ti*). *pĩšq* 'I strike, rub' (*pĩcha-ti*): Skr. *piṣ-ya-tē* 'is broken or crushed to bits'.

Lett. *schu-ju* for **sju-iu* (pret. *schuw-u* inf. *schũ-t*), O.C.Sl. *šija* for **sij-īq* (*ši-ti*) 'I sew': Gr. *ᾠασσῶ* etc., see § 707 p. 236.

§ 727. (2) Forms with *-jo-* : *-ĭ-*. There is no evidence that *-jo-* was originally dissyllabic. This cannot be inferred from the Lithuanian *av-iù srav-iù* (1st pl. *āv-i-me srāv-i-me*) as contrasted with *pláu-ju* (1st pl. *pláu-ja-me*); these may have been influenced by persons with the stem *av-i- srav-i-*. The weak grade is regularly *-ĭ-* in Lithuanian (compare future with *-s-i-*, § 761) and in Slavonic regularly *-ī-*. It appears also in the 3rd plural and the participle, Lith. *smirdint-* O.C.Sl. *smrĭdet-*, while here the original form was most likely *-jo-*; on O.C.Sl. *smrĭd-ēt-* for *-int-*, see § 637 Rem. p. 176.

Idg. **bhū-ijo-* **bhū-ĭ-* from $\sqrt{bhe\eta}$ 'become, be' (§ 707 p. 235) has many descendants in Balto-Slavonic. Lith. 3rd sing. *bi-ti bi-t* 'erat' (erant)', which is irregular in having a primary personal ending; plural 1st pers. *sùktum-bime* 2nd *-bite* dual 1st *-biva* 2nd *-bita*, old injunctives, first used with preterite meaning, now in clauses expressing a wish.¹⁾ With the pr. Lith. present **bijù* is closely parallel the Lettic preterite *biju* 'eram' *biji bija* pl. *bijām bijāt*, which is related to Lat. *fīam* (instead of **fiam*) as Lith. *buvaũ* to Lat. *fuam*. Along with these goes the Slavonic conditional (impossible condition), originally a preterite injunctive formation, made up with *bi-mĭ* *bi bi bi-mü*;²⁾ the 1st sing. has got a primary personal ending, like Lith. 3rd sing. *biti*. For the 2nd pl. they used *biste*, a form of the *s*-aorist; to fill up gaps, the 1st pl. *bichomü* and 3rd pl. *bišę* were coined by analogy (cp. O.C.Sl. *běchomü* from *bě* § 587 p. 128, and Lat. *fītum* Gr. *φῖτο*). For 3rd pl. was used *bq* (beside *bišę*), also injunctive in origin, Class II *B* (§ 523 p. 87).

Remark. The view of these forms set forth by Wiedemann, Lit. Prät. 136 ff., is untenable. O.C.Sl. *bi-mü* cannot be separated from Lith. *-bi-me*; and to regard this Lith. form as an optative with orig. *-i-* is

1) The 2nd sing. *-bei* admits of several explanations. It probably is akin to O.C.Sl. 2nd and 3rd sing. *bě* Gr. *ἰφύη-ς ἰφύη* (§ 587 pp. 127 ff.).

2) In the same way were used the aorist forms *bychü* *by by* *bychomü* etc.

Brugmann, Elements. IV.

opposed to phonetic law as completely as the assumption that Lith. *dū sim(e)* 'dabimus' is optative of the *s-* aorist (cp. § 761).

With the remaining Balto-Slavonic verbs of this class we find regularly an infinitive stem in *-ē*, as Lith. *smirdē-ti* O.C.Sl. *smrīdē-ti* beside *smīrdžiu smrīždq* (cp. O.C.Sl. *bē bēchū bēachū* beside *bi-mū*, like *smrīdē smrīdēchū smrīdēachū* beside *smrīdi-mū*). This, as we saw in § 708 pp. 238 ff., has a parallel in Greek; for instance, *μαίνομαι: ξιάνην μεμαρηνός μεμαρηναι μαρίδουαι* = O.C.Sl. *mānjā: mīnē mīnēvū mīnēchū* (Lith. *mīnē minēsiu*). In Italic and Germanic, there are only some parallel *īo*-presents, as Lat. *nōlī* O.H.G. *willu* Goth. *viljan*: O.C.Sl. *veljā*; O.Sax. pl. *libbiad* partic. *libbiandi*: O.C.Sl. *-līpljā*. Here we usually find presents in *ē*, as Lat. *valeō*: Lith. *galū*, O.H.G. *lebēm*: O.C.Sl. *-līpljā*.

Lith. *tylū* (i. e. **tyl-īū*) *tylē-ti* 'to be still' (long *ī*-sound not original): O.H.G. *dolē-m* 'I suffer, endure', ✓ *tel-* 'carry, bear'. O.C.Sl. *mānjā mīnē-ti* 'to think': Skr. *mān-ya-tē*, Gr. *μαίνομαι*, O.Ir. *do muiniur* Goth. *muna* 'I bethink me, think of, wish' 2nd sing. *munáis*, see § 707 p. 235. Lith. *girdžiū girdē-ti* 'I apprehend, hear': Gr. *φράζω*, see § 707 p. 236. O.C.Sl. *drīžā drīža-ti* 'contain, possess': Skr. *dṛh-ya-ti* 'makes fast'. O.C.Sl. *-līpljā -līpē-ti* 'to cling to': Skr. pass. *lip-ya-tē* 'is smeared or anointed', O.Sax. *libbiu* O.H.G. *lebē-m* 'I live' (the O.Icel. *lifa* 'to be over, remain, live' helps to make clear how one meaning came out of the other). Lith. *pa-výdžiu -vydēti* 'invidere' O.C.Sl. *viždq vidē-ti* 'to see': Skr. *vid-yā-tē* 'is known, recognised, found', Lat. *videō*, Goth. *vīta* 'to look at a thing, observe' 2nd sing. *vītái-s*. O.C.Sl. *būžda būdē-ti* 'to wake, watch': Skr. *būdḥ-ya-tē* 'awakes, perceives' pass. *budh-yā-tē*. O.C.Sl. *rūždq rūdē-ti* 'to blush': Lat. *rubeō*. O.C.Sl. *kypļjā kypē-ti* 'to boil, seethe': Skr. *kup-ya-ti*, Lat. *cupiō*, see § 707 p. 236. O.C.Sl. *stojā stoja-ti* 'to stand': Skr. pass. *sthī-ya-tē* instead of **stha-ya-tē*, O.H.G. 2nd sing. *stēs* for **sta-īi-zi*, see § 706 p. 234, § 708 p. 240.

O.C.Sl. *govļjā govē-ti* 'venerari, vereri', pres. also *govēja:*

Lat. *faveō*. Lith. *galù* (i. e. **gal-ju*) *galē-ti* 'to be able': Lat. *valeō* (otherwise Bezzenberger, in his Beitr. xvi 256).

O.C.Sl. *veljā velē-ti* 'to command': Lat. *nōlī*, O.H.G. *willu* 'I wish' Goth. *viljan* 'to wish', see § 505 p. 69, § 716 p. 249. Lith. *aviù avē-ti* 'to be shod': Umbr. *an-ovihimu* √*ey-*, see § 716 p. 249.

Lastly it should be mentioned that in Balto-Slavonic the non-present *ē*-forms are found along with other than *jo*-present stems: e. g. Lith. *menù minēti* 'to think of', *gēlbu gēlbēti* 'to help', *gedù gedēti* 'to lament, mourn', *bundù budēti* 'to watch', *sēdmi sēdēti* 'to sit', O.C.Sl. part. pres. *gorat-* beside *gorēt-* 'burning' from inf. *gorēti*, partic. *vidomŭ* 'ὁρώμενος' beside *vidimŭ* from inf. *vidēti*. The same thing is seen in Greek, as ἐθέλω : ἐθέλησω, νέμω : νενέμημαι etc. (Curt. Verb. I² 384 ff.), and doubtless in Germanic, as Goth. *haba habam haband* may well belong to Class II (§ 708 pp. 239 f.).

Class XXVII.

Reduplicated Root + *-jo-* *-iṣjo-* forming the Present Stem.

§ 728. (A). Pr. Idg. There was a *jo*-Class with complete reduplication, closely connected with Classes VII and VIII. As regards the type of the reduplicating syllable see §§ 465—467, 470, and 474. Compare, for instance, Skr. *dē-diṣ-yá-tē* beside *dē-diṣ-ṭe*, *varī-vṛt-yá-tē* beside *vārī-vart-ti*. Probably the mode of conjugation with *-jo-* was occasioned by that of Class VII; cp. § 703 pp. 231 f.

Skr. *vē-vij-yá-tē* 'makes for, rushes against anything' and Gr. ἄρτω Hom. ἄισσω 'I rush towards' for **Fal-Fix-ḡu*, apparently from √*uaxig-* *uaxig-* (§ 465 p. 12).

§ 729. Aryan. Only a few examples in Vedic, but later this type of Intensive spread very widely. *car-cūr-yá-tē* from *car-* 'to move'. *nan-nam-yá-tē* from *nam-* 'to bow, incline'.

nē-nī-yá-tē from *nī-* 'to lead'. *cō-ṣkū-yá-tē* from *sku-* 'to cover'. *mar-mṛj-yá-tē* *marī-mṛj-ya-tē* from *marj-* 'to sweep off, wipe away'. *kani-krad-yá-tē* from *krand-* 'to roar'. *vē-viṣ-ya-tē* from *viṣ-* 'to be active'. *nō-nud-ya-tē* from *nud-* 'to knock away'. *cā-kaś-ya-tē* from *kaś-* 'to appear'. In Avestic there seems to be only one example, *rā-riṣ-yē-iti* 'hurts, wounds', cp. Skr. *riṣ-ya-ti* 'injures'.

§ 730. Greek. *ῥιττω* for **φα-fix-χω*; see § 728 p. 259. *γαρ-γαίρω* (for **-γαρ-χω*) 'I swarm'; *μαρ-μαίρω* 'I shimmer, glitter'. With *πορ-φύρω* 'I well up, heave, change colour' *μορ-μόρω* 'I roar, murmur' cp. *πύρω* § 713 p. 247. *παμ-φαίνω* (✓ *bha-*) shows a nasal suffix like *φαίνω* for **φα-ν-χω*; parallel Hom. *παμφανόωσα*. On *παι-φάσσω*, *παι-πάλλω*, *ποι-φύσσω* and the like, see § 465 Rem. p. 12.

§ 731. Italic. Lat. *tin-tinnio* (t) beside *tinniō*. *gin-griō* (t) beside *garriō* (cp. § 466 p. 13).

Of Keltic forms may be placed here the isolated Mid.Ir. *der-drethar* 'sounds, cries out' with the *s*-preterite *derdrestar* (§ 465 p. 12).

§ 732. Slavonic. O.C.Sl. *glagoljā* 'I speak' for **gol-gol-jā*, 2nd sing. *-je-ši* etc. (*glagola-ti*), with the same reduplication as *glagolū* 'word'. *mŕŭ-mŕ-jā* 'I gnaw', 2nd sing. *-je-ši* etc. (*mŕŭ-mŕa-ti*).

§ 733. (B) It is rare in the Idg. languages to find the *io*-suffix with presents reduplicated in any other way; and in no language has this class become a large one. All the examples appear to be new formations. Skr. pass. *dad-yá-tē* 'datur' (beside *dā-yá-tē*) by analogy of *dādā-mi* *dad-mās*, cp. partic. *dat-tu-s*, § 541 p. 102. Skr. pass. *nind-ya-tē* 'is scolded or blamed', if *nindu-ti* is to be analysed **ni-nd-e-ti*, see § 550 p. 106. Avest. *yaēš-yē-iti* 'seethes, boils', which looks like a contamination of Skr. *yēṣa-ti* i. e. **ṣa-ṣṣ-ati* (§ 562 p. 110) and *yás-ya-ti*. Gr. Att. *δεῖδιτρομαι* Hom. *δεῖδιόσομαι* i. e. *δεῖδιόσομαι* 'I frighten, or am frightened' for **δε-δfix-χο-μαι*, beside

ῥί-δοικα (cp. Johansson, Beitr. gr. Spr., 80 f.). *νίσομαι* 'I go back, return' for **νι-νσ-ιο-μαι* from $\sqrt{\text{nes-}}$ seems to presuppose **ni-nes-mi*, which is represented by the Skr. 3rd pl. mid. *nīṣ-atē* (§ 539 p. 99). *λilαίομαι* 'I desire, long for' for **λι-λασ-ιο-μαι*, cp. Skr. *laṣati* for **la-lṣa-ti* § 562 p. 110. *τιταίρω* 'I put to, yoke' ground-form **ti-ty-īō*, cp. Lat. *tendō*, if this is for **te-tn-ō* (§ 564 p. 111). O.Ir. *-airissiur* 'I remain standing' for *(*pari*)-*sistiō(r)* (I § 109 e p. 103, § 516 p. 377), beside Gr. *ἵστημι* Skr. *tī-ṣṭh-a-ti* Lat. *si-st-ō* § 539 p. 100. O.C.Sl. *deždaq* 'I lay' for **de-d-īq* 2nd sing. *deždeši* etc. (inf. *dě-ti*) beside Lith. *dē(d)-mi* *ded-ū* § 546 pp. 103 f.

A peculiar reduplication is shown by certain Greek verbs. *παφλάζω* 'I bubble' beside *φλέδων* 'gossip', *καχλάζω* 'I gurgle', *βαβράζω* 'I chirp'. They are Intensives or Iteratives to the verbs named in § 730.

Class XXVIII.

Root + *-ā-*, *-ē-*, *-ō-*, + *-īō-* forming the
Present Stem.

§ 734. The forms now to be noticed are closely connected with Classes X and XI (§§ 578 ff.), under which heads much has already been said of the *īō*-stems.

I believe that the original accentuation of this class is preserved in those Sanskrit verbs which have dissyllabic stems before *-ya-*, such as *grbhā-yā-ti*, and by Sanskrit passives like *trā-yā-tē* (§ 703 p. 232). *trā-ya-tē* has followed the lead of *pāc-ya-tē* etc., and *trā-yā-tē* : *trā-ya-tē* = *ric-yā-tē* : *ric-ya-tē* (§ 710 p. 245).

§ 735. Unreduplicated Forms.

Pr. Idg. **trā-īō-*: Skr. *trā-ya-tē* 'protects, saves' pass. *trā-yā-tē*, Lat. *in-trō* for **-trā-īō*, with which is doubtless connected O.C.Sl. *tra-jā* 'I last, endure' (inf. *traja-ti*). Skr. *sn-ā-ya-tē* 'bathes himself', Lat. *nō* for **sn-ā-īō*. Lat. *hiō* for

**hiā-īō*, Lith. *žiō-ju* 'I open my mouth' (inf. *žiō-ti*), cp. Lat. *hī-scō* O.H.G. *gi-nō-m* *gei-nō-m* 'I gape'. Compare § 579. Lat. *arō* for **arā-īō*, Gr. *ἀράω* 'I plough' pr. Gr. **ἀρᾱ-(ι)ω* (§ 583 p. 124, § 775). With these primary verbs should be classed several very wide-spread onomatopoetic or imitative verbs, as Gr. *ὤλᾱω -ō* 'I roar' Lith. *ulō-ju* 'I call, shout for joy, cheer' (also reduplicated *ululō-ju* = Lat. *ululō*): Gr. *ὀγκάζομαι -ōμαι* 'I bray, hee-haw' Lat. *uncō*; Gr. *μυγάζομαι -ōμαι* 'mugio' Umbr. *mugatu* 'mugito, muttito'.

**sn-ē-īo-*: Gr. *νῆ* 'spins' for **σνῆ-κει* (Mekler, Beitr. zur Bild. des gr. Verb., p. 18), Lat. *neō*, O.H.G. *nāu* 'I sew'. **gn-ē-īo-* **gn-ō-īo-*: Skr. pass. *jñayā-tē* 'noscitur' (-ē- or -ō-^p), O.H.G. *knāu* 'I know' (-ē-, but cp. p. 128 footnote), O.C.Sl. *zna-jā* 'I know' (-ō-, inf. *zna-ti*). Lat. *fl-eō*, O.H.G. *blāu* 'I blow' pr. Germ. **bl-ē-īō*, perhaps too O.C.Sl. *bl-ē-jā* 'I bleat' (inf. *blēja-ti*). Skr. *v-ā-ya-ti* 'blows', Goth. *v-aia* O.H.G. *w-au* 'I blow', O.C.Sl. *v-ē-jā* 'I blow' (inf. *vēja-ti*). Lat. *taceō* for **tac-ē-īō*, Goth. *pahdīp* for **pahē-īi-đi*. Lat. *fav-eō*, O.C.Sl. *gov-ēja* 'veneror, vereor' (§ 590 p. 132). Compare §§ 587, 708.

§ 736. Aryan. Skr. *tr-ā-ya-tē* 'protects' pass. *trā-yā-tē*, Avest. *ḫrā-ye-iti* 'protects': Lat. *-trō*, see § 735. Skr. *śr-ā-ya-ti* 'boils, cooks', cp. Gr. *σί-ροῦ-ται*. Pass. *mn-ā-ya-tē* 'commemoratur', cp. Gr. Dor. *μέ-μνᾱ-ται*. Pass. *ml-ā-ya-ti* 'grows soft', cp. Gr. Dor. *βλ-ᾱ-ξ*. *py-ā-ya-tē* 'swells' beside *páy-a-tē* *pī-páy-a* *pī-py-ā-ná-s*. *y-ā-ya-tē* pass. 'itur', cp. Goth. *jē-r* and Lith. *jó-ju*. *khy-ā-ya-tē* pass. 'is seen', cp. aor. *á-khy-a-t*. *śy-ā-ya-ti* 'curdles, congeals', cp. part. *śr-tá-s*. Compare §§ 580 and 588.

Also verbs in *-ā-yā-ti* in which the root formed a complete syllable. The speaker imagined these to be parallel with *pr̥tana-yā-ti* *mana-yā-ti* and the like (§§ 617, 769) — there really was no difference in character, if we are right in identifying the verb-suffix *-ā-* with the feminine suffix — and therefore kept the old accent without changing it as in *trāya-tē*. Skr. *gr̥bhā-yā-ti* 'seizes' O.Pers. *a-garbāya-m*, Skr. *damā-yā-ti* 'over-

powers' (cp. Lat. *domāre*), Skr. *tudā-yá-ti* 'pushes', *pruṣā-yá-ti* 'spurts out'.

§ 737. Greek. **δρᾶ-λω* 'I do' *δοῶ* *δοῦναι*, beside Lith. *darau* 'I do', cp. *δρ-αίνω* § 621 p. 159. **πα-λω* 'I bring into effect, carry out' for **ῥα-ῖδ* (II § 117 p. 371): El. imper. *ἐπ-ει-πήτω*, cp. Skr. *śv-ā-* in *sq-śvāyín-* 'swelling' etc. *ἰάομαι* *ἰῶμαι* 'I heal' for **is-ā-ῖδ-*, is related to *ἰαίνω* (§ 743) as *δοῶ* to *δραίνω*. *ἀράω* 'I plough', *ἐλάω*, *ὀγκάζομαι*, *μυκάζομαι*, see § 735 p. 262.

**χρ-η-λω* 'I give an oracle' *χρῶ* *χρηῖν*, partic. *χρηῶν* Od. 8. 79. Dor. **φλ-η-λω* 'I wish, desire' (beside Lat. *vel-le*) *λῶ* *ληῖ* El. opt. *ληοίταν*; the Gort. *ληῖω* (e. g. 3rd pl. conj. *ληῖοντι*) for **ληέω* is formed like *χρηέομαι*: was this derived from *τὸ χρῆνος*, or was it a formation like Skr. causal *pyā-y-āya-ti*? (cp. § 801). **κν-η-λω* 'I rub, scratch' (cp. *κν-ύω*) *κνῶ* *κνηῖ*. **ζη-λω* 'I live' for **gi-ē-ῖδ* (✓ *geῖ-*) *ζῶ* *ζῆναι*; the forms *ἔζην* *ζῆθι* are later and follow Class X (cp. § 496 p. 56); with *-δ-*, *ζώ-ω* Gort. *δαίω* (*δαίωσι* *δαίοντι* etc.), like O.C.Sl. *znaja* beside O.H.G. *knāu* (§ 735). **ψ-η-λω* 'I grind or crush to pieces' (Skr. *ps-ā-ti* § 587 p. 128) *ψῶ* *ψηῖ*.

§ 738. Italic. In Latin only the 1st sing. pres. has the *ῖδ*-suffix, the other persons being formed after Class X. This was perhaps due in part to the early loss of the personal ending *-mi* in Italic, whence it became possible for *volō* to take its place in the same scheme as *vult*, *eō* beside *it*.

-ā-ῖδ. *in-trō* *nō* *hiō* see §§ 735, 736. *fl-ō*, pl. *fl-ā-mus*. Also *juv-ō* *lav-ō* and suchlike. See § 583 p. 124.

-ē-ῖδ. *pleō* *neō* *fleō* *vieō*, also *taceō* *scateō* *videō* *sileō* *faveō* *valeō* *habeō* etc. See §§ 587, 590, 708.

§ 739. Germanic. Monosyllabic stems in *-i-* and *-ō-* almost wholly gave up the unthematic inflexion, and took that with *-ῖδ-* (§ 592 p. 133). O.H.G. *nāu* 'I sew' *knāu* 'I know' Goth. *vaiā* O.H.G. *wāu* 'I blow', see § 735. O.H.G. *drāu* 'I turn, twist', **tr-ē-* from ✓ *ter-*, cp. Gr. *τρ-ῆ-μα* 'hole' *τρέφ-ε-τρο-ν* 'borer'. There may be Idg. *-ō-ῖδ*

in O.H.G. *bluoīu bluoīcu* O.Sax. *blōiu* 'I bloom', cp. Lat. *fl-ō-s* (gen. *fl-ō-r-is*); it must remain uncertain whether we have *-ō-īō* or *-ā-īō* as the ending in O.H.G. *gluoīu gluoīcu* 'I glow' (✓ *ghel-*).

Dissyllabic stems in *-ē-* and *-ā-* have both non-thematic and *īo*-flexion.

Dissyllabic *ē*-stems in Gothic show *īo*-flexion in forms containing *ái*, such as *þaháis þaháiþ* (the 1st sing. is *þaha* 'I am silent') for **-ē-īi-zi -ē-īi-ði*: Lat. *taceō*. Compare also Goth. *vitáiþ* 'looks at, regards': Lat. *videō*, *siláiþ* 'is silent': Lat. *sileō*; *habáiþ* 'has': Lat. *habeō*. Compare § 592 p. 133, § 708 pp. 238 ff. On the spread of this *ē*-flexion to nasal present stems, see § 605 pp. 146 f., § 623 p. 160; on the formation of *ē*-verbs from nouns, § 781.3.

Dissyllabic *a*-stems were inflected just like the later stratum of *a*-denominatives (as Goth. *fairinōn* from *fuirina*). The *īo*-extension is clearly seen only in Anglo-Frisian, as A.S. 1st sing. *-ie* pl. *-iað* for pr. Germ. *-ō-īa-* see § 781.1. Examples of "primary" verbs are: Goth. *mitō* 'I mete, measure' O.H.G. *mezzōm* 'I moderate', Goth. *bi-láigō* 'I lick all over' (cp. Lith. *laižau* 'I lick' inf. *laižý-ti*), O.H.G. *fehōm* 'I adorn' O.H.G. *mahhōm* 'I make'. Compare § 579 p. 121, § 585 p. 126.

§ 740. Balto-Slavonic.

-a-īo- Lith. *žió-ju* O.C.Sl. *tra-ja* see § 735. Lith. *jó-ju* 'I ride' (*jó-ti*), see § 587 p. 128. Probably also Lith. *gró-ju* (*gró-ti*) O.C.Sl. *gra-ja* (*graja-ti*) 'I croak', Lith. *kló-ju* 'spread out' (*kló-ti*), and others. Some of the Lithuanian "Iteratives" are in place here, as *lindo-ju* beside *lindau* 'I put in' (*lindo-ti*), *rýmo-ju* beside *rýmau* 'I sit supported on something' (*rýmo-ti*), *svyró-yu* 'I move to and fro' (*svyró-ti*), etc. So in O.C.Sl., Iteratives such as *sūn-ědaja* 'comedo' (*-ěda-ti*), *raz-vrīzaja* 'I open' (*-vrīza-ti*), *sū-biraja* 'I gather' (*-bira-ti*). Compare §§ 586, 783.

-ē-īo- O.C.Sl. *blē-ja vē-ja* see § 735. *grē-ja* 'I warm'

(*grēja-ti*). *gové-ja* 'veneror, vereor' (*gové-ti*): Lat. *faveō*, see § 735. Lithuanian "Diminutives" (Iteratives), as *byrė-ju* 'I scatter a little' or 'I am a little scattered' (*byrė-ti*), *kylė-ju* 'I lift a little' (*kylė-ti*), *lukė-ju* 'I wait a little' (*lukė-ti*). Compare §§ 593, 784.

-*ō-jo-* possibly in O.C.Sl. *zna-ja*, § 735, and perhaps in a few, none can say which, of O.C.Sl. verbs in -*a-ja* (Idg. -*ā*- and -*ō-* ran together in Slavonic).

§ 741. Reduplicated Forms.

The Reduplicated forms with *a*-suffix mentioned in § 595 have some of them the *jo*-extension. Lat. 1st sing. *ululō*, Lith. *ululō-ju* 'I call, shout for joy' (cp. *ulō-ju* Gr. *ὕλαω* § 735 p. 262). Lat. 1st sing. *murmurō*, cp. O.H.G. *murmurōm murmulōm*. Lat. 1st sing. *tintinnō tintinō* beside *tintinn-iō* (Class XXVII).

A later Greek form is *κίγ-κρά̃ · κίρα̃* (Hesych.) beside *κίγ-κρά̃-μι*, see §, 594 p. 135.

O.H.G. *rērēm* A.S. *rārie*, connected with Lith. *rė-ju rė-ti* 'I cry out loud', comes from a pr. Germ. **rai-rē-jo*, see § 708 p. 240. *ē* in *rē-* was a suffix, as may be seen from Lett. *rā-ju* 'I scold' and other words (Per Persson, Wurzelw. pp. 91, 196).

Class XXIX.

Nasal Stems + -*jo-* for the Present Stem.

§ 742. The formations here to be treated are connected with Classes XII to XVIII, and fall into three groups: those connected with (A) Classes XII to XIV, (B) Classes XV and XVI, and (C) Classes XVII and XVIII.

§ 743. (A) -*n-jo-* is fairly common only in Greek. Lesb. *κλίνω* Hom. Att. *κλίνω* 'I bend' for **κλιν-χ-ω*, beside O.Sax. *hlīnō-n* etc. *κρίνω* 'I separate, choose out, distinguish' for **κρι-ν-ω*. *στίνομαι* 'I plunder' for **σι-ν-χσ-μαι*. *ὁ-τρύνω*

'I urge on' for **ó-ρν-ν-λω*. *φαίνω* 'I show, make visible' for **γ-α-ν-λω*, beside Armen. *ba-na-m* 'I open' (**bha-na-mi*), *√bha-χαίνω* 'I gape' for **χα-ν-λω*. See § 601 p. 144, § 611 p. 150. Lat. *li-n-iō* (*li-n-i-mus*) beside *li-nō*, Skr. *vi-līnāmi* 'I dissolve, disintegrate' (intr.), see § 598 p. 142. O.Ir. *ara-chri-nim* 'difficiscor, I go to pieces' beside Skr. *śṛ-ṇá-ti*, see § 604 p. 146. O.H.G. *spennu* (= Goth. **spanja*) 'I attract, charm' beside *spa-nu* i. e. **spə-nō* *√spē-*, see § 614 p. 152.

-*γ-ιο-* was used even in pr. Idg., and is especially common in Sanskrit and Greek. Idg. **is-γ-ιō*: Skr. *iṣ-an-yá-ti* 'sets in motion, excites' Gr. *ιαίνω* 'I quicken' beside Skr. *iṣ-ṇa-t*, Skr. *tur-an-yá-ti* 'hastens', *bhur-an-yá-ti* 'is brisk'. Gr. *αἰαίνω* 'I make dry' beside Lith. *saũs-inu*, *ὀλισθαίνω* 'I slip' beside *ὀλισθαίω*, *τερσ-αίνω* 'I make dry, κναινών' *ἐγκνός ὄν*, *ἐκ-γλ-αίνω* 'I bubble or gush out', *δο-αίνω* 'I do', *κρ-αίνω* 'I complete', *ἔ-αίνω* 'I scratch' and many more; -*αινω* became a very productive suffix. Armen. -*anim*, as *mer-ani-m* 'I die', like Gr. *μαρ-αίνω*. O.H.G. *gi-wahannen* 'to recount' (pret. *gi-wuog*), A.S. *wæcnan* 'awake' (pret. *wōc*). See §§ 618—621, § 623 pp. 156 ff., § 711 p. 246.

§ 744. (B) Present Stems with "Nasal Infix" become very common in Greek and Baltic. In explanation of the examples given below see §§ 628, 629, 631, 632, 634—637, pp. 164 ff.

Gr. *πίσσω* *πρίττω* 'I bray, pound' instead of older **πτινσ-λω*, Lat. *pīns-iō* (*pīns-i-mus*), beside Skr. *pináṣ-ti á-piṣ-a-t*.

Skr. pass. *vand-ya-tē* beside *vanda-tē* 'praises, honours' compare *váda-ti ud-yá-tē*; not a very old form.

Gr. *λίζουσι* *παίζουσιν* probably for **λινδ-λω*; *σάμιπ-τω* 'I throw violently at' perhaps for **σκιμπ-λω*, beside Skr. *kṣip-*. *λύζω* 'I sob' for **λυγγ-λω*, cp. *λύγξ* *λυγγάνομαι* *λυγκαίνω*, *√s'a^ug-siā^ug-*. *πλάζω* 'I strike, knock away' for **πλαγγ-λω*. *κλάζω* 'I shout, cry' for **κλαγγ-λω*.

Lat. *vinc-iō* (i) beside Skr. *vi-vyak-ti* 'embraces, surrounds' 3rd dual *vi-vik-tás*. *sunc-iō* (i) beside *sacer*.

Lett. *mī/chu* 'mingo' for **minz-iu*. Lith. *jūng-iu* 'I yoke, put to'. *skūnd-žiū* 'I weep, bewail myself' beside *pra-skundū* (pret. *-skudaũ*) 'I begin to smart'. *sunk-iū* 'I strain, filter, let something run through' beside Lett. *swak-s* 'resin'. Lett. *kamp-ju* 'I grasp, grip' beside Lat. *cap-iō*. Lith. *lenk-iū* 'I bend' ✓ *leg-*. *stėng-iu* 'I put my strength to' beside Gr. *στίβω*. O.C.Sl. *žęžďa* 'I covet' (inf. *žę-da-ti*) beside Lith. *geid-žiū*. *glęžďa* 'I look' (*ględē-ti*) beside O.H.G. *glīzu*. *ob-ręštą* 'I find' (*-rešti*).

§ 745. (C) Rare forms, undoubtedly late, are all that meet us in this section. O.C.Sl. *mi-nu-ją* 'I go over' beside *mi-na*, see § 649 p. 185.

Class XXX.

Root + *s*-Suffix + *-iō-* (the *-s-iō-* Future).

§ 746. Two groups of forms, with Present and Future meaning respectively.

(A) With Present meaning: fairly common nowhere but in Sanskrit, and for the most part clearly later extensions of the *s*-Present. As regards the examples here following, see §§ 656 and 657, pp. 190 ff.

Skr. *tras-ya-ti* beside *tr-āsa-ti* 'trembles', Lith. *tres-iū* 'I am in rut' used of bitches (inf. *tręsti*). Skr. *pluṣ-ya-tē* pass. of *plō-ṣa-ti* 'burns, siuges', Lat. *prū-r-iō* (*prūrīre*). Avest. *uxš-yē-iti* beside *vax-ša-iti* 'makes grow', Goth. *vahs-ja* 'I grow' (pret. *vōhs*).

Skr. *śliṣ-ya-ti* 'hangs on to, sticks to' pass. *śliṣ-yá-tē*, Avest. *sraeṣ-yē-iti* (same meaning) beside Skr. *śrē-ṣa-ti á-śli-ṣa-t*. Skr. *iṣ-ya-ti* Avest. *iš-yē-iti* 'sets in motion' beside Skr. *i-ṣa-tē*. Skr. *tviṣ-ya-ti* 'is excited, distracted' beside 3rd pl. *á-tvi-ṣ-ur*. *ghuṣ-ya-ti* 'cries out, announces loudly' pass. *ghuṣ-yá-tē* beside *ghō-ṣa-ti*. Pass. *rakṣ-ya-tē* beside *rák-ṣa-ti* 'guards, saves'. Pass. *gras-ya-tē* beside *gr-asa-ti* 'devours'.

Lith. *tęs-iū* 'I stretch' beside Skr. *ta-sa-ti* etc.

§ 747. (B) With Future Meaning.¹⁾ Even as early as the proethnic period *-s-īo-* (or *-as-īo-*) must have already become a simple suffix for expressing the future. This group of forms grew out of Classes XIX and XX, particularly forms with the strong-grade of root syllable; compare Skr. *tqsyá-tē* and *tq-sa-ti* (Goth. *-þin-si-þ*) *á-tq-s-mahi*, *šrōšyá-ti* (Gr. *κλε-σόμεθα* in Hesychius) and *šrō-ša-māna-s*, *vakšyá-ti* and Avest. *vax-ša-itē* (✓ *ueq-* 'speak'), *sakšya-ti* (Gr. *ἔξω*) and *sík-ša-nt-✓segh-* (§§ 657 ff.); very rarely from forms with root-syllables in a weak grade, as Avest. *būšye-iti* (pr. Ar. doubtless **bhúšja-ti*, cp. Skr. *sū-šya-nt-* § 748) Lith. *bú-siu* (Gr. *φύσω*) beside Skr. *bhū-ša-ti* (§ 659 p. 194). Sanskrit forms with *-išya-* were derived from the *iš-* aorist, compare *vēdišyá-ti* with the aorist stem *vēdiš-* in *á-vēdiš-am*.

The oldest meaning of the *siō-* future was probably that of *Wish*, which weakened to a mere future. Compare the desiderative meaning of Skr. forms like *tī-stīr-ša-tē* (§ 667 pp. 198 ff.), and the future meaning of such others as O.Ir. *no-gigius* § 668 p. 200.

1) Hadley, On the formation of Indo-European Futures, 1859, in his *Essays*, pp. 184 ff. [G. Meyer]. Th. Benfey, Über die Entstehung und die Formen des idg. Optativ (Potential) sowie über das Futurum auf sanskritisch *syāmi* u. s. w., Abhandl. d. Gött. Ges. d. Wissensch., xvi 135 ff. L. Hirzel, Zum Futurum im Idg., Kuhn's Zeitschr. xiii 215 ff. J. Schmidt, La formation des futurs dans les langues indo-germ., Revue de linguistique iii 365 ff. — Bezenberger, Conditionalformen im Avesta, in his Beitr. ii 160 f. — A. Franke, Das Futurum im Griech., ein sprachgeschichtlicher Versuch, Gött. 1861. T. H. Key, On the Formation of Greek Futures and First Aorists, Trans. Phil. Soc. 1861, pp. 1 ff. Leskien, Die Formen des Futurums und zusammengesetzten Aorists mit *σν* in den homer. Gedichten, Curtius' Stud. ii 65 ff. P. Cauer, Die dor. Futur- und Aoristbildungen der abgeleiteten Verba auf *-ζω*, Sprachwiss. Abhandl. aus G. Curtius' Gramm. Gesellsch. pp. 126 ff. J. Wackernagel Griech. *κτεροῦν*, Idg. Forsch. II 151 ff. (In the explanation of *κτεροῦν* and the similar Homeric future forms I concur with Wackernagel, see § 757 Rem. p. 277). Janson, De Graeci sermonis paulopost-futuri forma atque usu, Rastenburg 1844. — J. Schmidt, Über das Futurum im Aksl., Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. iv 239 ff.

Only in Aryan and in Balto-Slavonic is the *sjo*-future certain. In such forms as Gr. *δειξω* it cannot be proved that after *s* an *i* has been lost, and they may be regarded as conjunctives of the *s*-aorist, *δειξω* fut. being the same as *δειξω* conj. of *ἔδειξα*, and as Lat. *dixō* beside opt. *dixim*. Special attention should be given to Epic forms like imper. *οἴσσε* *οἴσσετε* beside fut. *οἴσω*, imper. *ὄψασθε* beside fut. *ὄψομαι*, which make strongly for this view (see § 833). On the other hand, I know of nothing to prevent fut. *δειξω* being derived from **δεικ-σχω* (Skr. *dekṣyāmi*). The same doubt is suggested by futures of the type of *τενέω* *τενῶ* (cp. Skr. *taniṣyāmi*), which as conj. aor. may be compared with *εἰδέω* *εἰδῶ* from *ἰδέω* (§ 836).¹ We may conjecture that in Greek the Idg. forms with *-sjo-* and the conj. aorist had run together; as, in Lithuanian, beside *dū'siame* *dū'sime* *dū'siate* *dū'site*, the future answering to Skr. *dāsyāmas* *dāsyātha*, we find used in the same way the Aorist Injunctive forms *dū'sme* *dū'ste*. Compare the Author, *M. U.* III 58 ff.; G. Meyer, *Gr. Gr.*² 473 f.; Johansson, *Deriv. Verb. Contr.* 203 ff.

Spite of this uncertainty, the Greek future may be treated here along with the Aryan and Balto-Slavonic *sjo*-future.

Remark. I know of no evidence to support Ascoli's assumption (*Sprachw. Briefe*, 65 ff.), that *-σεω* in the Doric future comes regularly from **-σχω* = Skr. *-syāmi* Lith. *-siu*.

§ 748. Pr. Idg. We have two endings to distinguish, *-sjo-* and *-esjo-* (*-esjo-*).

(A) *-sjo-*. The regular form of the root, as has been said in the preceding section, was strong grade (with *e* in the *e*-series). Thus the matter remained in Aryan; cp. *dekṣya-ti* beside pres. *diśá-ti* *diś-ya-ti*. Thus it often is in Lithuanian, as *reñ-siu* from *rem-*, *vėrsiu* from *uert-*. But in Lithuanian the form fell under the influence of the infinitive

1) It is striking that Homer uses no such form as *τενέω* *ἱλάω* parallel to *τελέω* for **τελεσ-χω*, *ἡλαιομαι* for **ἡλασ-χω-μ-αι*.

stem, and we have *lksiu* following *lkti*, instead of **leiksiu* (pres. *lěkmī*, *lěkū*), and beside *reñ-siu* (*reñ-ti*) a variant *rim-siu*, inf. *rim-ti* (pres. *rimstū*), beside *veřsiu* (*veřsti*) a variant *viřsiu*, inf. *viřsti* (pres. *virstū*). In Greek, the vocalism of the future always agrees with the *s*-aorist, and this was mostly regulated by the present: *τίρω* like *ἔτερω* from *τέρω*, *γράφω* like *ἐγραψα* from *γράφω*, *γλύφω* like *ἐγλυψα* from *γλύφω*, *ὁμολογῶ* like *ὁμολογῆα* from *ὁμολογῶ-μι*. Exceptions: *τείσω* like *ἔτεισα*, but pres. *τίνω* (for **τι-νῶ*); *μειξω* like *ἐμειξα*, but pres. *μίγ-νῶ-μι*.

✓ *rem-* 'rest': Skr. *ra-sya-tē* 'he will rest', Lith. *reñ-siu* 'I will support' (*reñ-ti*) *rim-siu* 'I will grow calm (in mind)' (*rim-ti*). ✓ *men-* 'think': Skr. *ma-sya-tē*, Lith. *mī-siu* (*mī-ti*), pres. *men-ū*. ✓ *qeī-* 'pay a penalty' etc.: Skr. *cē-śyá-ti* Gr. *τεί-σω* (*τεῖσαι*, pres. *τίνω*). ✓ *pleu-* 'swim, rinse, wash': Skr. *plō-śya-ti*, Gr. *πλεν-σο-μαι* (*πλῖσσαι*), Lith. *pláu-siu* (*pláu-ti*). ✓ *uert-* 'vertère': Skr. *vart-syá-ti*, Lith. *veřsiu* 'I shall turn' (*veřsti*) *viřsiu* 'I shall fall down' (*viřsti*). ✓ *uerg-* 'to work, be active': Avest. part. mid. *var*śya-mna-*, Gr. *ἐρξω* (*ἐρξαι*). ✓ *serp-* 'crawl': Skr. *srap-sya-ti* *sarp-sya-ti* Gr. *ἐρη/ω* (*ἐρψαι*). ✓ *terp-* 'give joy': Skr. *trap-sya-ti* *tarp-sya-ti* (the latter in the Grammarians), Gr. *τέρω* (*τέρψαι*). ✓ *derk-* 'see': Skr. *drak-śyá-ti*, Gr. *δέρξομαι* (*ἰδερξάμην*). ✓ *qert-* 'cut, strike sharply': Skr. *kart-sya-ti* (instead of **cart-*, cp. *karta-ti* § 522 p. 85), Lith. *kiřsiu* (*kiřsti*, pres. *kertū*). ✓ *leiq-* 'leave': Skr. *rēk-śya-tē*, Gr. *λείπω* (*λείπειν*), Lith. *lėk-siu* (*lėk-ti*, pres. *lėkū*). ✓ *ueid-* 'know, see': Skr. *vēt-sya-ti*, Gr. *εἴσομαι* (*εἴσανθαι*), Lith. *isz-výsiu* (*-výsti*). ✓ *deik-* 'show': Skr. *dēk-śya-ti*, Gr. *δείξω* (*δείξειν*). ✓ *bheudh-* 'awake, observe': Skr. *bhōt-sya-ti*, Gr. *πενύσομαι*, Lith. *būsiu* (*būsti*). ✓ *jeug-* 'iungere': Skr. *yōk-śya-ti*, Gr. *ζεύξω* (*ζεύξειν*), Lith. *jūnk-siu* like *jūnk-ti* following the present *jūngiu*. ✓ *peq-* 'coquere': Skr. *pak-śya-ti*, Gr. *πέπρω*. ✓ *dhegh-* 'burn': Skr. *dhak-śyá-ti*, Lith. *dėk-siu* (*dėk-ti*). ✓ *seq-* 'to be with, follow': Avest. *hax-šyē-iti*, Gr. *ἐπομαι*, Lith. *sėk-siu* (*sėk-ti*). ✓ *ed-* 'eat': Skr. *at-sya-ti*, Lith. *ėsiu* (*ėsti*). ✓ *says-* 'grow

dry': Skr. *śōkṣya-ti* (pres. *śūṣ-ya-ti*, see I § 557.4 p. 413), Lith. *saūsiu* (*saūs-ti*). √ *dhē-* 'place, lay': Skr. *dhā-sya-ti*, (Gr. *θή-σω*, Lith. *dē-siu* (*dē-ti*). √ *dō-* 'give': Skr. *dā-syá-ti*, (Gr. *δώ-σω*, Lith. *dū'-siu* (*dū'-ti*). √ *stā-* 'stand': Skr. *sthā-sya-ti*, Gr. *στά-σω* *στή-σω* (*στησαι*), Lith. *stó-siu* (*stó-ti*).

√ *bhē-* 'become': Avest. *ba-šyē-iti*, Gr. *φθ-σω* (*φῦσαι*), Lith. *bū-siu* O.C.Sl. **byša* (only in partic. *byšašteje byšešteje* 'το μέλλον'). Analogously, Skr. *sū-šya-nt-* beside *sō-šyá-ti* Avest. *hao-šyē-iti* from √ *se-* 'drive on, quicken, enliven' (cp. perf. Skr. *sasáva* like *babháva*). Compare § 747 pp. 268 f.

§ 749. (B) *-sṣio-* (*-esṣio-*). Skr. *-iṣya-* for *-sṣio-*. But Gr. *-eo-* comes from *-esṣio-*, unless (more probably) *-eo-* is for *-eso-*, and belongs to the conjunctive aorist (see § 747).¹⁾ The Sanskrit *-iṣya-* could be added to any root ending in a consonant; but Gr. *-eo-* was the regular future suffix only with roots in a liquid or a nasal. So we have Skr. *kṣariṣya-ti* 'it will flow, dissolve' (gramm.) answering to Greek *φθερῶ φθερῶ* 'I shall destroy' (Hom. *φθέρω*), Skr. *haniṣya-ti* 'he will strike, kill' to Gr. *θνήσκω -ῶ* 'I shall strike' (√ *ghen-*), Skr. *taniṣya-ti* (gramm.) 'he will stretch' to Gr. *τενέω -ῶ* 'I shall stretch', Skr. *kṣaniṣya-ti* 'he will hurt' (gramm.) to Gr. *κτενέω -ῶ* 'I shall kill'. A few Greek examples have *-ao-* with *-α-* = *-ə-*, as *κρεμάω -ῶ* 'I shall hang', cp. *κρέμαμαι*, *κρεμάσῃ* 'hanging basket'. Compare §§ 834 ff.

§ 750. Futures with *-sṣio-* have also been formed, from the proethnic period onwards, from stems consisting of √ + Determinative. We may mention:

(1) Stems with *-ā-* *-ē-*, or *-ō-* (Class X). **dr-ā-* 'run': Skr. *drā-sya-ti* (gramm.), Gr. *δρά-σο-μαι*. **mn-ā-* 'think of, remember': Skr. *mnā-sya-ti* (gramm.), Gr. *μνά-σω* *μνή-σω*. **gā-* 'go': Skr. *gā-sya-tē* (gramm.), Gr. *βᾶ-σο-μαι* *βή-σο-μαι*.

1) I now follow Bartholomae (Bezz. Beitr. xvii 109 ff.) in holding that *-ε-* which follows the root in *τενέω γενίτωρ* and like words is Idg. *-e-*, not *-ə-* (I § 110 pp. 103 ff.).

**u-ē* 'blow': Skr. *vā-sya-ti*, Gr. ἀή-σο-μαι. **gn-ō* 'noscere': Skr. *jñā-sya-ti*, Gr. γνῶ-σο-μαι. **uid-ē* **ueid-ē* 'see, know': Gr. Dor. ἰδη-σῶ Lith. *pa-vydēsiu* ('invidebo'), Gr. εἰδη-σῶ Lith. *veizdē-siu*. **myn-ē* 'think': Gr. μανή-σο-μαι, Lith. *minē-siu*. Compare §§ 578 ff.

(2) Stems with *s*-elements (Class XIX and XX). *tr-es-* 'tremble': Skr. *tras-iṣyá-ti*, Gr. τρέσ(σ)ω, Lith. *trėsiu* for **trės-siu* (pres. *tresiū*). Skr. *ṛṣ-iṣya-ti* beside *ṛ-ṣa-ti* 'seeks, desires'; *ślēkṣya-ti* beside *śli-ṣ-ya-ti* 'clings to' *á-śli-ṣa-ti*; *dakṣ-iṣya-tē* beside *dák-ṣa-ti* 'suits, accommodates'; *akṣ-iṣya-ti* beside *ak-ṣa-tē* 'reaches'. With Skr. *akṣiṣya-ti*, *bhāsiṣya-tē* (gramm.) compare the aorist forms *ákṣiṣur ábhāsiṣta* § 839. Gr. σείσω for **σεισ-ω* (perf. σεί-σινται) from σείω (**teṣi-s-*) 'I shake'; ξέσ(σ)ω from ξέω (**qs-es-*) 'I scrape, smooth', Lith. *tėsiu* for **tes-siu* beside *tē-s-iū* 'I stretch'. Compare §§ 655 ff.

(3) Stems with *dh-* and *d-*elements (Class XXV). Skr. *yōt-sya-ti* beside *yō-dha-ti* 'gets into motion', Lith. *jūsiu* beside *jundū* 'I begin to tremble', **jeu-dh-*. Skr. *rāt-sya-ti* beside *rā-dh-ya-tē* 'carries out successfully'; *mrād-iṣya-ti* beside *vi-mrada-ti* 'softens' (*mr-ada-*). Gr. κλάσ(σ)ω from κλα-δ- 'break off'. But it is doubtful whether πλήσω 'I will fill' is **πλήθ-σω* (cp. πλή-θω πέπλησται πληστέος) or πλή-σω (cp. πλήτο πέπληνται), whether ἐλεύσομαι 'I will come' is **ἐλευθ-σομαι* (cp. ἤλυ-θον-ν ἐλευστέον-ν) or ἐλεύ-σομαι (cp. ἐλήλυ-τε προσ-ήλυτο-ς), whether πύσω 'I will make rot' is **πύθ-σω* (cp. πύ-θω) or πύ-σω (cp. Lith. *pūv-ū*). There is the same doubt in Lith. futures like *plausiu* from *plau-d-žiū* 'I wash' (Idg. **pleu-d-*), *sprāusiu* from *sprāu-d-žiū* 'I subdue' (Idg. **spreu-d-*) *gėsiu* from *gė-du* 'I sing'. As we know not in what period of Lithuanian these verbal classes arose, we are not compelled to assume that *plausiu*, say, comes from a supposed form **plautsiō*. The fact may be that *plau-siu* is really future to *plau-ju*; and then, on the analogy of *geidžiū geĩsiu geĩsti*, and others of this kind, *plausiu* was involuntarily associated with *plaudžiū plausti* as its future. Compare §§ 688 ff.

Forms with other present-signs sometimes make a *sjo*-future in different languages; as Skr. *indhiṣyati* Gr. *ιλάγξω* Lith. *jùnsiu*. See below, §§ 752 ff.

§ 751. The indicative with *-sjo-* seems to have had in proethnic speech a participle attached, but no more (Skr. *dā-syá-nt-*, Gr. *δῶ-ων*, Lith. dial. *dū'sius* for **dūsiqs*, O.C.Sl. *byšašteje*). In Sanskrit grew up a conj. with Ar. *-a-*, and an augmented preterite; and Greek developed an opt. with *-i-*. See §§ 753, 759.

§ 752. Aryan. *-sjo-* and *-əsjo-*, but the latter is only to be found in Sanskrit (*-iṣya-*). There is no example of a future in Old Persian; this is probably due to chance. In Sanskrit and Avestic this future was a living and productive type. It is used, true enough, less often in Vedic than later; but then in Vedic injunctive and conjunctive forms were used with future meaning.

To the exx. cited in §§ 748—750 may be added: Skr. *vakṣyá-ti* Avest. *varšye-itē* beside Avest. *vák-ti* 'speaks'; Skr. *janiṣyá-ti* Avest. partic. *zāhya-mna-* beside Skr. *ján-a-ti* 'begets'; Skr. *bhantsya-ti* *bandhiṣya-ti* beside *badh-nā-ti* 'binds'; *rōciṣya-tē* beside *rōc-a-tē* 'shines'.

In Sanskrit we meet with specimens of this future made from presents of any kind (cp. § 750). *mārkṣya-tē* (beside *mrakṣya-tē*) from *mārṣ-ṭi* Class I and *mārja-ti* Class II 'wipes' (cp. § 494 p. 55, § 514 p. 81). *sīdiṣya-ti* (beside *satsya-ti*) from *sīda-ti* Class IV 'sits' (§ 550 p. 106). *dadiṣya-tē* (beside *dā-syá-ti*) from *dā-dā-ti* Class V *dā-d-a-ti* Class VI 'gives'; *jahiṣya-ti* (beside *hā-sya-ti*) from *já-hā-ti* *ja-h-a-ti* 'leaves, deserts'. *jāgarīṣyá-ti* from *jā-gar-ti* Class V 'wakes' (§ 560 pp. 109 f.). *indhiṣya-ti* from *inddhē* Class XV 'burns' ✓ *aīdh-*. *aśnuviṣya-ti* from *aś-nō-ti* Class XVII 'attains'; *jinvīṣya-ti* from *ji-nō-ti* Class XVII *ji-nva-ti* Class XVIII 'sets in motion, propels'. *titikṣiṣya-tē* from the desid. *tī-tik-ṣa-tē* Class XXI from *tij-* 'to be sharp'. *khyāyiṣya-tē* from pass. *khy-ā-ya-tē* Class XXVIII 'is seen'.

Rather commoner in the later language is the future of denominatives in *-yá-ti*, Class XXXI,^f as *gōpāyīṣyá-ti* from *gōpā-yá-ti* 'guards' (*gōpá-s* 'guardian'); and of present stems in *-áya-ti* (Causatives), Class XXXII, such as *vyayīṣya-tē* from *vy-áya-ti* 'enwraps, covers', *dhārayīṣyá-ti* from *dhār-áya-ti* 'holds'.

§ 753. Sanskrit has an augmented preterite from the future stem, meaning *on the point of*; as *ābhariṣya-t* 'he was just going to take away, wished to take'. But this form usually stands as a conditional; and so Conditional it is called.

There are a few scattered instances (in the Maha-Bharata) of Injunctive forms, implying wish; as 2nd pl. mid. *bhaviṣya-dhvam*.

Similarly there are scattered Conjunctives; as Ved. 2nd sing. *kariṣyá-s*.

§ 754. Greek. It is not quite certain that the Greek σ -future has any immediate connexion with the Aryan and Balto-Slavonic *sjo*-type, as we have seen already (§ 747 p. 269).

With *-so-* (§ 748) and *-eo-* *-ao-* (§ 749), we find a third suffix, *-seo-*.

§ 755. (I) *-so-*, a productive suffix in Ionic-Attic and elsewhere. Examples in §§ 748 and 750.

There is an apparent anomaly in keeping σ after sonants in the future $\sigma\tau\eta\text{-}\sigma\omega$, as in the aorist $\varepsilon\sigma\tau\eta\sigma\alpha$. This is most simply explained as being due to the analogy of $\delta\epsilon\iota\zeta\omega$ $\varepsilon\delta\epsilon\iota\zeta\alpha$ etc., consonantal stems. Compare I § 564 p. 421.

Stems in Liquid or Nasal generally conform to Type II (§ 757); but roots in ρ have *-σω* as well in the language of Homer and poets of the epic school: $\varphi\theta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\sigma\omega$ (pres. $\varphi\theta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega$ 'I destroy') beside $\varphi\theta\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ *-ō*.

Remark. Why is it that beside a fut. $\varphi\theta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\sigma\omega$ there is no fut. $*\varphi\theta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega$, as might be expected from finding $\varepsilon\kappa\sigma\iota\iota\omega$ side by side with $\varepsilon\kappa\epsilon\rho\sigma\alpha$? This is explained without difficulty if we suppose $\varepsilon\kappa\epsilon\rho\sigma\alpha$ to be analogical, and due to $\varepsilon\kappa\tau\epsilon\iota\upsilon\alpha$ $\varepsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota\upsilon\alpha$ and the like (I § 563 Rem. 2 p. 419); for there were no such futures as $*\kappa\tau\epsilon\iota\upsilon\omega$ for $*\kappa\tau\epsilon\nu\sigma\omega$. Wackernagel's view of $\varepsilon\kappa\epsilon\rho\sigma\alpha$ (Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxix 127 ff.) is not convincing, to my mind.

Wackernagel would anyhow have to meet the question whether, if *φθέρω* really comes from **φθερω*, it must not have kept *-ρσ-* under all circumstances, wherever the accent lay; cp. *νίσσομαι* for **νισσομαι* contrasted with *ἐκτείνω* for **εκτείνω* (The Author, Gr. Gr.² p. 61).

§ 756. *-σο-* forms futures from all sorts and kinds of stems, present, aorist, and perfect. Often there are parallel *σ-*aorists.

(1) Hom. *διδώ-σω* (beside *δώ-σω*) from *δί-δω-μι* 'I give', Class III. *διδάξω* from *δι-δάσκω*, Class XXIII (aor. *ἐδίδαξα*). Hom. *ἄρξω* Att. *ᾄξω* from *ἄίσσω* 'I rush', *ποι-φύξω* from *ποι-φύσσω* 'I pant, puff', *ποι-πνύσω* from *ποι-πνύω* 'I snort, pant, puff', Class XXVII (aor. *ἤξα ἤξα* etc.).

(2) *κλάγξω* (*εκλαγξα*) beside *κλάζω* 'I cry, shout' for **κλαγγ-μι*, Class XXIX, and *κλαγγάνω*, Class XIV (§ 621 p. 158, § 628 p. 165, § 744 p. 266). Ion. *λάμψομαι* beside Att. *λήψομαι* from *λαμβάνω* 'I take', Class XIV (§ 621 p. 158). *σφίγξω* (*εσφίγξα*) from *σφίγγω* 'I tie, bind', Class XVI (§ 631 p. 167).

(3) From the Denominative presents *κηρύσσω* 'I announce' *ἀρπάζω* 'I carry off' *σαλπίζω* 'I trumpet' *μειλίσσω* 'I soothe, pacify' *τελέω -ω* 'I complete' we have the futures *κηρύξω* *ἀρπάξω* *σαλπίγξω* *μειλίξω* *τελέσ(σ)ω* (aor. *ἐκήρυξα* etc.), on the analogy of *πράξω* : *πράσσω*, *σφάξω* : *σφάζω* and the like (cp. *θανυμανῶ ἀγγεῶ* § 757). What made it all the easier for these futures to arise, was that there existed in pre-Greek times denominative participles like *κηρυκ-τό-ς* (*ἄ-κήρυκτο-ς*), which seemed parallel to *πράκ-τό-ς* *σφακ-τό-ς* (II § 79 pp. 224 f.).

(4) The combination *-η-σο-* was an especial favourite (§ 750.1 p. 271). First, a class of futures from the stem of the aor. pass. in *-η-ν*. *μυν-ή-σομαι* beside *ἐ-μάν-η-ν* 'I grew mad' (✓*men-*), like Lith. *min-ě-siu* beside *mīn-ė*. *σβ-ή-σομαι* beside *ε-σβ-η-ν* 'I was quenched' (✓*seg-*). *ρυν-ή-σομαι* beside *ἐ-ρρύ-η-ν* 'I flowed' (*srex-*). *μυγ-ή-σομαι* beside *ἐ-μύγ-η-ν* 'I mixed myself' (✓*meik- meig-*). With the same type, *δοθή-σομαι* beside *ἐδόθη-ν* etc., the set of forms due to the analogy of *ἐ-δό-θης* = *á-di-thas*. See § 589 pp. 129 f. In Doric, this intr.-pass. future has an active ending: *μυνησεῖν συναχθησοῦντι* (*-σι-ο-* instead of *-σο-*, § 758). Further: *-η-σο-* occurs in forms like *σχ-ή-σω* (beside

ἔξω) from stem of ἔσχο-ν 'I held' (cp. ἔσχηκα), μελ-ή-σει from μέλει 'it is a care' (cp. ἐμέλησε μεμέληκε), ἐθελ-ή-σω from ἐθέλω 'I wish' (ἐθέλησα ἡθέληκα), εὐδ-ή-σω from εὕδω 'I sleep' (cp. καθ-εὐδῆσαι); of the same kind are Lith. *drebe-siu* from *drebu* 'I tremble', *tekē-siu* from *tekū* 'I run, flow'. The same type of future is seen in stems marked as present or aorist, where it retains the special tense mark, as καθ-ιζήσομαι from ἵζω 'I set' for **si-zd-ō* (cp. -ιζῆσαι ἵζηκα), βουλήσομαι from βούλωμαι 'I wish' ground-form **ql-no-* § 611 p. 150 (cp. βεβούλημαι) βοσκήσω from βό-σκω 'I pasture, feed', τυπτήσω from τύπ-τω 'I strike' (cp. ἐτυπτησα), χαιρήσω from χαίρω 'I rejoice' for **χαρ-ιω* (cp. ἐχαίρησα), ὀζήσω from ὀζω 'I smell' for **ὀδ-ιω* (cp. ὠζησα), πεπιθήσω from πε-πιθ-εῖν 'to persuade', πεφιθήσομαι from πε-φιθ-έ-σθαι 'to spare'.

(5) The original identity of flexion in the groups typified by **τιμᾱ-ιω* (from *τιμᾱ́* 'honour') and **δρα-ιω* (*δραῶ* 'I do') — compare Aeol. ἐτίμᾱ-μεν like ἐδραῶ-μεν 'we ran' — made the later set of denominatives run parallel to verbs of Classes X and XXVIII in other tenses besides the present. Hence *τιμᾱ́σω φιλήσω μισθώσω* like *δράσω νήσω γινώσομαι*; similarly Lith. *dovanó-siu* from *dovanó-ju* 'I present' (*dovanà* 'gift') like *žió-siu* from *žió-ju*, and *jũkũ-siu* (*jũkṹ-ju* 'I jest' from *jũka-s* 'jest'), in correspondence with Gr. *μισθώ-σω*. Following out the analogy further we get *κονί-σω* from *κονίω* 'I make dusty' (*κόνι-ς* 'dust') *δακρύ-σω* from *δακρύω* 'I cry' (*δάκρυ* 'a tear'); so also Lith. *daly-siu* from *daly-ju* 'I share, divide' (*dalĩ-s* 'a part'). Compare § 773.

(6) Futures in -σω from perfect forms. ἑστῆξω from ἑστηκα 'I stand'. λείψειται from ἔλειπται 'is left over'. μεμνήσεται from μέμνηται 'remembers'. Hom. κεχαρήσω from κεχαρηώς 'glad'.

§ 757. (II) -εο- -αο- -οο- -υο-.

-εο- (becomes -ιο- in Dor., I § 64 p. 51) is the ordinary future suffix in liquid or nasal stems, as φθερέω -ῶ (beside Hom. φθέρσω), τενέω -ῶ, see § 749 p. 271.

Hence -εο- spread to the future of stems which had a nasal formative suffix in the present; as φανέω -ῶ from φαίνω

'I show, make appear' for **τρα-ν-χω*, *κλινέω* -*ō* from *κλίνω* 'I bend' for **κλι-ν-χω*, see § 611 p. 150, *ξανέω* -*ō* from *ξανίω* 'I scratch, comb' for **ξ-αι-χω*, *ἀνάνέω* -*ō* from *ἀνάνιω* 'I make dry' for **σανσ-αν-χω* (cp. Lith. *saus̃ti-siu*); see § 618 p. 156, § 621 p. 158. It also spread to Denominatives with liquid and nasal stems, as *θαυμαίνω* 'I wonder' *ἀγγέλλω* 'I announce': *θαυμανέω* *ἀγγελέω* -*ō*, not like *κηρύξω* from *κηρύσσω* (§ 756.3 p. 275).

Where -*ao-* and -*oo-* appear, the first vowel belongs to other forms besides the future; and so too once or twice -*ε-* in -*εο-*. *κρεμάω* -*ō* from *κρέμα-μαι* 'I hang' *κρεμά-σσαι* *κρεμά-θῃ*, *δαμάω* -*ō* from *δαμά-σσαι* *πυν-δαμά-τωρ*. *ὀμόομαι* *ὀμῶμαι* from *ὀμό-σσαι* 'swear' *ὀμῶμο-ται* *ἀπ-ώμο-το-ς*. *ὀλέω* *ὀλώ* from *ὀλέ-σσαι* 'to destroy' *ὀλώλε-κα* *ὀλε-τήρ*.

The analogy of *κρεμάω* : *κρεμάσ(σ)αι*, *ὀλέω* : *ὀλέσ(σ)αι*, and the like, produced from the aorists *δικάσ(σ)αι* 'to judge, investigate' (*δικάζω*) *δοκιμάσ(σ)αι* 'probare' (*δοκιμάζω*) the futures *δικάω* *δοκιμάω* -*ō*, and similarly we have *ἀμφιέω* -*ō* beside *ἀμφι-έσ(σ)αι* 'to put on',¹⁾ *μαχέομαι* -*οῦμαι* beside *μαχέσ(σ)ασθαι* 'to fight', *τελέω* -*ō* beside *τελέσ(σ)αι* 'to complete', *τανύω* beside *τανύσ(σ)αι*, and many others.

An exceptional group contains the Attic and Ionic future in -*ιέω* -*ιῶ* from a present in -*ίζω*, as *κομιῶ* from *κομίζω* 'I bring'; for which **κομίω* might be looked for, to judge from *δικάω*. We may conjecture that the type was once actually **κομίω*; and that *-*ίω* became -*ιέω* -*ιῶ* as the effect of the constant use of -*έω* -*ῶ*. -*έω* is an intruder also in *ὀμέομαι* *ὀμεῖται* Dor. *ὀμῶμεθα* instead of *ὀμό-ομαι*.

Remark. There is some doubt whether -*ίω* instead of *-*ίω* be as old as Homer; no argument can be based on the traditional accent of *κομιῶ* *ἀεικίῶ* *περιοῦσι*, and *ἀγλαΐεσθαι* may be a mistake for *ἀγλαΐεσθαι*. These are the only Homeric specimens of the type.

§ 758. (III) -*σεο-* (Doric Future).²⁾ Whether -*σο-* =

1) We can hardly regard *ἀμφι-έω* as being *-*φεσ-ω*, and a conj. to Skr. *śās-tē* Gr. *ἐπί-εσται*.

2) For the Doric Future, see now Solmsen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxii 546 ff.

Skr. *-sya-*, or whether it is the conj. of the *s*-aorist, *-seo-* is *-so-* transformed under the influence of *-eo-*.

-seo- is the ordinary Doric suffix answering to Attic *-so-*; as *πρᾶξέω -lō βοᾷθησέω -lū*, but Att. *πρᾶξα βοηθήσω*. A few instances of it occur in Ion.-Att., as *φενξοῦμαι* beside *φειξομαι* (cp. the Author, Gr. Gr.² p. 170 footnote 1).

§ 759. Greek, besides the indic., partic., and inf. future, (*δεῖξω δεῖξων δεῖξιν*) had only the optative, as *δεῖξομαι*, which is quite a new formation (see the Author, Gr. Gr.² p. 188).

§ 760. Balto-Slavonic. Only *-sio-*, and nothing which answers to Skr. *-iśya-* and Gr. *-eo-* *-ao-*, and so forth. In Lithuanian the future in *-siu* lived on, and still lives and forms a type; but in Slavonic it died before historic times began, all but the sole form O.C.Sl. *byśašteje* (§ 748 p. 271).

§ 761. The Lith. fut. *-siu* is inflected differently in different dialects. The 1st pl. is sometimes *dū-sia-m(e)* like *veřczia-m(e)* § 725 pp. 254 ff. (cp. partic. dial. *dū'sius* = **dūsiās*, and O.C.Sl. *byśašteje*); sometimes it is *dū-si-m(e)* — in High Lithuanian, for instance — like *āvi-m(e)* § 727 pp. 257 ff.¹⁾ The other forms which occur, pl. *dū'sme dū'ste* dual *dū'sva dū'sta*, like the 3rd sing. *būs gaūs*, are injunctives of the *s*-aorist (§ 828). The partic. *dū'sēs* (cp. O.C.Sl. *byśešteje*) admits of more than one explanation; see J. Schmidt, as cited in footnote.

Examples of Lith. fut. are given in § 748 pp. 269 f.

Where marks of the present are retained in the future, they are retained in the other forms from the Infinitive Stem.

Future from Present Stem with inserted nasal: *jūnksiu* from *jūng-iu* 'I put in the yoke', *skūsiu* from *skūndžiu* 'I weep, bewail myself', *lėnksiu* from *lenkiū* 'I bend', § 744 p. 267. Compare Gr. *κλύξω* etc. § 756. 2 p. 275.

From Present in *-inu -enu*: *sausī-siu* from *sausinu* 'I make dry', *gyvė-siu* from *gyvenū* 'I dwell', see § 624 p. 161. Compare Gr. *ἀνᾶνω* § 757 p. 277.

1) J. Schmidt's assumption (Neutra, pp. 423 ff.) that *dū'sime* is an optative, is wrong. Idg. *-i-* would remain long in Lithuanian.

The combination -*é-siu*. *miné-siu* from *menù* 'I think of' pret. *mīnē*, cp. Gr. *μᾶντ-σομαι* *ē-μᾶντ-ν*. *drebě-siu* from *drebu* 'I tremble'. *stené-siu* from *stenù* 'I groan'. *pené-siu* from *penù* 'I nourish, fatten'. *avé-siu* from *aviù* 'I have something on my feet'. Compare § 756. 4 p. 275.

Later Stratum of Denominatives. *dovanó-siu* from *dovanó-ju* 'I give' (*dovanà* 'a gift'), *pāsako-siu* from *pāsako-ju* 'I recount, tell' (*pā-saka* 'tale'), like *žió-siu* from *žió-ju* 'I open my mouth' (§ 740 p. 264), cp. Gr. *τῖμά-σω*. *jũkũ'-siu* from *jũkũ'-ju* 'I sport, jest' (*jũka-s* 'jest'), *jũdũ-siu* from *jũdũ-ju* 'I have a black sheen', analogous to Gr. *μυθῶ-σω*. *daly-su* from *daly-jũ* 'I share, divide' (*daļ-s* 'a share, part'), *szirdy-siũ-s* from *szirdy-jũ-s* 'I take to heart' (*szirdĩ-s* 'heart'), like Gr. *κοτĩ-σω*. Compare § 756. 5 p. 276, § 773. *keláu-siu* from *keláu-ju* 'I travel' (*kēla-s* *kēle-s* 'way').

Appendix to Classes XXVII—XXX.

Extension of Present Stems in -*sko*-, -*to*-, and -*dho*- -*do*- by the Suffix -*io*-.

§ 762. The reason why this extension of the -*sko*-class (XXII), the -*to*-class (XXIV) and the -*dho*- and -*do*-class (XXV) is relegated to an Appendix, and they are not allowed a class each to themselves, has been explained in § 704 p. 239.

§ 763. *io*-extension of *sko*-stems (§§ 669 ff.)

Sanskrit can show only a few passive forms with -*ya*- (cp. §§ 709 and 710, pp. 243 ff.), in stems where -*sko*- has lost its character as a present-forming suffix: *prch-yá-tē* from *prchá-ti* 'asks', *vañch-ya-tē* from *vañcha-ti* 'wishes' (§ 671 p. 203). Possibly *vṛśc-yá-tē*, from *vṛścá-ti* 'tears to pieces', is another; see § 669 p. 202.

Lith. *dresk-iũ* 'I tear' trans., beside *driskaũ*, O.C.Sl. *ištq* for **isk-ia* beside *iskq* 'I seek' (§ 677 p. 210).

Remark. Gr. *πτῶσω* 'I cower, oringe', in view of *πτῶσκᾶν*, may be derived from **πτῶσκ-ἔω*. However, *πτῶ-ξ* -*κός* and *πτῶ-χός* make it more natural to suppose that it comes from **πτῶ-κ-ἔω* or **πτῶ-χ-ἔω*.

Cp. *πησσω* 'I frighten' for **πτα-κ-ιω*, *ἐγερήσω* 'I wake' for **ἐγερη-κ-ιω* or -*χ-ιω*, and verbs in -*ώσω* such as *ὀνειρώσσω* (*ὀνειρώξω*) *ὑπνιώσσω* *ἰκτερώσσω*. The *κ*- and *χ*-suffixes in these words were probably the same as -*ko*- in -*s-ko*-; see § 669 p. 201.

§ 764. -*to*-stems extended by -*io*- (§§ 679 ff.).

Skr. *nṛt-ya-ti* 'dances, plays' pass. *nṛt-ya-tē* beside *nṛ-tā-mā-na-s*, pass. *yat-ya-tē* beside *yā-ta-tē* 'joins itself, strives' (§ 681 p. 213).

Lith. *siuncziū* 'I send', perhaps from **su-n-to*- (§ 686 p. 218). O.C.Sl. *ob-reŝta* 'I find' perhaps from **rē-to*- (§ 687 p. 218).

Remark. Gr. *ἀρύσσω* (only Hdt. vi 119) seems to be not an extension of Att. *ἀρύ-τω* 'I pour, I draw water' (§ 682 p. 214), but an analogical form, suggested by *ἀρύω*, on the type of *ἀφύσσω*: *ἀφρύω* 'I pour, draw water'.

§ 765. -*dho*- and -*do*- stems extended by -*io*- (§§ 688 ff.).

(1) -*dh-io*-. Skr. *yú-dh-ya-tē* 'gets in motion, fights', *rā-dh-ya-tē* 'carries to a successful end' pass. *rādh-ya-tē* (§ 689 p. 220), *krú-dh-ya-ti* 'scorns', *sā-dh-ya-ti* 'comes to its goal' (§ 691 p. 221).

Gr. *θύσσομαι* 'I shake or quiver, am frantic' for **θυ-θ-ιο-μαι* (§ 689 p. 220), *ἐσθ-ίω* 'I eat' (§ 694 p. 223, § 713 p. 247).

Lith. *skér-d-žiū* 'I burst, blow up' (§ 689 p. 219).

(2) -*d-io*-. Only passives in Sanskrit; as *mṛd-yā-tē* from *mṛ-d-nā-mi* 'I grind to pieces, crush' *vi-mradati* 'softens' (§ 690 p. 220), *khād-ya-tē* from *khā-da-ti* 'bites up, chews', *īd-ya-tē* from *īdā-tē* 'honours, praises' (§ 692 p. 222).

Gr. *κλύζω* 'I flood' for **κλυ-δ-ιω*, *ἐκ-φλύζω* 'I spurt out' for **φλυ-δ-ιω* (§ 695 p. 224).

Lith. *plau-d-žiū* 'I wash, cleanse', *spráu-d-žiū* 'I compel, press down' (§ 690 p. 221, § 700 p. 227).

(3) Doubtful: -*dh-io*- or -*d-io*-. Avest. *siž-d-ye-iti* 'drives away' (§ 693 p. 223). Lith. *mér-d-žiū* 'I lie a dying', *skél-d-žiū* 'I split or burst', *sru-d-žiū* 'I make bloody', Lett. *e'rfchu* 'I separate' for **erd-ī-u* (§ 701 p. 227).

Class XXXI.

Later Group of Denominatives with Present-Suffix *-iō-*.

§ 766. We here discuss present stems like Skr. *dēva-yá-ti* 'he worships the gods' from *dēvá-* 'god', Gr. *φιλέ-(ι)ω* 'I treat as a friend' from *φίλο-ς* (*φιλε-*) 'friend', Skr. *namas-yá-ti* 'he offers worship or respect' from *námas-* 'respect', Gr. *τέλε(σ-ι)ω* 'I end' from *τέλος* 'end' (*τέλεσ-*). This is a productive type in almost all languages of our group, and beyond all doubt is as old as the parent language.

As I have pointed out (§ 487 p. 43, § 703 p. 232), no hard and fast line can be drawn between the verbs which grammars usually call Denominative and what they call Primary Verbs. When denominative verbs were formed in the parent language, no new and peculiar mode of conjugation was invented for them. They ran in old grooves; the present stem preferring as its type stems with the secondary suffix *-iō-*. It was only by degrees that inflexional peculiarities sprang up; chiefly because *-iō-* coalesced with the final of the preceding noun-stem, and thus made new suffixes. But the peculiar denominative endings often came again to be the same as those of primary verbs by the action of the laws of language.

§ 767. The proethnic language possesses *iō*-presents from all kinds of consonant stems, from stems in *-a-* (*-a-iō-*), in *-o-* (*-e-iō-*), in *-i-* (*-i-iō-*), and in *-u-* (*-u-iō-*).

So great are the changes worked by analogy, that it is rather rare to find a denominative agreeing with the Idg. type in more than one or two languages. Thus, Lat. *oper-a-rī* (Umbr. *osatu* 'operato' Osc. *úpsannam* 'operandam') and *nōmin-a-re* do not correspond with Skr. *apas-yá-ti* and Gr. *ὀνομαίνω*, which do represent the Idg. inflexion; because, in Latin, denominatives of *s-* and *n-*stems had been attracted into the *a*-class in pre-historic times.

§ 768. (1) Consonant Stems.

Skr. *rajas-yá-ti* 'turns to dust' (in older Sanskrit only *rajas-yá-s* 'dusty'), Goth. *riqiz-ja* 'I darken myself', common ground-form **reges-ié-ti*, from *rájas* n. 'dust' *riqis* n. (gen. *riqizis*, see II § 132 p. 420) 'darkness'. Skr. *apas-yá-ti* 'is active' from *ápas* n. 'work' *apás-* 'active'; *namas-yá-ti* Avest. *nemaṣ-yē-iti* 'bows, reveres, worships' from *námas* *nemō* n. 'reverence'; Skr. *avas-yá-ti* 'seeks help' from *avas* n. 'help'. Gr. Hom. *τελείω* *τελείω* Att. *-ō* 'I end' for **τελεισ-ιω* (aor. *τέλεσ-σαι*) from *τέλος* n. 'end'; Hom. *ἀκείομαι* *ἀκέομαι* 'I heal' (aor. *ἀκέσ-σασθαι* from *ἄκος* n. 'healing'. Lat. *fulgur-iō* from *fulgur*. O.H.G. *refs(i)u* 'I blame, scold, chasten', cp. Skr. *rapás-* 'bodily hurt'. — Avest. *xrviš-yē-iti* i. e. *xruviš-yē-iti* 'sheds blood' from a stem **xr(u)viš-*, ground-form **qruuṣ-*, closely akin to Skr. *kraviš-* 'raw, bloody flesh'. Gr. *γελάω* 'I laugh' for **γελασ-ιω* from stem *γελασ-* (nom. *γέλως*) 'laughter' ground-form **gelās-* (II § 134 p. 425).

Gr. *ὀνομαίνω* Goth. *namn-ja* 'I name' from *ὄνομα* *namō* n. 'name', the former for **-mṇ-iō*, the latter for **-mṇ-iō* (cp. Idg. **mṇ-iō-* and **mr-iō-*, **bhu-iō-* and **bhu-iō-* § 707 p. 235). All the following have Idg. *-ṇ-iō-*. Skr. *vṛṣaṇ-yá-ti* 'is in heat or passion' from *vṛṣaṇ-* 'male', *brahmaṇ-yá-ti* 'is pious' from *bráhman-* n. 'piety' *brahmán-* 'pious person, one who prays'; Avest. *vyāxmainyē-iti* 'deliberates, thinks over' from *vyāxman* n. 'assembly, consultation'. Gr. *τεκταίνω* 'I carpenter, make' from *τέκτων* 'carpenter, workman'; *σπερμαίνω* 'I give forth seed' from *σπέρμα* 'seed'. Goth. *glitmun-ja* 'I shine' from **glitmin-* (cp. O.H.G. *glizemo*) 'brightness'.

Skr. *vadhar-yá-ti* 'shoots, lets off a missile' from *vádhar* n. 'shot'. Gr. *τεκμαίρω* 'I mark, fix' from *τίκμαρ* n. 'mark, boundary'. We may perhaps assign to this section Latin desideratives like *scripturiō* from *scriptor*, *ēsuriō* from *ēsor*; *-turiō* for **-tor-iō* **-tṛ-iō*.¹⁾

1) This explanation follows Thurneysen, *Über Herkunft und Bildung der lat. Verba*, p. 66. A different view is that of Kretschmer, Kuhn's

Gr. *βλίττω* 'I cut the honey-combs' (fut. *βλίσω*) from *μέλι*-n. 'honey'. Lat. *dent-iō* from *dēns*. Goth. *veitvōd-ja* 'I certify' from *veitvōd-* 'witness'. Skr. *iṣudh-yá-ti* 'begs, prays' Avest. *išud-ye-iti* 'confesses guilt' from Avest. *išud-* 'a cry by which one acknowledges sin'. Gr. *κορύσσω* 'I helm, arm' for **κορυθ-ιω* from *κόρυς* -υθ-ος 'helmet'. Lat. *custōd-iō* from *custōs* -ōd-is.

Gr. *λιθάζω* 'I stone' from *λίθας* -άδ-ος 'stone', *μιγάζομαι* 'I mingle with' from *μιγάς* -άδ-ος 'mixed, motley'. In Germanic, 'verbs in -*atjan* answer to this Greek denominative group; but the noun stems from which they came had disappeared before the historic period: Goth. *lauhatja* O.H.G. *lougazzu lohazzu* 'I shine' (cp. Gr. *λενκάς*), Goth. *svōgatja* 'I sigh' *kaupatja* 'I box the ears' (pret. *kaupasta*), O.H.G. *blecchezzu* 'I lighten' (cp. II § 128 p. 409).

To the denominatives formed from cons. stems have always belonged *to*-participles, as Gr. *ἀκρο-τό-ς* Lat. *sceles-tu-s*, Gr. *θαυμα-τό-ς* (Skr. *śrōma-ta-m* O.H.G. *hlīumun-t* Lat. *cōgnōmen-tu-m*), Skr. *án-ap-ta-s* etc. See II § 79 pp. 224 f., § 82 p. 249.

§ 769. (2) *a*-stems: Idg. -*a-iō*-.

In a great many languages there are found other forms without. -*iō*-, as 1st pl. Armen. *jana-mē* Gr. Aeol. *τῆμα-μεν* Lat. *plantā-mus* O.Ir. *no chara-m* Goth. *salbō-m* Lith. *já'sto-me*. These kept close with the old primary *a*-verbs of Class X. In principle, the two groups are really the same.

Gr. *ὁράω -ω* 'I see', O.H.G. *bi-warōm* 'I observe, am ware' beside Gr. **Forā* in *φρουρά* 'outlook, protection' O.H.G. *wara* 'care, protection'. Lat. *forō -ā-s* etc., O.H.G. *borōm* 'I bore' from O.H.G. *bora* 'borer' (ground-form **bhyr-ā*-), but cp. § 579 p. 122. Skr. *pṛtanā-yá-ti* 'fights' from *pṛtanā* 'fight', *manā-yá-ti* 'is attached' from *mand* 'attachment'. Gr. *τιμάω -ω* 'I honour' from *τιμή* (-ή) 'honour', *ῥεβῶω -ω* 'pubesco' from *ῥεβᾶ* (-ή) 'ripeness', *ὀρμάω -ω* 'I drive or urge' from *ὀρμά* (-ή) 'movement'. Lat. *plantō -ā-s* etc. from *planta*, *cūrō* from *cūra*,

Zeitschr. XXXI 464: he starts with an adj. like **scriptu-ro-* (cp. Att. *οἰζυ-εός*; from *οἰζύ-ς* *οἰζύος*; II § 74 p. 184).

lacrimō from *lacrima*. O.Ir. *rannaim* 'I divide' from *rann* f. 'part', *iccain* 'I heal' from *icc* f. 'health'. Goth. *salbō* O.H.G. *salbōm* A.S. *sealfie* 'I salve, anoint' from O.H.G. *salba* A.S. *sealf* 'salve, ointment'; Goth. *karō* 'I take trouble, care about' O.H.G. *charōm* 'I bewail, lament' A.S. *cearie* 'I care' from Goth. *kara* 'care' O.H.G. *chara* 'woe, sorrow, lament' A.S. *cearu caru* 'care'; O.H.G. *klagōm* 'I lament' from *klaga* 'lament'. Lith. *lankó-ju* 'I bend to and fro, try to make malleable' beside *lunkà* 'valley' *į-lanka* 'a dip or bend', O.C.Sl. *laka-jā* 'I trick, deceive' from *laka* 'bending, bosom, rascality, deceit'; Lith. *dovanó-ju* 'I give' from *dovanà* 'gift', *bylō-ju* 'I speak' from *bylà* 'speech', *pāsako-ju* 'I recount' from *pā-saka* 'tale'; O.C.Sl. *kotora-jā se* 'I fight' from *kotora* 'fight', *vonja-jā* 'I smell' from *vonja* 'a smell'.

Very common are *a*-verbs derived from *o*-stems, principally with transitive meaning, — 'to show oneself so and so, to make so and so'. Skr. *priyā-yá-tē* 'he makes friends with' Goth. *frijō* 'I treat kindly' O.C.Sl. *prija-jā* 'I am kind to, stand by some one' from Skr. *priyá-s* 'dear, friend' Goth. **frija-* in *frija-þva* 'love'. Lat. *novō* (*-a-s*) O.H.G. *niuwōm* 'I renew' beside Lat. *novo-s*.¹⁾ O.Ir. *com-alnaim* O.H.G. *follōm* 'I fill' from O.Ir. *lan* (Idg. **pŕ-no-s*) O.H.G. *fol* (Idg. **pŕ-no-s*) 'full'. Lat. *gustō*, O.H.G. *costōm* A.S. *costie* 'I try, taste' beside Skr. *juṣ-ṭa-s* 'beloved' etc., *√ḡeys-*. Skr. *tilvilayá-tē* 'shows himself rich' from *tilvila-s* 'rich', *rathirayá-ti* 'hurries up' from *rathirá-s* 'hasty', *ṛtāyá-ti* 'keeps the rule' from *ṛtá-m* 'order', *sumnāyá-ti* 'shows goodwill' from *sumná-s* 'well-wishing' *sumná-m* 'goodwill'; Avest. *vādayē-iti* 'strikes' from *vāda-* m. 'blow'. Gr. *φοιβάω* 'I cleanse' from *φοῖβο-ς* 'clean', *ἀτιμάω* 'I treat as dishonoured' from *ἀ-τίμο-ς* 'dishonoured' *μωμάομαι* 'I scorn' from *μῶμο-ς* 'scorn', *ἐδνάομαι* 'I portion' from *ἐδρο-ν* 'dower'. Lat. *cavō* from *cavo-s*, *firmō* from *firnu-s*, *sānō* from *sānu-s*, *armō* from pl. *arma*, *cumulō* from *cumulu-s*, *damnō* from *damnu-m*. O.Ir. *marbaim* 'I kill' from *marb*

1) Gr. *ρεάω* 'I turn up fallow land' probably has its place elsewhere. See Sütterlin, *Zur Gesch. der verba denom. im Altgr.*, I 21 f.

'dead', *derbaim* 'I prove' from *derb* 'certain', *forcennaim* 'I end' from *cenn* *for-cenn* 'end', *biathaim* 'I nourish' from *biath* 'nourishment', cp. Gall. *Γαισάροι* pl. 'pilati' beside Gall.-Lat. *gaesu-m* 'spear'. Goth. *vairþō* O.H.G. *werdōm* 'I value, treasure' from *vatrþ-s* *werd* adj. 'worth', Goth. *ga-vundō* O.H.G. *wuntōm* 'I make wounded, wound' from *vund-s* *wunt* 'wound', Goth. *ga-leikō* 'I compare, make like' from *ga-leik-s* 'like', O.H.G. *ebanōm* 'I make even' from *eban* 'even', Goth. *bi-ráubō* 'I rob, plunder' O.H.G. *roubōm* 'I rob' from O.H.G. *roub* 'robbery', O.H.G. *zeihhonōm* 'I mark, draw' from *zeihhan* 'mark'. Lith. *kilnó-ju* 'I lift to and fro' from *kilna-s* 'high' (unless it be preferred to class this verb in § 606 p. 147), *mirkšnio-ju* 'I wink, twinkle' from *mirkšni-s* (gen. *mirkšnio*) 'glance, a single movement of the eyelid', Lett. *at-jáunāju* 'I make young, renew' from *jáun-s* 'young', *gūdá-ju* 'I honour', from *gūd-s* 'honour' *apšchūgāju* 'I enclose' from *schūg-s* 'hedge, fence'; O.C.Sl. *děla-ja* 'I do, make' from *dělo* 'work', *pri-veslaja* 'adveho' from *veslo* 'oar, rudder'. The beginnings of this series of derivatives from *a*-verbs from noun stems in *-a-* goes back to the proethnic stage; at that time there were often subst. abstr. with *-a-* alongside of *o*-adjectives and *o*-substantives. Thus the O.H.G. *follōm* may be derived, if we please, not from *fol* but from Germ. **fullō-* = Avest. *per'nā-* 'fulness', which appears in Goth. *fullō* O.H.G. *folla* 'fulness'; or Lat. *offēnsāre* may be derived from subst. *offēnsa* and not from *offēnsu-s* (cp. II § 158 pp. 473 ff.). These and like verbs were from the first closely associated with the *o*-stems belonging to these *a*-nouns; and thus it became possible afterwards to derive verbs in *-a-īō* straight from *o*-stems. The ending *-aīō* found favour for another reason too; namely, that there was from the earliest period another group of verbs in *-aīō*, originally denominative too, but with this character long since lost: I mean verbs of Classes X and XXVIII, like Lat. *hi-ō* Lith. *ži-ó-ju*, Gr. *ύλ-άω* Lith. *ul-ó-ju* (Lat. *ululō*), Lat. *juv-ō* *mic-ō*, O.Ir. *scaraim*, Goth. *mit-ō* O.H.G. *mezzōm*, Lith. *lind-o-ju* O.C.Sl. *raz-vríz-a-ja* (§§ 579 ff. pp. 121 ff., §§ 734 ff. pp. 261 ff.).

As well as these present stems in *-a-ḡō*, most languages have non-present stems with *-a-* just like those formed from *a*-verbs in Classes X and XXVIII. The latter are the type, the former copied from them. The commonest are verbal nouns, always more or less closely connected with the verb system, with the suffixes *-to- -ti- -no-* and so forth; e. g. Gr. *τῖμῆ-τό-ς τῖμῆ-σί-ς* from *τῖμάω*, Lat. *plantā-tu-s plantā-tiō* from *plantō*, O.Ir. *carthe* 'loved' from *caraim*, *cēssad* 'suffering' from *cēssaim*, Goth. *laþō-þ-s* 'invited' *laþō-n* 'to invite' *laþō-n-s* 'invitation' from *laþō*, Lith. *dovanó-ta-s* 'given' *dovanó-ti* 'to give' from *dovanó-ju*, O.C.Sl. *laka-nŭ* 'deceived' *laka-ti* 'to deceive' from *laka-ja*. Then we have certain tenses, as Gr. *τῖμῆ-σω*, Lat. *plantā-rem*, Lith. *dovanó-siu* O.C.Sl. *laka-chŭ*. Compare § 756. 5, p. 276, § 761 p. 279, § 822. 6.

§ 770. (3) From *o*-stems there were two ways of deriving the present stem. One of them, doubtless the older, suppresses the final vowel of the noun stem. This we have already seen in Classes XIV and XXIX, exemplified by Skr. *turaṇ-yá-ti* from *turáṇa-s*, Gr. *ὀλισθαίνω* from *ὀλισθαρό-ς* (§§ 616 ff. pp. 154 ff., § 743 pp. 265 f.). This is just how *ḡo*-adjectives are generally derived from noun stems in *-o-*, as Skr. *áśv-īya-s* Gr. *ἵππ-ιο-ς* from *áśva-s* *ἵππο-ς* (II § 63 p. 126, and Rem. 3 p. 132). The second, and commoner, formation ends in *-e-ḡō-* (cp. voc. in *-e*, loc. in *-e-ḡ* and so forth, II § 59 p. 108). This recalls Skr. *hiranyá-ya-s* 'golden' from *hīranya-m* 'gold', and Lat. *aureu-s* (*auru-m*), if it is to be explained **aure-ḡo-* (cp. II § 63 p. 128).¹⁾

(a) With Aryan present stems in *-an-ḡa-ti* are associated but few from other *o*-stems: Skr. *adhvar-yá-ti* 'performs an offering' from *adhvará-s* 'offering', *vithuryá-ti* 'staggers, reels' from *vithurá-s* 'tottering, reeling', *rathakāmya-ti* 'asks for a car' from *ratha-kāma-* 'desirous of having a car', Avest. *vāstryē-iti* 'feeds' from *vāstre-m* 'meadow, field, fodder', *avāstryē-itē*

1) It is noteworthy how well the isolated Ved. *varṣyá-ti* 'he woos' (*vará-s* 'wooer') agrees with the above mentioned adj. in *-ṣya-*, *pāuruṣṣya-s* from *pūruṣa-s* and the like.

'is idle' from *avāstra-* 'idle'. In Greek *-aino* was a fertile type (see § 776.6 b); and many other nouns in *-o-* took this formation in the present, as *ἐχθαίρω* 'I hate' from *ἐχθρό-* 'hated, hostile' (I § 293 p. 234), *ἀγγέλλω* 'I announce' from *ἄγγελος* 'messenger', *αἰόλλω* 'I move quickly backwards and forwards' from *αἰόλος* 'quickly moving', *καμπύλλω* 'I crease, bend' from *καμπύλος* 'bent', *ἀπινύσσω* 'I am unintelligent' from **ἀ-πίνυρος* (*πινυρό-* 'intelligent'), *μειλίσσω* 'I soften, mollify' from *μείλιχος* 'soft', *χαλέπτω* 'I crush, overpower' (cp. § 682 with the Rem. p. 214). The same kind of denominatives occurs in Slavonic. First those which contain abstract nouns in *-e-to-* and the like (II § 79 p. 236), as *trepeštq* 'I tremble' 2nd sing. *trepešteši* inf. *trepetati* from *trepetŭ* 'a trembling', *blekoštq* 'I bleat' inf. *blekotati* beside Czech *blekot* 'a yelping or barking', *rŭpŭštq* 'I growl' inf. *rŭpŭtati* from *rŭpŭtŭ* 'a growling', *skrižŭštq* 'I rattle, gnash the teeth' inf. *skrižŭtati* from *skrižŭtŭ* 'a gnashing with the teeth', and others of this sort (the noun may also be a *tā*-stem, as *kleveštq* 'I calumniate' inf. *klevetati* from *kleveta* 'calumny'). Besides these I place here the present in *-ujq* for **-om-ia*, as *běsuja* 'I am mad' 2nd sing. *-uješi* inf. *-ovat* from *běsovŭ* 'mad, devilish', and that from *běsŭ* 'demon'; for further details see § 782.3. We cannot tell whether Idg. presents like Skr. *turaṇ-yá-ti* and Gr. *ὀλισθαίνω*, to which *trepeštq* and *běsuja* are parallel, survived down to Slavonic. At all events these present forms have nothing exceptional about them, as the Slavonic had a great number of primitive verbs in *-ja* with inf. *-a-ti*, such as *ližq* *lizati* 'to lick' *gyblja* *gybati* 'to destroy, lose', and some of these put on the look of denominatives, as *glagolja* *glagolati* 'to speak' (cp. § 732 p. 260) did because of the kindred noun-stem *glagolŭ* 'word', and *dušq* *duchati* 'to breathe, blow' because of the noun *duchŭ* 'breath'. So it would be possible to believe that it is only on this analogy that *trepeštq* was formed from *trepetŭ*, and *běsuja* from *běsovŭ*.

Whether the other Idg. languages had such denominatives is doubtful. In Armenian we meet with denominatives in *-im*, as *taram-i-m* 'I fade' beside *an-taram* 'unfading'. This group

is a new formation, on the lines of Class XXVI, § 711 p. 246, as Lat. *custōdī-s finī-s* follow verbs primitive like *farc-ī-s* (§ 777). But the contained stems in *-iō* need not be compared with Skr. *turaṇ-yá-ti*; they may have arisen out of denominatives from *i*-stems. Similarly Lat. *catuliō* (beside *catulu-s*) *blandior* (beside *blandu-s*) *insāniō* (beside *in-sānu-s*) may be ad-formates of presents in *-i-iō*; and Germanic presents such as Goth. *hráinja* 'I cleanse' (*hráin-s* 'clean') *láusja* 'I loose' (*láus* 'loose') may be either this or derived from *-eiō* (see *b*, below).

(b) *-e-iō*. Skr. *vasna-yá-ti* 'haggles' Gr. *ἀνέτοιμαι* 'I buy' from *vasná-s -m* *ἄνω-ς* 'price' (for **Fνω-vo-*, cp. Solmsen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxix 81 f.; for O.C.Sl. *věno*, see II § 66 p. 149). Lat. *seneō*, Lith. *senė-ju* 'I grow old' (*-ėju* instead of **-eju*, see below) beside Lith. *sėna-s* 'old'. Skr. *amitra-yá-ti* 'is hostile' from *á-mitra-s* 'foe', *kulāya-yá-ti* 'wraps itself up' from *kulāya-m* 'covering'; Avest. *vāša-yē-iti* 'draws the chariot' from *vāša- m*. 'chariot', *aša-yē-iti* 'is pious' from *aša-* 'pious' (cp. Skr. *ṛtáya-ti* with different accent, see §§ 793, 798), O.Pers. *a-šāraya-m* 'I protected, watched' from **ša-ra-* (Skr. *tr-ā-*), not actually found. Gr. *φιλέω -ō* 'I treat as a friend' from *φίλος* 'dear, friend', *κοιρανέω* 'I rule' from *κοίρανο-ς* 'ruler', *νοστέω* 'I return home' from *νόστο-ς* 'homeward way', *εὐφημῶ* 'I use words of good omen' from *εὐ-φημο-ς* 'of good omen'. Lat. *claudeo* from *claudu-s*, *albeō* from *albu-s*, *flaveō* from *flavo-s*, *nigreō* from *niger*. Irish: perhaps *scorim scuirim* 'I unharness' from *scor* 'enclosure for unharnessed animals'. Probably forms in *-e-iō* = pr. Germ. *-iō* are at the bottom of Germanic stems like Goth. *rigneip* 'it rains' from *rign* 'rain', *háurnja* 'I blow on the horn' from *háurn* 'horn', Goth. *láusja* O.H.G. *lōs(i)u* 'I loose' from *láus lōs* 'loose'; the last verb, like all transitive denominatives taken from adjectives in Germanic, can be counted to Class XXXII; see § 806. Balto-Slavonic has *-ē-iō* instead of *-e-iō* (§ 782.2): Lith. *gūdė-jũ-s* 'I am greedy' from *gũda-s* 'greed', *kerė-ju* 'I grow in stalks, like a bush' from *kėra-s* 'stalk', *kėtė-ju* 'I get hard' from *kėta-s* 'hard'; 1) O.C.Sl. *razumě-*

1) Kurschat, apparently with less correctness, *kėtėju*.

-ja 'I understand' from *raz-umū* 'understanding, reason', *cělě-ja* 'I get well' from *cělū* 'well, whole', *o-žestocaja* 'I harden myself' for **o-žestokēja* (I § 76 p. 66), from *žestokū* 'hard'.

Remark. Greek verbs in -*ω* have their parallel in Lith. verbs with -*aju*. I conjecture that these endings are special upgrowths in these languages (§§ 773, 776.4, 782.2). Of course if Idg. *o* in open syllables became Aryan *a*, there is a possibility that Ar. -*āya-ti* in some words comes from **o-je-ti*.

§ 771. (4.) *i*-stems, Idg. -*iǵó*-. Gr. *μητιο-μαι* 'I devise, contrive' Lat. *mētiōr* 'I measure, sentence',¹⁾ from *μη-τι-ς* 'counsel, resolve, cleverness' Skr. *mā-ti-š* 'measure, correct perception'. Skr. *arati-yá-ti* 'brews mischief for some one' from *arati-š* 'ill luck', *janī-yá-ti* 'asks for a wife' from *jāni-š* 'wife', *kavi-yá-tē* 'acts like a wise man, is wise' from *kavi-š* 'wise man, seer' (on -*iyáti*, see § 774). Gr. *κοίτω* 'I make dusty' from *κόιν-ς* 'dust', *δηρτομαι* 'I strive' from *δηρ-ς* 'contention', *μηνίω* 'I grow angry' from *μην-ς* 'wrath'. Lat. *fīniō* from *fīni-s*, *febriō* from *febri-s*, *crīniō* from *crīni-s*, *grandiō* from *grandi-s*, *lēniō* from *lēni-s*. O.Ir. *fo-dālim* 'I divide up' (3rd sing. *fo-dālī*) from *dāil* 'part'. Goth. *dāilja* O.H.G. *teil(i)u* 'I divide' from Goth. *dāil-s* stem *dāili-* 'part'; Goth. *vēnja* O.H.G. *wān(i)u* 'I imagine, hope' beside Goth. *vēn-s* (stem *vēni-*) 'delusion, hope'; Goth. *dulþja* 'I observe a feast' from *dulþ-s* (stem *dulþi-*) 'feast', *anamahtja* 'I offer force to' from *ana-maht-s* (stem -*mahti-*) 'force'. Lith. *daly-jū* 'I divide' from *dālī-s* 'part', *szirdy-jū-s* 'I take to heart' (*szirdī-s* 'heart'); as regards -*y-ju*, instead of -*i-ju*, see § 782. 2.

§ 772. (5.) From *u*-stems, Idg. -*uǵó*-. Skr. *gatu-yá-ti* 'goes an errand' from *gātú-š* 'errand', *vasā-yá-ti* 'desires goods' from *vāsu* 'goods', *śatrū-yá-ti* 'appears as a foe' from *śātru-š* 'foe', *ṛjā-yá-ti* 'is straight' from *ṛjā-š* 'straight' (on -*ā-yá-ti* see § 774); Avest. *aəhu-ye-iti* 'makes oneself master of' from *aəhu-š* 'lord, master'. Gr. *φῑτρίω* 'I beget, produce' from *φῑτν*

1) A different account of *mētiōr* is given by Johansson, Beitr. zur Gr. Spr., 129.

'sprout, offspring', *φῑτν-ς* 'begetter, producer', *γηρόν* 'I make a sound' from *γηρυν-ς* 'voice', *οἰζύν* 'I lament' from *οἰζύν-ς* 'lament', *δακρύω* 'I weep' from *δάκρυ* 'tear', *ἑθύω* 'I go straight towards' from *ἑθύ-ς* 'straight'. Lat. *statuō* from *statu-s*, *tribuō* from *tribu-s*, *metuō* from *metu-s*.

§ 773. We have now given the main lines of this denominative formation in Indo-Germanic.

Now we have seen in § 769 p. 286, that *ā*-verbs of this formation very early yield to the analogy of *ā*-verbs of Classes X and XXVIII so far as to make such forms as Gr. *τίμη-τός-ς* *ἐτίμη-σα*. Next, corresponding non-present stems with *-ē-*, *-ē-*, or *-ā-* associated themselves with the presents in *-e-īō* *-i-īō* and *-u-īō*; to which were soon added verbs with *-ō-* outside the present and with *-o-īō-* or *-ō-īō-* in the present, formed from *o*-nouns. In the case of Denominatives with *-ē-* and *-ō-*, the type was aided by *ē-* and *ō-* verbs of Classes X and XXVIII as well. These non-present formations are all found in several branches of Indo-Germanic. As far as our knowledge of the relations of the languages to one another now goes, it is hardly possible to say how many such forms are proethnic and how many are later.

Gr. *φιλη-τός-ς* *ἐφίλη-σα* *φιλή-σω* from *φιλέω* (*φίλο-ς*), compare *νη-τός-ς* *ἐνη-σα* *νή-σω*, *μελη-τέον* *ἐμέλη-σε* *μελή-σει* etc. (cp. § 587 pp. 127 f., § 589 pp. 129 ff., §§ 735 and 737 pp. 261 ff., § 756. 4 p. 275). Lat. *claudē-rem* (conj. of *s*-aorist) from *claudēō* (*claudu-s*), compare *nē-rem* *-plē-rem*, *vidē-rem* *tacē-rem* (§ 587 pp. 127 f., § 590 p. 132, § 708 pp. 238 ff., §§ 735 and 738 pp. 261 ff.). Lith. *gūdē-ti-s* *gūdē-siū-s* from *gūdē-jā-s* (*gūda-s*), O.C.Sl. *cělē-ti* *cělē-chŭ* from *cělē-ja* (*cělŭ*), compare Lith. *byrē-ti* *byrē-siū* (§ 740 p. 265). Gr. *ἀ-δήρῑ-το-ς* *ἐκόντῑ-σα* *κοντῑ-σω* from *κόντω* (*κόνι-ς*). Lat. *fīnī-tu-s* *fīnī-rem* from *fīniō* (*fīni-s*). Lith. *daly-ti* *daly-siū* from *daly-jū* (*dali-s*), O.C.Sl. *gosti-ti* *gosti-chŭ* from *goštŭ* for **gostŭja* (*gostŭ*), § 782. 5. Gr. *ἀ-δάκρυ-το-ς* *ἐδάκρυ-σα* *δακρύ-σω* from *δάκρυω* (*δάκρυ*). Lat. *statū-tu-s* from *statuō* (*statu-s*).

-ō- is commonest within the verb infinite; as Gr. *μισθω-*

-ρό-ς from *μισθός*-, Lat. *aegrō-tu-s* from *aeger* (stem *aegro-*), Lith. *ragū'-ta-s* O.C.Sl. *roga-tŭ* 'horned' from *rāga-s* *rogŭ* 'horn', being forms like Gr. *τιμῆ-ρό-ς* from *τιμή*, Lat. *barbā-tu-s* from *barba*. Perhaps it was just verbal nouns of this kind which in Greek were the starting point for *ἐμισθώ-ου μισθώ-σω μισθώω*, cp. *ἐτιμῆ-σα τιμή-σω τιμάω*; so in Lithuanian, *jūškū'-siu jūškū'-ju* like *dovanó-siu dovanó'-ju*. Compare § 770 Rem. p. 289.

The shapes taken by present *jo*-stems in different languages will concern us in §§ 774 ff.

The meaning originally conveyed by this denominative group was that the subject of the verb stood in some kind of relation to the noun it came from. What this relation was had to be gathered from the meaning of the noun and of the context. But it often happens that we find in historical periods some special sense attaching itself to a special denominative ending (*-āḥō -eḥō* etc.). In Sanskrit, for example, *-īyā-ti* implied desire; in Latin, *-ō -ā-s -a-t* were factitive, and *-eō -ē-s -e-t* intransitive. This special meaning always started with some particular verbs, where it came from the essential meaning of the noun these verbs were derived from. Then other verbs followed the same pattern. To conform to the pattern, the stem of the ground-noun is often quite neglected; thus we have Skr. *putriyā-ti* from *putrā-s* on the model of *jāniyā-ti* (from *jāni-ṣ*). As we saw in § 769 pp. 284 f., it is the ending *-ā-ḥō* which seems first to have trespassed beyond its own domain.

As a result of this specialising of endings to some particular sense, the same noun often served as base for several denominatives with different meanings; as Gr. *ἐστιάω* 'I receive at the hearth, entertain' and *ἐστρίω* 'I make into a hearth, found a house' both from *ἐστία*, *ἀσθενέω* 'I am weak' and *ἀσθενόω* 'I make weak', from *ἀσθενής*, Lat. *clāreō* 'I am clear' and *clārō* (*-ā-s*) 'I make clear' from *clāru-s*.

Remark. Considering how close was the tie between noun and derivative verb, it is not to be wondered at that such verbs often caused the creation of nouns which looked as though the verbs were derived from them ("noms postverbaux"). So, on the analogy of *lacrimāre* : *lacrima*, *rixāri* : *rixa* we have Lat. *pūgna* coined to match *pūgnāre*, which was

derived from *pūgnu-s*; in Greek, similarly, we have *νίκη* 'victory' growing out of *νικᾶω* 'I bring down, conquer' (II § 86 p. 256). There are many certain examples of this retrospective tendency in modern languages, as Ital. and Span. *liga* Fr. *ligue* from *ligäre*, Mod.H.G. *wach* from *wachern*. See Bréal, *Mém. Soc. Ling.* iv 82 f.; Osthoff, *M. U.* iv 224.

§ 774. Aryan. The original forms leave the old groove but rarely.

We shall treat below (§ 793) of the shifting of denominatives in *-a-yá-ti* to the track of Class XXXII, which gives rise to such a form as Skr. *mantrá-ya-tē*.

Instead of Idg. *-i-jó-* and *-u-jó-*, we find in Vedic *-i-yá-* *-u-yá-* and *-ī-yá-* *-ā-yá-*; see §§ 771, 772. It is not clear whether the analogy of primary verbs like *nī-yá-tē śrū-yá-tē* is at work (§ 709 pp. 243 f.), or if the *ī* and *ā* came from feminine stems in *-ī-* and *-ā-* (II § 109 pp. 333 f.); it might be held that *jani-yá-ti* belongs to *jāni-š*, *janī-yá-ti* to the byeform *jānī*, *kaṇḍū-ya-ti* 'scratches' to the fem. *kaṇḍū-* and not to the masc. *kaṇḍu-*. Perhaps both these forces acting together caused the vowel to become long.

The wider use of *-ā-yá-ti*, which began in pre-Aryan times (§ 769 pp. 284 f.), went further; and in later Sanskrit it took a special turn, and the middle voice was used to mean that the subject represented the noun which the form came from; as *śakracāpāya-tē* 'represents a rainbow, is like it' from *śakracāpa-m* 'rainbow'. Note for the typical form of the contained noun, Ved. *dhiy-āya-tē* 'is pious' *dhiy-āyā-nt-* 'attentive' from *dht-* f. 'devotion, piety'; similarly *jm-āyā-nt-* 'struggling earthwards' from *kṣām-* f. 'earth' (II § 160 p. 482), unless it be from *jmān-* *ājma-* 'a way' ('way-making, carving a path').

-ī-yá-ti also was productive. On the model of *durgbhī-ya-tē* 'is hard to grasp' (*dur-gbhī-š* 'hard to grasp'), *kavi-yá-tē* 'is wise' (*kavi-š* 'wise'), *taviṣī-yá-tē* 'is strong' (*taviṣī* f. 'strength') sprang up others, as *adhvarīyá-ti* 'is present at the offering' from *adhvarā-s* 'offering', *pitṛīyá-ti* 'is fatherly' (gramm.) from *pitár-* 'father'. On the model of *janī-yá-ti* 'asks for a wife' (*jāni-š* 'wife') we have *putrīyá-ti* 'wishes for a son' from *putrá-s* 'son', *māṣīyá-ti* 'desires meat' from *māśa-m* 'meat'.

Thirdly, *-s-yá-* (from *s-*stems) once or twice leaves its proper sphere. *mānavasyá-ti* 'acts after the manner of men' from *mānavá-s* 'human' follows the type *svapas-yá-tē* 'acts nicely' from *sv-apas-* 'acting nicely'. *uruṣyá-ti* 'seeks the distance' from *urú* n. 'the distance' follows such verbs as *taruṣ-yá-ti* 'fights' (from *táruṣ-* n. 'fight').

Lastly, the ending *-arya-ti* grew into a type; beginning with *vadharyá-ti* 'lets fly a shot or missile', beside *vádhar-* and *vadhá-s* 'missile', it spread to *rátha-s* 'a chariot', and formed *ratharyá-ti* 'he drives in a chariot'.

Remark. I may mention here another word, Skr. *śrudhīd-ti* 'obeys'. This is derived from the imper. *śru-dhi* 'listen', which must have crystallised into something hardly more than a particle; the form is then like Gr. *ai-áizō* from *ai*, Mod.H.G. *bejahe* 'I say yes' *verneine* 'I say no' from *ja* and *nein*, Lat. *negō* from some form like **ne-gi* = Lith. *ne-gi* *ne-gu*, contained also in *neg-ōtium* *neg-ligō*.

§ 774^a. Armenian. With *jo*-suffix only denominatives like *tāram-i-m*, § 770 pp. 288 f.

Without *jo*-suffix: *jana-m* and the like, see § 581 p. 123.

Still unexplained are denom. in *e-m*, as *gorce-m* 'I work' from *gorc* 'work', *sire-m* 'I love' from *sēr* 'love', *çue-m* 'I break up, depart' from *çu* 'a breaking up, departure'. As *jana-m* answers to Aeol. *τίμημι*, one would be inclined to place *gorce-m* parallel to *φίλημι*. But *i* would be expected as representing Idg. *ē*.¹⁾

§ 775. Greek. The original ending *-āω* = Idg. *-a-jo* became *-āω*, not by rule, but by analogy of *-εω -ιω -υω*.

In several dialects we see *-ηω -ιω -ιω -υω* instead of the other quantity; as Lesb. *ἀδικήει*, Boeot. *ᾄμιώοντες* Delph. *σσεφανώτω* Hom. *ὑπνιόοντες*, Hom. *κονίοντες* *ἐρητύοντο*. Similarly *-āω*, as Hom. *μενοιρήησι* and *ἡβᾶοιμι* or (with. Ion. *η*) *ἡβήοιμι*, which seems to have been the form originally used where the text has *ἡβᾶοιμι*. This *ā* is certainly not long because

1) Hübschmann points out to me the possibility that the analogy of, say, *ber* ('φορέω, latio' etc.): *berem* (= Gr. *φέρω*) may have produced *gorcem* in connexion with *gorc*. Cp. the denom. Skr. *mārga-ti* Gr. *τέμε-ρο* etc., § 487 p. 41.

the vowel was long originally (see above), nor did the other endings lengthen their first vowel by analogy of an *a* so preserved; the long vowel in all of them came from the future, aorist, and other parts which had it, so that *ῆβάω* follows *ῆβᾶ-σω*, *ἀδικήω* follows *ἀδική-σω*.¹⁾ At the same time, some power must be ascribed to the influence of present stems such as *χρήων* (§ 737 p. 263) and *θῶ* (§ 707 p. 236); for the other parts of these had the same endings as the denominatives which now concern us (*χρή-σομαι* like *φιλή-σω*, *θῶ-σω* like *δακρύ-σω* etc.). To hastily reject this element in the matter would be all the more foolish, because it is clear as day that Primitive verbs have had influence over Denominatives in the futures *ὀνομανέω -ῶ* beside *ἀρπάξω*, and

§ 776. Before turning to trace the way by which the various denominative endings became general types in Greek, we would quote some words of Sütterlin's. He says, "In the every-day language of inscriptions, analogy did not run riot as it did amongst the poets and orators, who were often forced to adopt new words and terms, and depended partly on these for effect". (Zur Gesch. der Verba denom. im Altgr., 1 5).

(1) The type *-aw*, which could be made from *o*-nouns even in pre-Greek times (§ 769 pp. 284 f.), did not spread so far as it might in forming factitives, because it was met by a counter-current, the *-ow* class (4). Thus *νεόω* 'I renew' may have caused **νεFā-λω* = Lat. *novō* O.H.G. *niuwōm* to drop out of use (cp. p. 284 footnote). But in other directions *-aw* was fertile; it served to denote disease or diseased appetite, the production of sounds, mechanical operations, and the like. Examples: *λεπράω* 'I have an eruption on the skin' (from *λέπρᾱ* 'eruption') and similar words give rise to *ὕδερᾱω* 'I have dropsy' from *ὕδερo-ς* 'dropsy'; *ὀφθαλμιάω* 'I have diseased eyes' (from *ὀφθαλμιά* 'disease of the eyes') gives *ὕδερᾱω* from *ὕδερo-ς* (beside *ὕδερᾱω*), *ὀδοντιάω* 'I cut teeth' from *ὀδούς* 'a tooth'; *βοάω* 'I call, cry' from *βοή* 'cry' produces *γοάω* from *γός* 'lament'; whilst *κωνάω* 'I twist like a top' from *κῶνο-ς* 'top', *στιχάονται* 'they arrange themselves in rows' from *στίχοι* and *στίχες* 'rows', *σπαργανάω* 'I wrap in swaddling clothes' from *σπάργανο-ν* 'swaddling clothes' follow *τεχνάω* 'I work skilfully' from *τέχνη* 'skill', *μηχανάω* 'I set to work' from *μηχανή* 'tool, means', and so forth. *-ιάω* became another kind of desiderative suffix: *στρατηγιάω* 'I strive to become a general' (*στρατηγιά*) and others like it gave rise to such forms as *ἀρχοντιάω* 'I strive to become archon' from *ἄρχων*, *μαθητιάω* 'I wish to be a pupil' from *μαθητής*; and the last-named verb served as a model for *βινῆτιάω* 'volo coire' from *βινέω* 'coeo'.

Remark. In certain Greek dialects *-ew* is often found where we expect *-aw*; it is not always possible to suppose that these are due to the analogy of verbs in *-ew* from *o*-stems. Such are *ῥέβω* beside *ῥέβᾱω*, *δαπανέω* beside *δαπανᾶω*. J. Schmidt, in his work on the Neuters (pp. 326 ff.), puts forward a view that in pr. Greek *eo* *aw* became regularly *eo* *ew*; that

thus *eo* *ew* and *ae* stood side by side in sets of verb-forms, ἡβέω ἡβάεις etc.; and that there was levelling in two directions, (1) ἡβάω ἡβάομεν etc. following ἡβάεις -άει, (2) ἡβέω, -έει following ἡβέω -έομεν.

(2) Many are the meanings given by verbs in *-ew* which are formed from uncompounded *o*-stems; they stand in all sorts of different relations to the contained stem. Here are a few: *κοιρανέω* 'I am ruler' from *κοίρανο-ς* 'ruler', *οἰκέω* 'I dwell' from *οἶκο-ς* 'dwelling, house', *ἀριθμέω* 'I count' from *ἀριθμός* number, *μοχθέω* 'I toil' from *μόχθο-ς* 'labour'. This type was not very fertile in analogical imitations, though we have *ἡγεμονέω* 'I lead' (*ἡγεμών*) modelled upon *κοιρανέω*. But when these verbs were taken from compound stems, the case was different. These meant mostly to be or to act as something; and the type spread to an extraordinary extent. Examples of strictly correct forms: *οἰνοχοέω* 'I am wine-pourer' from *οἶνο-χόο-ς*, *δημιουργέω* 'I am a craftsman, artisan' from *δημιουργός*, *ἀδυνατέω* 'I am unable, weak' from *ἀ-δυνατός*; by analogy — *μισθοδοτέω* 'I am wage-giver' from *μισθο-δότη-ς*, *ἄφρονέω* 'I am senseless' from *ἄφρων*. It is true some of these verbs have meanings both transitive and intransitive, but this depends on the meaning of the ground-word; this *ταλαιπωρέω* means 'I plague' or 'I am plagued' because *ταλαι-πωρο-ς* means either suffering misery or inflicting it.

(3) With *-ew*-verbs derived from *o*-stems, another group originally ending in *-es-ew* ran together. Only in Homer is there a difference in form; there we have *-ew*, from *-es-ew*, and the intermediate *-eiw*, side by side: *τελείω* and *τελέω* (I § 131 p. 118). The coincidence of these two classes in the present caused analogy to act in other parts of the verb system. Even in Homer are found such forms as *ἀνθῆσαι* from *ἀνθέω* 'I bloom' for **ἄνθεσ-ew* (*ἄνθος* n. 'bloom') on the analogy of *φιλῆσαι* from *φιλέω*, and *τετενχῆσθαι* 'to be armed' from *τένχεα* pl. 'arms'. Then came a number of verbs in *-ew* fut. *-ησω* from compound *es*-stems, as *ἀπειθέω* 'I am disobedient' from *ἀ-πειθής* 'disobedient', *εὐθαρσέω* 'I am of good courage' from *εὐ-θαρσής* 'courageous'; a step due partly to the fondness

which the Greeks showed for verbal derivatives in *-εω* from compound *o*-stems (for which see above, 2).

(4) The group of verbs in *-ωω*, also from *o*-stems, is probably a purely Greek development, on parallel lines to *-εω* = Idg. *-e-īd* (see § 773 pp. 290 f.). At first probably there were forms of the verb infinite only, as those with the ending *-ω-το-ς*; these soon produced all the rest. *-αιω* *-ασιω* etc. may have been the type for *-ωω* *-ωσω*: there is a likeness between *θριγκόω* 'I furnish with battlements or eaves' (*θριγκό-ς*) *στεφανόω* 'I provide with a wreath' (*στέφανο-ς*) and *πεδάω* 'I furnish with a fetter' (*πέδη*) *τιμάω* 'I provide with honour' *τιμή*; compare particularly *στέφανω* (*στεφάνοις*) *στεφανόω* and *τιμῶ* (*τιμαῖς*) *τιμάω*.

A favourite meaning for *-ωω* is factitive; as *σιφλόω* 'I make a cripple' (*σιφλό-ς*), *νέωω* 'I make new' (*νέο-ς*), *ισόω* 'I make equal' (*ἴσο-ς*). This function it seems to have taken from pre-Greek *-αῖδ*; compare *νέωω* with Lat. *novāre* O.H.G. *nīuwoñ* (p. 295); and in this sense *-ωω* became enormously productive: *σαράσκω* 'I make into rags, tear to rags' from *ράκος* n. 'rag', *ύγιώω* 'I make well' from *ύγιής* 'well', *όρνιθόω* 'I turn into a bird' from *όρνις* 'bird', *πλατύωω* 'I make broad' from *πλατύ-ς* 'broad', *γεφυρόω* 'I make into a bridge' from *γέφυρα* 'bridge'.

(5) Beside verbs in *-υω* (§ 772) sprang up a class in *-ευω*, as *νομεύω* 'I am a herdsman' (*νομεύ-ς*), *ήνιοχεύω* 'I am a driver' (*ήνιοχεύ-ς*). If, as we assumed in III § 261 p. 162, *-ευσ* comes from **-ελυ-ς*, then *-τινω* = **-ελυ-λω*, *-ευσω* = **-ελυ-σω* are quite regular, and do not differ in principle from *-υ-(λ)ω* *-υ-σω* (*δακρύω* *-δύω*).

The ending *-τινω* soon became a type for expressing one's usual calling or occupation: as *οἰνοχοεύω* 'I am cup-bearer' from *οἰνοχό-ς*, *μαντεύομαι* 'I am a seer' from *μάντι-ς*, *θηρεύω* 'I am a hunter' from *θήρ* 'hunt', *βουλευώ* 'I am a counsellor, advise' from *βουλή* 'counsel'. Thus *-τινω* is partially synonymous with *-εω*; we have *οἰνοχοέω* and *-χορεύω*, and *κοιρανέω* bears the same kind of sense (see 2., p. 296).

1) One dare hardly derive this from **δακον-ιω*, although this would have an analogue in Lat. *fulgur-īd* (see § 775 p. 294).

(6) Amongst the many endings of verbs derived from substantives with consonantal stems, three are particularly fertile — *-αῖω*, *-ιῖω*, and *-αινω*.

(a) *-αῖω*, for *-αδ-ιω*, answers sometimes to a Germanic class in (Goth.) *-atja* (§ 768 p. 283), and sometimes *-αῖω* comes from **h₂d̥iō*, as in *πεμπάζομαι* 'I count by fives' from *πεμπάς* (II § 123 p. 390, III § 169 pp. 13 f.).

Following *μιγάω* 'I mix', intr. in middle (*μιγᾶς* 'mixt') were coined *ἡσυχᾶω* 'I pacify, keep quiet' from *ἡσυχος* 'quiet', *δοκιμάω* 'I test' from *δόκιμος* 'tested, genuine, correct'. Following *ἀφροδισιάω* 'I give myself up to sensuality' (*ἀφροδισιάς*), *γενειάω* 'I grow a beard' (*γενειάς*) were formed *στασιάω* 'I am in tumult' from *στάσις* 'tumult', *ἀνιάω* 'I feel pain or trouble' from *ἀνία* 'pain, trouble', *ἐπιχωριάω* 'I am at home' from *ἐπιχωρίος* 'at home'.

-ιῖω for *-ιδ-ιω*; as *ἐλπίζω* 'I hope' from *ἐλπίς* *-ιδ-ος* 'hope', *φροντίζω* 'I think' from *φροντίς* 'care', *ληϊζομαι* 'I rob, harry, carry off' from *ληϊς* 'booty', *ἐρίζω* 'I strive' from *ἐρίς* 'strife'. On this model, *αἰνίζομαι* 'I praise' from *αἶνος* 'praise', *δειπνίζω* 'I entertain' from *δείπνον* 'meal', *καναχίζω* 'I roar, rush' from *καναχή* 'rush, roar', *ὀνειδίζω* 'I abuse, blame' from *ὀνειδος* n. 'disgrace', *ἀκοντίζω* 'I cast a javelin' from *ἄκων* 'javelin', *αἵματιζω* 'I stain with blood' from *αἷμα* 'blood', *μακαρίζω* 'I bless' from *μάκαρ* 'blest', *αἰκίζω* 'I insult, torment' from *αἰκῆς* 'shameful'.

In a few words *-αῖω* and *-ιῖω* come from *-αγ-ιω* and *-ιγ-ιω*; as *ἀρπάζω* 'I seize, carry off' (fut. *ἀρπάξω*) from *ἄρπαξ* 'greedy, piratical'; and *μαστιζω* 'I whip' from *μάστιξ* 'a whip'. This coincidence of *-γ-ιω* and *-δ-ιω* in the present caused analogy to act in two directions. (1) *ἀρπάσω ἤρπασα* beside *ἀρπάξω ἤρπαξα* following the dental stems; and (2) Dor. *δοκιμαξέω ἤριξα* instead of **δοκιμασέω ἤρισα* following guttural stems. The latter kind were very common in Doric.

(b) Verbs in *-αινω* come from two sources. Some are derived from nominal *n*-stems; as *τεκταίνω* 'I carpenter' from *τέκτων* 'carpenter', *εὐφραίνω* 'I make glad' from *εὐφρων* 'glad', *ποιμαίνω* 'I tend' from *ποιμήν* 'herdsman', *σπερμαίνω* 'I give

forth seed' from *σπέρμα* 'seed', *κῡμαίνω* 'I undulate' from *κῡμα* 'billow' (§ 768 p. 282). The others are extended *no*-stems; as *λαίνω* 'I quicken, make live' beside Skr. *iṣaṇa-t*, *αῖαίνω* 'I dry' beside Lith. *saūsinu* (§ 621 pp. 158 f., § 743 p. 266). As the *-αίνω* group spread, either of the two kinds might serve as a type-form. Thus in making factitives from adj. *o*-stems, a large class, like *θερμαίνω* 'I warm' from *θερμός* 'warm', *λειαίνω* 'I smooth', from *λεῖος* 'smooth', *λευκαίνω* 'I whiten' from *λευκός* 'white', the model might be either *αὔαίνω*, which was popularly derived from *αὔος* 'dry', or *εὐφραίνω* 'I gladden' (*εὐφρων*) and *πταίνω* 'I fatten' (*πίων*).

§ 777. Italic. Denominatives from consonantal noun-stems, as Lat. *cantur-iō*, *dent-iō*, *comped-iō*, *custōd-iō*, *fulgur-iō*, in the present ran on parallel lines with primitives such as *farc-iō -i-s* (§ 702 p. 229, § 715 p. 248), and with denominatives from *i*-stems like *finiō (-i-s)* for *-i-īō*; with the latter this is true of the non-present stem, as *custōdītoi -ī-tus* like *finītoi -ītu-s*. The association seems to have gone thus far in proethnic Italic; for we have Osc. *καπίδιου*, i. e. *kapid-i-to-m* 'ollarium' (same stem as Lat. *capis -id-is*); compare Umbr. *statita* 'statuta' from **stati-* Gr. *στάσις*. Old participials such as Lat. *sceles-tu-s liber-tu-s* (II § 79 pp. 231 f., IV § 768 p. 283) had fallen out of the verbal system, thus becoming adjectives, before the beginnings of Latin.

The whole class of denominatives from consonantal noun-stems was dying out in Latin. Only those which ended in *-turiō* were a group of any size (see § 778. 1).

Of the forms used for the present in *scriptur-iō -i-s* etc., the only ones which are a regular outgrowth of the Indo-Germanic are the 1st sing. *-iō* and the 3rd pl. *-iunt*. The others cannot be derived either from *-iē-s -iē-ti -iō-mos -iē-tes* nor from *-iīe-s* etc.: to judge from the voc. *filie* (beside *filī*, III § 201 p. 83), we should expect as an imper. **scripturie*. As a fact, these denominatives dropt their *-iō -iē-s* and so forth simply because in Italic primary verbs conjugating *-iō -iē-s*

-ie-ti exchanged it for *-iō -ī-s -ī-ti* (§ 702 pp. 228 ff.) So *scriptur-iō* took its type from *suf-fiō farc-iō* etc. (§§ 716 f. pp. 249 f.), in the same way as Greek moulded the future *θερμανῶ ἀγγελῶ* upon the primary class (§ 757 p. 277).

What is seen in *scriptur-iō*, is seen in other verbs with *-iō*, as *finiō* from *fini-s*. Here, as before, only *-iō* and *-iunt* are regular. Here too the new forms sprang up in proethnic Italic; evidence for which is found in Umbr. *persnihi-mu* *persnih-mu persni-mu* 'precator' from a noun-stem **persni-* (§ 674 p. 207).

Again: verbs in *-ā-iō*, *-e-iō*, and *-u-iō* run parallel to the primary classes:

plantō, for **-ā-iō*, has the *iō*-suffix only in the 1st sing.; elsewhere unthematic *-ā-s -ā-t* etc., like *nō nā-s* etc., and *juvō -ā-s* etc. This agrees with Umbr. *furfant* *furfaθ* 'februant' *anstiplatu* 'instipulator' Osc. *faamat* 'habitat' and others, beside 1st sing. Umbr. *subocau* 'adoro' for *-ā(i)ō* (cp. *stahu* 'sto', and § 980); so the Latin type may be regarded as proethnic in Italy. See § 583 pp. 123 ff., § 738 p. 263.

So also with *claudēō*, for **-e-iō*, the *iō*-suffix is found only in the 1st sing.: *claudēō -ē-s* etc. like *pleō pl-ē-s* etc., *videō -ē-s* etc. (§ 590 pp. 131 f., § 738 p. 263). And the same is true of Causals, *moneō -ē-s* and so forth (§ 788). Two remarks may be made. First, *claudēō* and *moneō* orig. had *-ēiō*, while *pleō videō* had orig. *-ēiō* (cp. I § 612 p. 402). Secondly, *claudēs monēs -et -ētis* may be derived without violence from *-e(i)es -e(i)eti -e(i)etes*, as easily as Lesb. *φίλητε* may be derived from *φιλέ(ι)τε* (§ 589 p. 131). To judge from Lat. *trēs*, *pontēs* Umbr. *puntes* for *-e(i)es* (I § 134 p. 121), *ee* became *ē* in pre-Italic times. It is possible that this contraction in persons containing the suffix *-ie-* may have paved the way for the confluence of verbs in *-e-iō* and *-ē-iō* with those in *-ē-*. It must also be carefully remembered that Latin had no *ē*-forms answering to *plantāvī plantātu-s finīvī finitū-s*, as it had no similar *ē*-forms even in verbs with *-ē-iō*, such as *videō*.

Remark. An exception is *dēnsēō* 'I thicken', which has *dēnsētu-s*, a bye-form of *dēnsāre* (same meaning). It would appear that there was once nothing but this participle *dēnsētu-s*, and that the whole system *dēnsē-mus* etc., sprang up by analogy of *dēnsā-mus* to *dēnsā-tu-s*. This would explain why *dēnsēō*, unlike *albeō claudēō* etc., had a factitive meaning.

statuō -uis -uit etc. may be directly compared with Skr. *gātu-yāmi -yā-si* etc., Gr. *φῑτύνω -τις* etc.; on the other hand the inflexion is the same as in *suō suis suit* etc. (§ 717 p. 250).

§ 778. Particular endings becoming a type in Italic:

(1) The ending *-turiō*, occurring words like *scriptur-iō* from *scriptor* (§ 768 p. 282), was made by the usual misunderstanding into a type. Hence came a number of new forms, with the sense of will, wish, intention, often where there was no connected noun in *-tor*; as *parturiō tacituriō*, *sullaturiō* (from *Sulla*). In late Latin these words lost their distinctive meaning, and *parturiō*, for example, meant the same as *pariō*.¹⁾

(2) The ending *-iō* = *-i-iō*, found in many Latin verbs from both subst. and adj. stems, gained no such distinctive meaning as did *-ō* (*-āre*) and *-eō*. Add to the exx. given in § 771 p. 289 the following: *partiō* and *-ior* 'I divide, share' from *pars* (stem *parti-*), *circumrētiō* 'I ensnare' from *rēte*, *ināniō* 'I empty' from *ināni-s*, *molliō* 'I soften' from *molli-s*. None the less did *-iō* spread by analogy: *catuliō* from *catulu-s*, *equiō* from *equo-s*, which with *nuptūire* remind us in form and sense of the Skr. desiderative class *putrīyā-ti* (§ 774 p. 292); *blandior* from *blandu-s*, *rauciō* from *raucu-s*, *saeviō* from *saevo-s*, *largior* from *largu-s*, *ūniō* from *ūnu-s*; *poeniō pūniō* from *poena*; *abortiō* from *abortu-s*, *singultiō* from *singultu-s*. It is possible that some of the verbs like *catuliō blandior* are the same formation as Skr. *adhvaryā-ti* Gr. *ἀγγέλλω*; see § 770 pp. 286 f.

(3) Verbs in *-ā-iō* (Lat. *-ō*), some of which, from *o*-stems, belong to pre-Italic times (§ 769 pp. 284 f.), became very numerous in Italic.

Many such, derived from *a*-substantives, meant 'to

1) Johansson (P.-B. Beitr. x 223) thinks that Goth. *aihtērōn* 'to beg for' is a desiderative like these. He connects it with *aih* 'I possess', and thinks the orig. meaning was 'I want to possess'.

occupy oneself with, to practise, use, produce' that which the original stem denoted: Lat. *cūrō* Umbr. *kuraia* 'curet' Pelign. *coisatens* 'curaverunt' (Lat. *cūra*), Lat. *multō* Osc. *moltaum* 'multare' (Lat. *multa*), Lat. *īnsidior* (*īnsidiae*), *praedor* (*praeda*), *lacrimō* (*lacrima*), *maculō* (*macula*), *fortūnō* (*fortūna*). Then verbs in *-āiō* were made from other substantive stems. Examples: Lat. *terminō* from *terminu-s termen*, Umbr. *termnas* 'terminatu-s' Osc. *teremnattens* 'terminaverunt'; Lat. *locō* from *locu-s*, Pelign. *locatin(s)* 'locaverunt'; Lat. *dōnō* from *dōnu-m*, Osc. *d]uunated* 'donavit'; Lat. *vinculō* from *vinculu-m*, Umbr. *previslatu* imper. 'praevinculato, praepedito vinculis'; Lat. *numerō* from *numeru-s*, *pāgnō* from *pāgnu-s* (cp. § 773 Rem. p. 291), *spolior* from *spoliu-m*, *cōnsilior* from *cōnsiliu-m*, *rēgnō* from *rēgnu-m*, *fluctuō* from *fluctu-s*, *tumultuō* from *tumultu-s*, *cōntiōnor* from *cōntiō*, *nōminō* from *nōmen*, *exāminō* from *exāmen*, *colōrō* from *color*, *fulgurō* from *fulgur*, *onerō* from *onus*, *scelerō* from *scelus*, *pulverō* from *pulvi-s*, *laudō* from *laus*, *hiemō* from *hiems*; Osc. *deivaid* 'iuret' *deivast* 'iurabit' from *deivo-* 'deus'.

A few more exx. may be given of verbs in *-āiō* derived from adjectival stems, like Lat. *novō* (pp. 284 f.): Lat. *privō* from *privō-s*, Osc. *preivatud* 'privato, reo' (for the meaning, cp. Bréal, Dict. etym. Lat.² 281, Mém. Soc. Ling. iv 394 f.); Lat. *piō* from *piu-s*, Umbr. *pihatu* 'piato' prupehast 'ante piabit'; Lat. *probō* from *probu-s*, Osc. *prufattens* 'probaverunt'. Hence by analogy Lat. *gravō* from *gravi-s*, *levō* from *levi-s*, *cicurō* from *cicur*. Lat. *sacrō* from *sacro-* *sacri-*, Osc. *sakarater* 'sacratu, sacrificatu' from *σάκρο* ('sacrum') *sacri-*.

A mass of Lat. verbs in *-tāiō* are based upon *to-* Participles; usually they have an intensive or frequentative meaning. The following seem to have existed in pre-Italic times: Lat. *gustō* = O.H.G. *costōm* from Idg. **gus-tó-*, see § 769 p. 284; Lat. *itō* Umbr. *etaians* 'itent' *etato* 'itate' = Gr. *ἰτῆ-ρέοι* El. part. perf. act. *ἰτ-αυ-ιτᾶνώ*; Lat. *putō* 'I deck, prune, clean, reckon, think' beside O.C.Sl. *pytajā* 'scrutor, quaero, indago' (Osthoff, M. U. iv 86 f.). Formed in Latin on the same

principle: *hortor occultō adjūtō cantō versō tractō dictō gestō pōtō, domitō crepitō habitō*. The ending *-itō* was abstracted from words which happened to have it, and became a type; hence *vocitō* from *vocō* (*vocātu-s*), *volitō* from *volō* (*volātu-m*), *agitō* from *agō*, *scīscitō* from *scī-scō*, *vīsitō* from *vīsō* (Class XX, § 662 p. 197); and, by a combination of *-itō* with *-tō*, arose intensives or frequentatives to the second power, as *ititō* from *i-tō*, *dīctitō* from *dīc-tō*, *cursitō* from *cursō*.

The reason why this class derived from the *to*-participle increased to such a size, was that from the pre-Italic stage onwards, the neuter or the feminine of these participles was used as an abstract noun: as *commentu-m* 'idea' (hence *commentor*), *repulsa* 'defeat' (hence *repulsō*), *offēnsa* 'blow' (hence *offēnsō*). See II § 158 pp. 473 ff., IV § 769 p. 285.

-igare also became a fertile denominative suffix in Latin; *nāvīgō rēmīgō jūrīgō jūrgō mītīgō*. Cp. Leo Meyer, Bezz. Beitr. VI 130 ff.

(4) The *-eō* = *-e-īō*, of intrans. verbs like *claudēō* (§ 770 p. 288), hardly touched any but *o*-stems; but an example of it elsewhere is *molleō* from *molli-s*.

Observe that the same distinction of transitive and intransitive, which we see in the denominatives *clarāre* and *clarēre*, is seen in primary verbs with those endings, as *liquāre* and *liquēre*.

Remark. *fateor* seems to be another denominative in *eō*. Of this verb, Oscan has the inf. *fatium* (*i* = *ē*). The contained stem is **fa-to-s*, answering to Gr. *φηρό-*; 'said' (*ē-φατο-*), and meaning 'having declared something, open, confessing'; and the word doubtless borrowed its deponent inflexion from *fārī* (§ 495 p. 56). At first its construction was *fateor dē aliquā rē*, and the accusative constr. came later. The partic. *fessu-s* follows *suāsu-s* from *suādeō*, and the like.

§ 779. Keltic. The only distinct class of this kind in Irish contains the *a*-denominatives, as *rannaim* from the *a*-stem *rann* (§ 769 p. 284) and *marbaim* from the *o*-stem *marb* (p. 284). Somewhat as in Latin, the 1st sing. only is extended by *-īō*, and all the rest lacks it: 1st sing. *no charu* for **cara-īō*

(conjunct inflexion) like Lat. *plantō*; 3rd sing. *no chara* O.Bret. *cospitio-t* like Lat. *planta-t*. Compare § 584 p. 125.

io-presents from consonantal stems (like Skr. *apas-yá-ti*) there are none. Mid.Ir. *ath-rīgaim* 'I dethrone' is an *ā*-verb (inf. *aith-rīgad*) from *rī* 'king' (stem *rīg-*).

There are none either of the type of Skr. *gātu-yá-ti* (§ 772 p. 289).

In the Keltic 3rd conjugation, Idg. denominatives in *-e-ǵō* (say *scorim scuirim*, § 770 p. 288), those in *-i-ǵō* (say *fo-dalim* § 771 p. 289), and causals in *-eǵō* (§ 803) have all run together. Then this new composite denominative type spreads by analogy: 3rd sing. *ad-rīmi* 'counts' from *rīm* f. 'number' (stem **rīmā-*), *bagim ar-bagim* 'I strive, brag' from *bāg* f. 'strife' (stem **bagā-*).

§ 780. A denominative ending with *-ag-* became widespread in Irish and British dialects: e. g. O.Ir. *sāraigim* or *-sāraigimur* Mod. Cymr. *sarhāf* (= O.Cymr. **sarhagam*) 'I injure, offend' from *sār* 'offence', O.Ir. *suidigim* 'I place' from *suide* 'place', Mid.Ir. *intamlaigim* 'I compare' from *intamail* 'likeness, imitation', O.Cymr. *scamnehgirt* 'levant'. Some have wished to connect this suffix with the nominal suffix *-āco-* (II § 89 p. 273), led to this view by *cumachtaigim* 'I make myself master of' from *cumachtach* 'powerful'; but nothing clear is known about its origin.

Remark. "The British dialects point to *-ǵg-*, and before the *ǵ* Cymr. has an *h*, which I believe to indicate that the orig. sound was *s* (i. e. *-sǵgi-*). But of this *s* there is no trace at all in Irish. Leaving this out of count, we might imagine some formation like Lat. *rēmigiāre pūrgāre*, only with *i*-flexion in Keltic." Thurneysen.

§ 781. Germanic. (1) Here, as in Keltic, the most prominent group consists of *ā*-verbs, with inf. Goth. O.H.G. *-ōn* O.Iccl. *-a* A.S. *-ian*, called in Germanic grammars the Second Weak Conjugation. *-ā-ǵō-*, with *-ǵō*-extension, is clear only in Anglo-Frisian, A.S. 1st sing. in *-ie*, pl. in *-iað*, as *sealfie sealfiað*, where *i* must originally have been a long and also dull vowel, so that Germ. *-ō-ǵā-* is quite out of the question. Without *-ǵō-*: O.H.G. *salbōm -ōs -ōt -ōmēs -ōt -ōnt* Goth. *salbōs -ōþ -ōm -ōþ*

-ōnd. The 1st sing. Goth. *salbō* is doubtless not for *-ā-m with secondary personal ending (neither is *hab-a* for *-ē-m, see § 708 p. 239), but a new formation following *batra* beside *batram* and *haba* beside *habam*. Compare § 739 p. 264.

Examples of ā-verbs derived from ā-nouns are given in § 769 p. 284. Others are Goth. *fairinō* 'I accuse, blame' O.H.G. *firinōm* 'scelero' A.S. *firenie* 'I sin' from Goth. *fafrina* 'accusation' O.H.G. *firina* 'scelus' A.S. *firen* 'sin', Goth. *idreigō* 'I repent' from *idreiga* 'repentance', O.H.G. *ahtōm* (A.S. *eahtie*) 'I notice' from *ahta* 'notice', O.H.G. *gremizzōm* 'I look grim, am gloomy' from *gremizza* 'dark look, gloom, despondency'. The ending -inō-(ia-), beginning in West Germ. verbs like O.H.G. *firinōm*, *redinōm* ('I set forth, recount', from *redina* 'account, description') became an independent suffix and went further: e. g. O.H.G. *wīz-inōm* 'I punish' A.S. *wītnie*, O.H.G. *fest-inōm* 'I affirm, make fast, promise' A.S. *fæstnie*, O.H.G. *heb-inōm* 'I entertain as a guest', and others.

For ā-verbs from o-nouns, such as Goth. *vairþō* O.H.G. *werdōm*, see § 769 p. 284.

ā-verbs from s-stems (these joined the o-declension very early in Germanic, see II § 132 pp. 419 f.): Goth. *hatizō* 'I hate' from *hatis* 'hatred', O.H.G. *sigirōm* 'I conquer' beside Goth. *sigis* 'victory', O.H.G. *egisōm* 'I am terrified' beside Goth. *agis* 'fear', like Lat. *onerāre scelerāre* (§ 778 p. 302). -isō-(ia-) became a new independent suffix: Goth. *valþ-isō* 'I roll, revolve', O.H.G. *rīch-isōm* 'I rule' A.S. *rīcsie*, O.H.G. *līch-isōm* 'comparo, simulo' *hēr-isōm* 'I rule' (also *hērrisōm* by analogy of *hērro* 'lord, ruler', which was originally a comparative), A.S. *bledsie* 'I bless' and others.

ā-verbs from n-stems: Goth. *fráujinō* 'I am lord, I rule' from *fráuja* (gen. *fráujins*) 'lord', *gudjinō* 'I am a priest, fill priestly office' from *gudja* 'priest', which gave the type for *reik-inō* 'I rule over' (*reik-s* 'ruler') *skalk-inō* 'I am a servant, am useful' (*skalk-s* 'servant') *hōr-inō* 'I commit adultery' (*hōr-s* 'adulterer').

Many more new endings with the ā-suffix, like these just

mentioned, are found in West Germanic. The favourites are *-arō-*, *-alō-*, and *-akō-*.

(2) Even in the prehistoric stages of Germanic three classes of verbs, with endings originally different, came to have the same ending; those with consonantal stems, with the ending *-iō* (*-iīō*); those from *o*-stems, with the ending *-e-iō* (whence pr. Germ. *-i-iō*), and those ending in *-i-iō*. Compare Goth. *riqizja glitmunja veitvōdja lauhatja* O.H.G. *lougazzu lohazzu* and others § 768 p. 283, Goth. *rigneiþ* etc. § 770 p. 288, and Goth. *dāilja* O.H.G. *teil(i)u*, Goth. *vēnja* O.H.G. *wān(i)u* etc. § 771 p. 289.¹⁾ Besides, the causals in *-éiō* (pr. Germ. *-i-iō*), as Goth. *fra-vardja* = Idg. **uortéiō*, fell into this conjugation, which is called the First Weak Conjugation in Germanic grammar. It should be mentioned that in Germanic, as in other Idg. languages, many verbs derived from nouns are properly classed among Causals; for example, Goth. *hāilja* O.Sax. *hēliu* O.H.G. *heil(i)u* 'I heal' from *hail-s hēl heil* 'whole' (§§ 793, 806).

But the confluence of the various pre-Germanic conjugations was not always due to regular sound-change. For instance, Goth. *glitmuneiþ lauhateiþ* (both only inferred) took the place of **glitmun-ji-þ *lauhat-ji-þ* on the analogy of such forms as *rigneiþ* for **rigni-ii-ā(i)*. Goth. *vaurkeiþ* (1st sing. *vaurkja* Idg. **uṛg-iō*) is a new form, instead of **vaurkiþ*, following *fra-vardeiþ* etc. (p. 229 footnote). On the other hand, O.H.G. *denit beizit* (1st sing. *denn(i)u beizz(i)u* ground-form **tonéiō *bhoiǵéiō*) follow *hevit* = Lat. *capit*.

There is often wavering between the first weak conjugation and the second, the *ā*-verbs. Sometimes there were originally variant forms with different structure; e. g. O.H.G. *follōm* 'I fill' was a pre-Germ. verb in *-a-iō* (§ 769 p. 284), whilst *full(i)u* Goth. *fullja* 'I fill' is a causal; similarly we have O.H.G. *tarōm* 'I hurt, injure' from *tara* 'hurt, injury' beside the causal

1) Whether **-u-iō* leads regularly to Goth. *-ja*, and say *tagrja* 'I cry' comes from pr. Germ. **tagru-iō*, *ufarasaþja* 'I exist in abundance' for **ufarassu-iō*, is doubtful.

teriu (same meaning). How far these verbs altered their inflexion in later times, and for what reasons, are questions which need further investigation (cp. for instance O.Sax. *fullōn* beside *fulliu*).

(3) Verbs in Goth. *-a* (2nd sing. *-áis*) O.H.G. *-ēm*, as Goth. *þaha* O.H.G. *dagēm* 'taceo' (Third Weak Conj.), as we have seen in § 587 p. 129, § 592 p. 133, § 708 pp. 238 ff., did not originally belong to what we have called the later stratum of denominatives. However, we do find in Germanic quite a number of later denominatives in this conjugation; as Goth. *arma* 'I feel pity' *fasta* O.H.G. *fastēm* 'I fast'; and one is tempted to class those verbs along with Latin denominatives such as *claudeo*, which were just in the same way associated in conjugation with *taceo* *video* and the like (§ 777 p. 300). Howbeit, this is inadmissible. Because by far the greater number of the verbs in this class were intransitive (as are *þaha dagēm*), it happened that their ending became a sign of intransitive meaning; and as the orig. inceptive verbs with an *n*-suffix (as Goth. *ga-vakna* 'to awake') suggested inceptive *n*-verbs formed from nouns (as Goth. *fullna* 'I get full' *mikilna* 'I grow large', § 623 p. 160), just so *þaha dagēm* were the model for *fasta fastēm* and many others. Since there was a primary verb Goth. *saurga* O.H.G. *sorgēm* 'I care' side by side with the subst. Goth. *saurga* O.H.G. *sorga* 'care', which seemed to be derived from that substantive (§ 659 pp. 193 f.), so the subst. (O.H.G.) *fasta* 'a fast' suggested the above named verb Goth. *fasta* O.H.G. *fastēm*; and furthermore the verb *wernēm* 'I perplex or torment myself' was made to complement *werna* 'perplexity, pang', *wartēm* 'I watch, wait' was formed from the subst. *warta* 'watch, spying, waiting', *wahtēm* 'I keep watch' from *wahta* 'watch'. In O.H.G. the process goes a step further, and verbs like these are derived from adjectives; e. g. O.H.G. *fālēm* 'I cause to rot' from *fāl* 'rotten', *altēm* 'I grow old' from *alt* 'old'. Compare some other verbs, belonging to Class XIV, such as O.H.G. *wesanēm* 'I dry up, wither away' (O.Icel. *visna*), *trunkanēm* 'I get drunk' (A.S. *druncnie*), which, by adopting *ē*-flexion, gained a second sign of their intransitive-

inceptive meaning (§ 623 p. 160); and further Goth. *maúrna* O.H.G. *mornēm* instead of **maurnō* **mornōm* (§ 605 p. 147).

There are many and various waverings between *-ē-* and *-ā-*flexion, as O.H.G. *ērēm* and *ērōm* 'I honour', which need further investigation.

§ 782. Balto-Slavonic.

(1) Here it is no longer possible to distinguish beyond a doubt verbs derived from consonantal noun-stems and containing the suffix *-iō-*, of the type of Skr. *rajas-yá-ti* (§ 768 p. 282). Instead of these, we find in cases where the forms are clear, verbs conjugated in other denominative classes; as Lith. *akmenyjū-s* 'I turn to stone' from *akmũ* 'stone' (stem *akmen-*), O.C.Sl. *znamenajq* 'I mark, term' from *znamę* 'mark' (stem *znamen-*).

Remark. Perhaps the Lith.-Lettic verbs Kurschat calls "Punctiva" — those ending in (Lith.) *-terėti* *-telėti*, as *kiřsterė-ti* 'I rough-hew a little' — are to be connected with Slavonic *nomina agentis* in *-tel-* (Idg. *-ter-*), as *hr̥tel-i* 'offerer' (II § 122 p. 389). Then comes the question whether the Lith. present formation *kiřster-iu* *szvilptelu* (i. e. *-el-iu*) represents or not the type of Skr. *rajas-yá-ti*. The conjugation in the dialects is sometimes *-terėjau* *-telėjau*, *-terėti* *-telėti*, and sometimes *-teriau* *-telau*, *-terti* *-telti* (Leskien-Brugmann, Lit. Volksl. und Märchen, 313 f.), the latter like *lūkuriu* *lūkurti* beside *lūkurii* 'I wait quietly'.

(2) Beside the endings Lith. *-o-jũ* O.C.Sl. *-a-jq* = Idg. *-a-iō*, as Lith. *lankó-ju* O.C.Sl. *laka-jq* (§ 769 p. 284), we meet with Lith. *-ė-ju* O.C.Sl. *-ě-jq* instead of Idg. *-e-iō*, e. g. Lith. *gūdė-jũ-s* O.C.Sl. *razumě-jq* (§ 770 p. 288), and Lith. *-y-ja* instead of Idg. *-i-iō*, as *daly-jũ* (§ 771 p. 289). In these formations the long *-ē-* and *-i-* are to be explained on the same principle as the long vowels in the Greek dialectic forms *ἀδινῆω* *κονῖω* and so forth (§ 775 p. 293): they have been imported from the non-present stems; thus *gūdė-jũ-s* follows *-ė-siu* *-ė-ti-s*, *razumě-jq* follows *-ě-chũ* *-ě-ti*, and *daly-jũ* follows *-ý-siu* *-ý-ti*, and so forth. At the same time, something is due to such present forms as Lith. *byrė-ju* O.C.Sl. *gově-jq*, in which verbs the non-present forms had the same endings as have the present stems now in question (e. g. *byrė-ti* like *gūdė-ti-s*, *gově-ti* like *razumě-ti*); see § 735 p. 262, § 740 pp. 264 f.

Similarly sprang up the present in *-ā-ju*, as *jākū'-ju*, by analogy of *-ā-ta-s* (§ 773 p. 291), due to the same principle as the Boeotian *δαμῖοντες* (§ 775 p. 293). This happened first in Baltic, or at any rate in the proethnic stage of Balto-Slavonic. The preterite of these verbs is odd; it ends in *-avau* (*jākavaū*), while we should expect **-ā-jau*; the latter ending appears in Lettic as *-āju*, the shape it would naturally take there. I assume, with Wiedemann (Lit. Prät., 198), that *-avau* is due to the analogy of verbs in *-au-ti* (pres. *-au-ju* pret. *-avau*, see below, 3).

In Slavonic, where Idg. *ō* and *ā* ran together, verbs of the same kind as Lith. *jākū'ju* may be buried in the class which has the termination *-ajā*. This is all the more likely because such forms as *rogatū* and *ragū'ta-s* cannot be well separated (§ 773 p. 291).

(3) The denominative type exemplified by such forms as Skr. *adhvar-yá-ti* (from *adhva-rá-s*) and Gr. *ἄγγελλω* (from *ἄγγελος*) is represented, firstly, by Slavonic presents like *trepěštā* 2nd sing. *-ešteši* (from *trepetū*). See § 770 p. 287.

Secondly, Lithuanian denominatives in *-auju* (inf. *-au-ti*, pret. *-avau*), and those in Slavonic ending in *-u-jā* (inf. *-ova-ti*), have to be examined; e. g. Lith. *rėkau-ju* 'I make a noise' O.C.Sl. *dlūgu-jā* 'I owe'. They come from the most diverse noun-stems, but it is impossible to tell offhand with what stems the class began. If they are derived from *u*-stems (*dlūgovati* from *dlūgū* 'debt' gen. *dlūgu*, *sladovati* 'to be sweet' beside *sladū-kū* Lith. *saldū-s*), they must be connected with Idg. verbs in **-u-ǵō* (§ 772 p. 289). But if so, one cannot understand why the stem-final *-u-* should have been exchanged in the verb for the strong grade *-eu-* or *-ou-* (pr. Balto-Slav. *-ou-* may be either, see I § 68 p. 59). I therefore think it far more likely that the contained nouns had stems in *-e-uo-* *-e-uā-* (cp. Skr. *kēśa-vā-s* 'longhaired' from *kēśa-s* 'hair', etc., see II § 64 pp. 133 ff.). This view is supported by Slav. *běsovati* 'to be frenzied' beside *běsovū* 'devilish, mad' from *běsū* 'demon',

kraljevati 'to be king' beside *kraljevū* 'royal' from *kraljī* 'king', *vračevati* 'to be a physician, to heal' beside *vračevū* 'pertaining to a physician' from *vračī* 'physician', *vinovati* 'to accuse' beside *vinovīnū* 'guilty of something' from *vina* 'cause, guilt' (*vinovīnū* presupposes **vinovū*), and many more; Lith. substantives in *-ava -java* are collected by Leskien, *Die Bildung der Nomina im Lit.*, 199 ff. In Lettic (and Prussian too) the verbs in *-auti* do not appear at all; and partly for that reason, partly because the large majority of Lith. verbs in *-auti* are Slavonic in origin, it is at least not improbable that this *au*-conjugation has been borrowed bodily from the Slavonic. However, the borrowing must have taken place very early, when Slav. *ū* was still *ou*.

Genuine Baltic examples of the type of Skr. *adhvar-yá-ti* would therefore be impossible to find.

(4) Side by side with the ending *-ō-ju*, Baltic has another present inflexion with *-a-* and without *-jo-*. This occurs, firstly, in the 2nd sing. imper. always without exception; e. g. *dovanó-k*, which is to be compared with Lat. *planta* etc. (§ 957). Secondly, in Frequentatives and Causals with *-au* (inf. *-y-ti*), some of which were certainly derived from nouns; e. g. Lith. *jū'stau* 'I gird (frequently)' from *jū'sta* 'girdle', *peñnau* 'I earn' from *peñna-s* 'earnings', *vėtau* 'I fan, winnow' beside Skr. *vā-ta-s* Gr. *ἀν-τη* (II § 79 p. 223). The forms *jū'sto jū'sto-me jū'sto-te* answer to Lat. *planta-t -a-mas -a-tis* Lesb. *ῥῖμα-μεν* O.Ir. *no chara-m* Goth. *salbō-m* etc., but the 1st and 2nd sing. *jū'stau jū'stai* show the same analogical change as do the primary forms *bijaū-s* 'I fear' *buvaū* 'I was', see § 586 p. 127. This Lith. present class, as the non-present forms show (inf. *jū'sty-ti* pret. *jū'scziau*), stands in very close connexion with the Idg. verbs in *-éjō* (Class XXXII), and we must discuss it again in §§ 789 and 807.

The orig. *a*-flexion without *-jo-* is also seen in Pruss. *waitia* 'he speaks' 1st pl. *waitiā-mai* (inf. *waitiā-t*) beside O.C.Sl. *věsta-ja* 'I speak, advise' (inf. *věsta-ti*), beside Pruss. *caria-woyti-s* *karige-wayte* 'address to the army, review' O.C.Sl. *věšte* n. 'advice'.

(5) Slavonic has no distinct present class to correspond to the Lith. present class *-y-ju* (*daly-jù*, no. 2, p. 308) which represents the Idg. verbs in *-i-ǵō*. These verbs in *-i-ǵō* in this branch of Idg. were merged in the class of Causals etc. with *-i-ti* (Class XXXII); e. g. *goštq* 'I entertain, receive hospitably' 2nd sing. *gosti-ši* inf. *gosti-ti* from *gostǵ* 'guest', *čīštq* 'I honour' from *čīstǵ* 'honour', *mīštq* 'I take vengeance' from *mīstǵ* 'vengeance', *branjq* 'I strive' from *branǵ* 'strife', *mysljq* 'I think' from *myslǵ* 'thought'. The Idg. endings *-éǵō* and *-i-ǵō* in Slavonic were sure to run together after *-ei-* became *-ǵj-* (I § 68 p. 60), and in both classes the endings *-jq* *-iši* *-itū* etc. have undoubtedly taken *-ī-* from the infinitive. We shall see in § 789 p. 322 how very probable it is that *-ī-* first got into the Causals, and afterwards spread to *i*-denominatives.

§ 783. Certain endings of the denominative verbs become types.

(1) Verbs in (Lith.) *-ō-ju* (O.C.Sl.) *-a-jq* from *a-* and from *o*-stems; as Lith. *lanko-ju* O.C.Sl. *lāka-jq* from *lankà lāka* and Lith. *kilnō-ju* from *kilna-s*, *mīrksnio-ju* from *mīrksni-s*, O.C.Sl. *prija-jq* beside Skr. *priyā-s*, are cited in § 769 pp. 284 f.

Other Baltic examples are: Lith. *klūpo-ju* 'I continue kneeling' from *klūpa* 'kneeling, curtsey', *dārgano-ja* 'it is rainy weather', from *dārgana* 'rainy weather', Lett. *jaudā-ju* 'I have power, I can' from *jauda* 'power', *sukkā-ju* 'I comb' from *sukkas* pl. 'comb', *schāulā-ju* 'I flutter', from *schāul-s* 'fluttering', *wājā-ju* 'I weaken' from *wāj-sch* 'weak', *jōkā-ju* 'I jest' from *jōk-s* 'jest', Lith. *valō-ju* (i. e. **valiō-ju*) 'I compel' from *valà* (i. e. **valià*) 'will', *vadžio-ju* 'I lead about' from *vādžios* pl. 'leading-string, leash', *gylō-ju* 'I prick repeatedly' from *gylỹ-s* 'sting', *vynio-ju* 'I wrap up' beside *kakla-vynỹ-s* 'necktie'; also derived from *-ǵē*-stems, as Lith. *pāinio-ju* 'I confuse, entangle' from *pāinė* 'a confusion, entanglement, hindrance', *rānkio-ju* 'I keep picking up' (berries, for example) from *rankė* 'a gleaning or gathering'. The predominant meaning of Lith. verbs in *-oju* is 'to do, to

be occupied with' the thing denoted by the noun whence the verb comes, as *dovanó-ju* 'I make a present to some one'; and it is easy to see that where there was any verb of this sort and a primary verb containing the same stem, the former might get some kind of frequentative meaning by way of distinction. Thus *lanko-ju* 'I busy myself with bending' means practically 'I bend to and fro' to make pliant or supple, whilst *lenkù* means simply 'I bend'. We shall soon meet this same Frequentative class in Slavonic; and we may therefore with some probability infer that it belongs to the proethnic period of Balto-Slavonic. But I would suggest that the type is still older, and was not produced at that time out of the later stratum of denominatives; for there is no objection to comparing forms like Lith. *lindo-ju* O.C.Sl. *sün-ědaja* with Lat. *juvāre* Goth. *mitōn* etc., and placing them in the older denominative stratum. See §§ 734 ff. pp. 261 ff.

The ending *-joju*, both with and without some part of the foregoing stem adhering to it, became an independent suffix. Alone: *lankioju* beside *lanko-ju*, *brádžio-ju* 'I wade about' from *bradā* 'a wading' (but Lett. has *braddāju*) *lándžioju* 'I crawl about' beside *lā-landa* 'place to crawl into' (but Lett. has *lōdāju*), *lakioju* 'I fly about' from *lakā* 'place to fly in and out of, entrance to a beehive', *sakioju* 'I follow', *sagioju* 'I attach, fix, sew on'. *-loju* (i. e. **-ljoju*): *pirszlōju* 'I woo, am a suitor on behalf of some one' from *pirslj-s* 'suitor, wooer' (*perszū pirsti* 'to woo, to be suitor'), *mirkloju* 'I blink' from *mirklj-s* 'blinker' (*mérkiu mérkti* 'I close my eyelids') and others; by analogy of these *žirg-lōju* 'I go straddling about' (*žergiū* 'I step, stride'), *tep-lōju* 'I smear or grease over' (*tepū* 'I smear'), *mēt-lōju* 'I throw about' (*metū* 'I throw' *mētau* 'I throw about'). *-czioju* *-szczioju*: *badmirszczioju* 'I almost starve, suffer hunger' from *badmirtē* 'starvation', and others; which set the type for such forms as *mirk-czioju* *mirk-szczioju* 'I blink', *trūk-czioju* *trūk-szczioju* 'I throb repeatedly', *ráis-szczioju* 'I keep tying'. *-urioju* *-uloju* (with parallel endings *-uriūju* *-ulūju* by § 785) for frequentatives: *vjburioju* 'I wag my tail, fawn upon' from

vyburŷ-s 'one who wags the tail', *krūtuloju* 'I stir myself a little' from *krūtuli-s* 'a stirring of oneself, levy, militia', *grōmuloju* 'I chew the cud' from *gromulŷ-s* 'cud', etc.; by this analogy *kŷb-urioju* 'I kick or struggle a little', *vōb-uloju* 'I chew something tough'. *-aloju* is used in the same way; in this ending *-ioju* interchanges with *-iūju* far oftener than in the endings *-urioju -uloju* (§ 785):¹⁾ *sārgaloju* 'I am sickly' cp. *sargal-inga-s* 'sickly', *darbaloju* 'I keep on working, I work vigorously', *isz-vartaloju* 'I tumble down' and many more, Lett. *pirkalāju* 'I buy by retail' beside Lith. *pirkala-s* 'wares', cp. Lith. *svāmbalāju* 'I dangle' from *svāmbala-s* 'that which dangles, plummet'.

Other Slavonic examples (observe that some of the Slav. verbs in *-a-ti* may possibly answer to Lith. verbs in *-ū-ti*, see § 782. 2 p. 309): O.C.Sl. *igra-jā* 'I play' from *igra* 'game', *sū-vraska-jā* 'I am wrinkled' from *vraska* 'wrinkle', *klevata-jā* 'I calumniate' (beside *kleveštā*, see § 770 p. 287) from *kleveta* 'slander', *gněva-jā se* 'I am angry' from *gněvŷ* 'anger', *kašŷlja-jā* 'I cough' from *kašŷlŷ* 'cough'. As in Baltic, these verbs were distinguished by a secondary frequentative meaning from parallel primary verbs. They were associated with the group of frequentatives derived from verbs, whose beginnings go back to the older denominative *a*-series; thus *-ēda-jā* was associated with *ja(d)-mŷ* 'esse', *-črŷpa-jā* with *črŷpa* 'I make', *-gněta-jā* with *gnetā* 'I press', *čŷta-jā* 'I read' with *čŷtā* 'I count, reckon'; some of these could also be conjugated in the present like *glagoljā* (*glagola-tŷ*) *trepeštā* (*trepetā-tŷ*), etc. (§ 770 p. 287), as *na-ričā* 'I name' (inf. *na-rica-ti*) beside *na-rekā*. As some of these frequentatives had originally a strong grade of root-vowel, it became a rule for new forms of the same model, that if the primary verb had the vowels *e*, *o*, *ŷ*, or *ŷ*, the frequentative had *ē*, *a*, *i*, or *y* (see the comparisons in Leskien's *Handbuch*, pp. 14 f.).

1) The distinction between *o* and *ū* is in many Lith. writings so incompletely kept, that it is often impossible to say whether an ending be *-oju* or *-ūju*.

In vowel-stems, *-vaja* is found as a frequentative suffix; e. g. *o-ba-vaja* 'incanto' beside *ba-ja* 'fabulor', *o-dē-vaja* 'I clothe' beside *dē-ja* *dežda* 'I lay', *pi-vaja* 'I drink' beside *pi-ja* 'I drink'; *o-kleveta-vaja* beside *kleveta-ja* *kleveštā* 'I slander', *razumē-vaja* beside *razumē-ja* 'I understand'. The origin of *-vaja* was the noun-suffix *-uo-* *-uā-*: *piva-ja* from *pi-vo* 'a draught', *vū-liva-ja* 'I pour in' (beside *bi-ja* 'I pour') from **li-vū* Mod.Slov. *liv* 'funnel' *na-liv* 'shower of rain' Russ. *na-livū* 'the time when the corn grows full' *pro-livū* 'strait, channel', *na-sēva-ja* 'I sow' a field (beside *sē-ja* 'I sow') from Russ. *sē-vū* 'sowing, seed time'. Other similar nouns having *v*-suffixes may be regarded as derivatives with the suffixes *-ūkū* *-ūka*: cp. O.C.Sl. *pri-dē-v-ūkū* 'cognomen' Mod.Slav. *o-dē-v-ka* 'dress' beside *-dēvaja*, Russ. *do-bi-v-ka* 'a complete driving in' (of stakes) beside *raz-bivaja* 'I knock to bits, destroy' (*bi-ja* 'I strike'), Mod.Slov. *po-mi-v-ek* 'rinsing pail' beside *u-myvaja* 'I wash' (*my-ja* 'I wash'). But the *v* of *davaja* 'I give' and of *stavaja* 'consisto' may be taken as original, even if it is not to be put in just the same category as the *u*-suffix of the aforementioned forms; cp. Lith. *dovanā*, Skr. *dāvānē* and O.C.Sl. *stava stavū po-stavū stavlja* = Goth. *stōja*, Lith. *stovā*. Since *piva-ti* *dava-ti* were regarded as intimately connected with *pi-ti* and *da-ti*, the ending *-vati* became itself a type, and hence we have *-znava-ti* beside *zna-ti* 'knows', *-klevetava-ti* beside *klevata-ti*, and so on. The endings *-vaja* *-vati* were very convenient for making frequentatives from verbs with a vowel stem-final; hence their frequency.

Remark. Frequentatives of derivative verbs, as *o-kleretavati* *razumēvati* *reličavati*, must be regarded, because of their meaning, as an imitation of primary Frequentatives, and must not be derived from nouns in *-avū* and *-ēvū* (such as *reličavū* 'grandiloquent').

§ 784. (2) Verbs from *o*-nouns in (Lith.) *-ē-ju* (O.C.Sl.) *-ē-ja*, as Lith. *gūdē-jū-s* from *gūdu-s*, O.C.Sl. *razumē-ja* from *razumū*, are cited in § 770 pp. 288 f.

Other Baltic examples are: Lith. *szyksztē-ju* 'I am covetous' from *szykszta-s* 'covetous', Lett. *labbē-ju* 'I better

myself' from *lab-s* 'good', *prátē-ju* 'I subtilize, play the wiseacre' from *prát-s* 'reason', *galē-ju* 'I finish' from *gál-s* 'end', *mistrē-ju* 'I mix, mingle' from *mistr-s* 'hotch-potch'. In Lithuanian these verbs mean 'to be or practise' anything. They are formed from other stems besides those in *-o-*, as Lith. *žyggē-ju* 'I go an errand' from *žygi-s* 'errand, course', *malonēju* 'I much wish to have' from *malonù-s* 'gracious', *seilēju* 'I slaver, drive' from *séilē* 'slaver', Lett. *bridēju* 'I delay' from *bridi-s* 'while, period', *aurēju* 'I blow the hunting horn' from *aure* 'hunting horn'. They are linked with the older group of Verbs in *-ēju*, as *kylē-ju* (§ 740 p. 265), in the same way as verbs like *dovanóju* are linked with those like *lindoju* (§ 783 p. 312).

In Lithuanian the ending *-inėju* was converted into a new type for Frequentatives. First came verbs like *tekinē-ju* 'I run about a little' from *tēkina-s* 'running', *dilbinē-ju* 'I glower, glare from beneath my brows' from *dilbina-s* 'one who glowers'. The next step was *smil-inēju* 'I keep eating dainties, picking and tasting', *lind-inēju* 'I crawl about', *vag-inēju* 'I filch' and others. Verbs already frequentative often add *-inėju*, and thus form a frequentative of the second power, so to say; thus we have *laist-inēju* from *laistau* *laistyti* 'to pour repeatedly', itself frequentative of *lė-ti* 'to pour', *žarg-inēju* from *žargaũ* *žargyti* 'to straddle or stretch the legs repeatedly', freq. of *žėrk-ti* 'to spread the legs'; ep. *pilst-aloju* 'to pour, shed or drop repeatedly' from *pilstau* *pilstyti* freq. of *pil-ti* 'to pour, shed' (§ 783 p. 313).

Other examples from Slavonic, where almost all verbs in *-ěja* are intransitive and most of them mean to get into some condition: *o-slabě-ja* 'I get weak' from *slabũ* 'weak', *o-malě-ja* 'to get little' from *malũ* 'little', *buja-ja* 'I get daft' from *bujĩ* 'daft', *obũ-ništa-ja* 'I get poor' from *ništĩ* 'poor', *o-krilě-ja* 'I wing myself' from *krilo* 'wing'; *vũz-ma-žaja* 'I make a man of myself, take courage' from *mažĩ* 'man'. These too can be formed from other besides *o*-stems, as *želěja* 'I wish' from *želja* 'wish, longing'.

-lěja as an independent suffix. On the analogy of

o-mūdīlē-ja o-mūdīlē-ja 'I am slow, linger', from *mūdīlū mūdīlū* 'slow, lingering', and like forms, we find *prokazīlēja* 'I make evil plots' from *prokaza* 'evil plot', *maqīlēja* 'I become a man' from *maqī* 'man', *pečatīlēja pečatīlēja* 'I seal' from *pečati* 'seal'.

§ 785. (3) The Lith. suffix *-ū-ju* (§ 773 p. 291, § 782.2 p. 309), which began with *o*-stems, has the same function as *-o-ju*. For further examples take the following: Lith. *melū-ju* Lett. *melū-ju* 'I lie' from Lith. *melaī* Lett. *meli* pl. 'lies', Lith. *žalū-ju* Lett. *saīlū-ju* 'I grow green' from Lith. *žala-s žale-s* Lett. *saīl'-sch* 'green', Lith. *buīnū-ju* 'I saddle' from *baīna-s* 'a saddle', *dagū-ju* 'I harvest' from *dāga-s* 'harvest', *pūlū-ju* 'I fester' from *pūlei (pūl-iai)* 'matter, pus'. Derived from other than *o*-stems: *āsarūju* Lett. *assarūju* 'I pour out tears' from *aszarā assara* 'tear', Lith. *vagū-ju* Lett. *waggūju* 'I draw furrows' from *vagā wagga* 'furrow', Lith. *dejū-ju* 'I lament' from *dejā* 'a lament', *prāvardžiūju* 'I furnish with a surname' from *pravardē* 'surname'.

In the Lith. frequentative endings *-urioju uloju* and *-aloju* (§ 783 p. 312), particularly in the last, there are variants *-iūju* and *-ioju*: here *-ioju* must be regarded in general as the older ending. Examples are: *žiburīū-ju* 'I flare, flicker' from *žiburys* 'light, torch', *skliduriūju* 'I slide, swim', *tyvulūju* 'I spread widely', *svam̃balūju* 'I dangle' from *svam̃bala-s* 'that which dangles, plummet', *maīrgalūju* 'I shine with varied hues', *svaigalūju* 'I reel'.

We have already remarked (§ 782.2 p. 309), that the Lith. verbs in *-ūju* may possibly have their counterparts in Slavonic, where the class *-aja* may contain some of them.

§ 786. (4) Lith. verbs in *-yju* from *i*-stems have been cited in § 771 p. 289; to Lith. *sziīrdy-jū-s* answers Lett. *si'rdi-jū-s* 'I take to heart'. Here are some further examples: Lith. *rūdy-jū* 'I rust' from *rudi-s* 'rust', *kirmy-jū* 'I am eaten of worms' from *kirmi-s* 'a worm', which was orig. an *i*-stem although inflected as a stem in *-io-* (II § 97 p. 289), Lett. *āust-jū-s* 'I listen' from *āus-s* (Lith. *aust-s*) 'ear'. From

other stems: Lith. *rómyju* Lett. *rāmtju* 'I castrate' (properly 'I tame') from *roma-s* *romù-s* *rām-s* 'calm, tame, gentle', Lith. *vaĩdyjũ-s* 'I quarrel' from *vaĩda-s* 'a quarrel', *giñczyjũ-s* 'I strive' from *giñczia-s* 'strife', *gaidryje-s* 'clears up' (of the weather) from *gaidrũ-s* 'cloudless, bright', *krūvyju* 'I heap' from *krāvà* 'a heap', Lett. *gūdtju* 'I make myself decorous or agreeable' from *gūd-s* 'demeanour, honour' (stem *gūda-*), *skāustiju* 'I tighten, wedge tight' from *skāust-s* 'wedge' (stem *skāusta-*), *meddiju* 'I hunt something' from *mesch* (Lith. *mėdi-s* *-džio*) 'forest'.

Remark. Since there were Lith. denominatives in *-inu*, as *lĩnks-minu* (§ 624 p. 161), whose future *-jsiu* became identical with that of the verbs we are now discussing, verbs in *-inu* and verbs in *-yju* were mixed up together. Compare Leskien-Brugmann, Lit. Volksl. und Märchen, pp. 314 f. No special examination has been made to find out the local distribution of this confusion, or how far it went.

On Slavonic verbs in *-ja* from *i*-stems, see § 782. 5 p. 311, § 789 p. 322.

§ 787. (5) The Slavonic ending *-ujā* (inf. *-ovati*) we have already traced to its beginning with the stems in *-ovũ* (§ 782. 3 p. 309). As an independent suffix it became very common, especially to denote condition, possession of a dignity, and the like. Examples: *mirĩnujā* 'I am peaceful, keep the peace' from *mirĩnũ* 'peaceful', *prĩvujā* 'I am first' from *prĩvũ* 'first', *vojujā* 'I am a warrior, I make war' (inf. *vojevati*) from *vojĩ* 'warrior', *sũvėdėteljūjā* 'I am witness' from *sũvėdėtelĩ* 'witness', *sũvėdėtelĩstvujā* 'I give evidence' from *sũvėdėtelĩstvo* 'evidence', *obėdujā* 'I take a meal' from *obėdũ* 'meal', *imenujā* 'I name' from *imė* 'name'.

Remark. In the same way this ending was fertile in Lithuanian, where it took the shape of *-auju* (see § 782. 3 p. 309). On the model of *karalāuju* = O.C.Sl. *kraljūjā* 'I am king' we have *vėszpatāuju* 'I rule', *karāuju* 'I make war', and others.

K. CLASS XXXII.

ROOT + *-éio-* FORMING THE PRESENT STEM.

§ 788. The Verbs which here come under our consideration are those which are called Causal in Sanskrit grammars, because in Sanskrit their prevailing meaning is causal.

The Skr. accentuation *-āya-* must be regarded as original. Germanic also shows evidence that the accent lay after the root syllable; compare Goth. *fra-wardja* with *d*, but *vairþa* with *þ* (I § 530 p. 383), and Goth. *marzja* 'I vex' O.Sax. *merriu* 'I stop, hinder, disturb' with pr. Germ. *z* for *s* (I §§ 581 f. p. 434).

In all languages except Sanskrit, *-éio-* ran together with other present suffixes without possibility of distinction. But in Sanskrit this ending was differentiated by its accent from that of derivatives from *o*-nouns: *vēd-āya-ti* 'gives to understand, informs' is contrasted with *vasna-yá-ti* from *vasná-s* (§ 770 p. 288); on the later confusion of these two classes, see § 793. In Greek both are alike, and *φορέω* 'I carry about with me, I wear' looks just the same as *φιλέω* 'I treat as a friend' from *φίλος* (§ 770 p. 288, § 776.2 p. 296); how it came to pass that the two classes agreed in the verb infinite as well, where we should expect **φιλέοντες* in contrast to *φορέοντες*, has been explained in § 527 Rem. 1 p. 89. In Latin there is no distinction either, but *mon-eō* (*-ē-s*) is just like *claud-eō* (*-ē-s*) from *claudu-s*, and like *videō* for **vidē-iō* 2nd sing. *vidē-s* (§ 738 p. 263, § 777 p. 300). In Irish, there was a confluence of *-éiō* (*ad-suidim* 'I prolong, postpone'), *-e-iō* (*scorim scuirim* 'I unharness' § 770 p. 288), *-i-iō* (*fo-dālim* 'I divide up' § 771 p. 289), and *-iō* (*lēc-iu* 'I let, allow', § 719 p. 251). The same is true of Germanic: Goth. *fra-wardja* 'I bring to nothing, destroy' = Skr. *vart-áyāmi* like *haurnja* 'I blow the horn' (*-e-iō*) from *haurna-*, like *dulþja* 'I keep a feast' (*-i-iō*) from *dulþi-*, like *glitmun-ja* 'I shine' from **glitmun-* (§ 768 p. 282), and like *vaúr-k-ja* 'I work' (§§ 720 ff. pp. 251 ff.), compare § 781.2 pp. 306 f. Slavonic examples: *bužda* 'I wake' *budi-ši* (Skr.

bōdhāya-ti) like *goṣṭā* 'I entertain' *gosti-ṣi* from the *i*-stem *gosti* (§ 782. 5 p. 311) and like *būṣṭā* 'I am awake, watch' *būdi-ṣi* = Skr. *būdh-yāmi* (§ 702 p. 230, § 727 pp. 257 ff.).

Lith. has *-au*, a wide departure from the original form: *vartaũ* 'I turn, keep on turning about', 3rd sing. *vaṛto*, contrasted with O.C.Sl. *vraštā vrati-tũ* Skr. *vart-āyāmi* Goth. *fravard-ja*, cp. *bijaũ-s* § 586 p. 217 and *jũ'stau* § 782. 4 p. 310.

To the same class, as we shall see in § 790, belong some verbs with a weak grade of root, and one of these is Idg. **u-éiō*: Skr. *v-āyāmi* 'I weave', Lith. *v-ejũ* O.C.Sl. *v-ŷja* 'I wind or twist'. In this verb, and in this only, the original Idg. inflexion has been kept in Balto-Slavonic.

I therefore regard as original the inflexion *-éiō -eje-si -eje-ti* etc., with *-ejo-* and *-eje-* interchanging, as may be clearly seen in Aryan and Greek. What we see in Germanic may also be the same, with for the most part only regular changes; only we must regard such forms as O.H.G. 2nd sing. *denis legis* (1st sing. *dennu* 'I stretch' *leggu* 'I lay' = Goth. *þanja lagja*) as being ad-formates of *hevis ligis* etc. (§ 781. 2 p. 306). In Latin, the only form directly representing the Idg. is the 1st person singular in *-eō*; but perhaps the persons with *-eje-*, which must have become *-ē-* in proethnic Italic, are also preserved in *monēs* etc. But *monēmus monent*, like *claudēmus claudent*, must be ad-formates of *tacē-mus tacent*. See on this matter § 777 p. 300. Lith. *vartaũ* and O.C.Sl. *vraštā* will be explained in the next few paragraphs.

§ 789. The distinction between the *jo*-verbs which we have placed in Classes XXVI—XXXI, and verbs with *-éjo-*, is that in the former the *jo*-element was confined to the present from the proethnic stage onwards; whilst in the latter the perf. part. pass. and the forms closely connected with it show after the root a certain element which seems to be etymologically akin to the present formative suffix. This element is *-i-* or *-ī-*. Sanskrit and Germanic as a rule have *-i-*; e. g. Skr. *varti-tā-s* Goth. *fra-wardi-þ-s*, and so in the Lat. *moni-tu-s qu-i-tum*.

-ī- is regular in Balto-Slavonic, as Lith. *vartý-ti* (*vartý-siu*) O.C.Sl. *vrati-ti* (*vrati-chŭ*). *-ī-* is also seen in the following. Gr. (*F*)-*ī-rēā* 'willow' (beside (*F*)-*ī-rv-ς* 'felloe'), Lat. *v-ī-ti-s*, O.H.G. *w-i-da* 'willow' (beside *w-i-d* 'cord of twisted withes'), Lith. *v-ý-ti-s* 'cane, switch' O.C.Sl. *v-i-tŭ* 'res in modum funis torta', which along with inf. Lith. *v-ý-ti* O.C.Sl. *v-i-ti* are connected with Idg. **u-éjō* (see § 788 p. 319). Skr. *gybh-ī-tá-s* (*a-grah-ī-ṣ-ṭa* *grah-ī-ṣya-ti*) beside *gybh-āya-nt-*, *hāv-ī-tavē* beside *hāv-āya-ti*, *mṛd-ī-kā-m* 'pity, compassion' beside *mṛd-āya-ti*. Lat. *noc-ī-vo-s* is doubtless related to *noceō* as O.C.Sl. *chodivŭ* is to *chodi-ti*, or *ljubivŭ* to *ljubi-ti* (cp. II § 64 Rem. 2 p. 136, and pp. 137 f.).¹⁾

From these facts it follows that we have in this verbal class what may be called a Root-Determinative *-i-*, parallel to the determinative *-u-*; thus Skr. *v-āya-ti*: Gr. (*F*)-*ī-rv-ς* O.H.G. *w-i-d* = Skr. *sr-āva-ti*: *sr-u-tá-s* (see § 488 pp. 46 f.). The only difference is that whilst *-u-* was restricted to some few examples (compare however § 596. 2 pp. 136 f. for what is said on the present suffix *-nu-*), the *-i-* was fertile even in proethnic Idg. itself. If this view of the *-éjō-* class is correct, the class must be very closely connected with present forms like Skr. *am-ī-ti* (§§ 572 ff. pp. 114 ff.). Skr. *v-āya-ti*: *am-ī-ti* = *sr-āva-ti*: *tar-u-tē* (§ 596. 2 pp. 136 f.).

Now are *-éjō-* and *-ī-* connected in any way with the *-jō-* suffix of Classes XXVI—XXXI? It is an obvious conjecture that there may be the same relation between *-ejō-* and *-jō-* as between *-eyo-* and *-yo-* (*v-āya-ti*: *hāv-ya-ti* = *sr-āva-ti*: *bhāv-va-ti*, see § 488 p. 47), or *-eno-* and *-no-*, or between *-eso-* and *-so-* (*-esko-* and *-sko-*). I do not venture either to assert or to deny this; but seeing how uncertain the matter is, I think it best not to group the *-éjō-* class with the *-jō-* classes.

1) Cp. Skr. *d-mī-vā* 'pain' beside *amī-ti* beside which we have Avest. *amayavā-* 'pain', which form Bartholomae uses to postulate an Avest. pres. **amayē-iti* (Stud. Idg. Spr., II 178).

We now return to the Balto-Slavonic present exemplified by *vartaũ vrašta*.

The simplest explanation of the Slavonic present inflexion is that *-i-* has come in from the infinitive stem: *vrati-ši vrati-tũ* then follow *vrati-ti*, a process which has an exact parallel in the change of **gostijā -yēši* etc. to *goštā gosti-ši* by analogy of *gosti-ti gosti-chũ* (§ 782. 5 p. 311).

Remark. Another explanation of the origin of this Slavonic present type is possible. Sanskrit has a mid. optative e. g. *vēday-i-ta* beside *vēdāya-tē*, injunctive *dhvanay-i-t* (op. *ā-brav-i-t*), and participle *vēday-āna-s*. See § 574 pp. 115 f., § 951. The indicative to *vēday-i-ta* would be **(a-)vēdē-ta*, and Bartholomae conjectures that certain forms usually regarded as *oī*-optative may be this very indicative (Stud. Idg. Spr., II 127). This would make it possible to derive 3rd sing. *vrati-tũ* from **uortēi-t(i)*. I should give more weight to this explanation were it not for a very strong suspicion that these Aryan forms are due to analogy, and are not proethnic at all.

The Lith. inflexion *-au -yti* is found in Lettic too (*-u -it*) and also in Prussian (*billa* 'speaks' inf. *billi-t billi-twei*); it therefore is proethnic in Baltic. Its origin is a confusion of the old inflexion of our class with both the earlier and the later group of *ā*-denominatives, that is to say, with verbs like *bijaũ-s* (§ 586 p. 127) and verbs like *jũstau* (§ 782. 4 p. 310). But why was it this confusion went so far that the *ā*-flexion drove the *eīo*-flexion quite out of the present, but yet *-a* did not drive *-i-* out of the infinitive? (contrast *bijaũ-s bijó-ti-s*.) I explain this by supposing that Baltic once possessed verbs like Lat. *cubāre sonāre*, which had the *ā*-suffix in the present only. O.C.Sl. *ima-mĩ* 'I have' likewise shows *ā*-flexion only in the present (inf. *imē-ti*). The Lith. present stems containing Idg. *-o-* in the root syllable, such as *vartō-* = **uortā-* (*√uert-*), seem to have a parallel in Lat. *domā-* (*domō domās*) O.H.G. *zamō-* (*zamōm zamōs*) = Idg. **domā-* from *√dem-*, since this is best explained as a contamination of **dymā-* (Skr. *damā-yā-ti*) and **domējo-* (Goth. *tamja* O.H.G. *zemm(i)u*). *laižaũ* 'I lick' (*laižỹ-ti*) is the equivalent of Goth. *bi-láigō* 'I lick over'.

The question next arises when *-ā-* got the better of *-eḷo-*, as the Baltic shews it did at some time or other. I am inclined to place the change in the proethnic period of Balto-Slavonic. What inflexion came just before the type actually found in Slavonic, *vraštā vratiši* and so forth, is not at all clear. It may very well have been one answering to the Lith., that is 3rd sing. **vortā-ti* 1st pl. **vortā-mū*, cp. *ima-tū ima-mū*, and on this supposition it is easier to explain the actually found *ī*-forms, than if we suppose the Slavonic to have passed direct from **vortīje-ti* to **vortī-ti*. But then we must also assume that **gostīja *īješi* = Idg. **i-ḱō *i-ḱé-si* (§ 782. 5 p. 311) changed to *goštā gostīši* only on the analogy of *vraštā vratiši*. For the Baltic *i*-denominatives like Lith. *daly-jū sziřdy-jū-s* prove that these forms sprang up within the Slavonic area.

A complete levelling of the Causal conjugation with the *i*-Denominative is not unknown in Baltic. Here the *i*-denominative takes the lead. I find only a few examples in Lith., as *paisyju -yti* instead of *paisau -yti* 'to knock the beard off the barley, thresh' (cp. Skr. *pēśāya-ti*). There are more in Lettic; e. g. *rūfiju rūfīt* 'to stretch' instead of Lith. *rāžau rāžyti*, *pe'lnīju pe'lnīt* 'to earn' instead of Lith. *pe'lnau pe'lnyti*.

§ 790. In *éḷo*-verbs with roots of the *e*-series, the root-syllable has and originally had generally the 2nd strong grade, *o*; as Gr. *γοβέω* beside *γέβομαι*, Lat. *noneō* from $\sqrt{\text{men-}}$, Goth. *satja* beside *sita*, Lith. *vartýti* O.C.Sl. *vratiti* for **vortiti* from $\sqrt{\text{uert-}}$. This is why Aryan has *ā* in open syllables, as Skr. *bhāraya-ti* Avest. *bārayēti* from $\sqrt{\text{bher-}}$, if the hypothesis set forth in vol. I § 78 p. 69 is correct.¹⁾

The European languages make it improbable that there were in the very oldest times any forms with the root-grade *e*. Aryan forms with *-a-*, as Skr. *jarāya-ti* from $\sqrt{\text{ġer-}}$, *janāya-ti* from $\sqrt{\text{ġen-}}$, may be explained by the admixture

1) No explanation of *ā* in *bhāraya-ti* which is in the least degree satisfactory has hitherto been put forward by those who deny this. The European forms adduced as parallel by Bechtel (Die Hauptprobleme der idg. Lautl., 169 f.) prove nothing at all. Compare § 843, Rem.

with denominatives derived from *o*-stems which will be described in § 793; on this supposition, *jarāya-ti* and *janāya-ti* would belong to the nouns *jāra-* and *jāna-* just as much as *mantrāya-ti* belongs to the noun *māntra-*. Or they may be explained in another way: In Aryan, the *éjo-* formation was often made from the connected primary verb instead of being built up on the root (see § 796), so that *pātāya-ti* would stand to *patāya-ti* (beside *pāta-ti*) as *kartaya-ti* to *kṛntaya-ti* (beside *kṛntā-ti*).

On the other hand, *éjo*-verbs with a weak grade of root have been found from the proethnic period onwards. They are commonest in Aryan, e. g. Skr. *gybhāya-ti*. The following are proethnic Idg.: Skr. *v-āya-ti* 'weaves' Lith. *v-ejũ* O.C.Sl. *v-ŷja v-ija* 'I wind, turn, wrap', beside Gr. *ἵ-τέα* Lat. *v-ī-ti-s* O.H.G. *w-ī-da* Lith. *v-ý-ti-s v-y-ti* O.C.Sl. *v-i-tŷ v-i-ti* and Gr. *ἵ-rv-ς* O.H.G. *w-i-d* (§ 789 p. 320); root without determinative in Skr. *ḍ-tu-m u-tá-s* perf. 3rd pl. *ūv-úr* pass. *a-ya-tē*, extended by *a* in *v-d-tavē* and others (Whitney, Skr. Roots, pp. 157 f.).¹⁾ Skr. *śv-āya-ti* 'swells, thrives, is strong' beside Gr. *κν-έω* 'I am pregnant', Lat. *qu-eō*, with supine *qu-i-tum* (the resemblance of *eō* : *itum* made the conjugation of *queō* run like *eō* — *quimus quibō* etc.); the same root in Skr. 3rd pl. *śū-śuv-ur śū-ná-s á-śv-a-t śáv-as* Gr. *ἄ-κν-ρος κν-μα* Lat. *in-ciēns* for **-cy-iens* (§ 715 p. 248, § 717 p. 250), and with *a*-extension in Skr. *śv-ā-trá-s* Gr. El. *ἐπ-εν-πήτω* and others (§ 737 p. 263). Skr. *dhun-aya-tē* 'roars' (beside *dhvan-a-ti* 'makes a sound') O.Sax. *duniu* Mid.H.G. *düne* O.Icel. *dyn* 'I roar, rumble, groan'. Of the same kind are: Skr. *hv-āya-ti* 'calls' Avest. *zb-aye-iti zuv-aye-iti* beside Skr. *háv-a-tē* perf. *ju-hāv-a* aor. *á-hv-a-t á-huv-a-t*, Lat. *ci-eō* beside *ac-ciō ci-tu-s* Gr. *κί-ω κί-vv-μαι*; O.H.G. *zunt(i)u* 'I kindle' with Goth. *tandja* 'I kindle' beside Mid.H.G. *zinden* (strong verb) 'to burn, glow'. Uncertain: Gr. *qλ-έω* 'I overflow' beside *ἐκ-φλαίνω* Lat. *fl-ē-re*;

1) From this *uei- uē- uí-*, which had become a root again before the end of proethnic Idg., a present was again formed by means of *-éjo-*; Skr. *vy-āya-ti* 'winds up, wraps up, covers, hides', Lat. *vi-eō*.

Goth. *ga-nŕja* 'I cause' from $\sqrt{\text{nes-}}$, originally 'I make to come forward'; O.C.Sl. *brija* (*brīja*) *bri-ti* 'to shear, shave' beside Skr. *bhur-tj-* Gr. *qáō-o-ς*, and others.

§ 791. In all branches of our group, the verbal class now being discussed has two distinct meanings, both of which must be regarded as holding for the original language. Each of them serves to contrast a verb with a simple verb from the same stem.

First there is the Causal sense; the subject of the *éio*-verb sets some one in motion, impels him to do something; in fact, makes him do the action of the simple allied verb. Skr. *bōdhāya-ti* O.C.Sl. *budi-tū* 'wakes up, makes wake' beside *bōdha-ti* *būdi-tū* 'is awake'. Skr. *tarṣāya-ti* 'makes languish, thirst' beside *tṛṣya-ti* 'languishes, thirsts', Lat. *torreo* 'I dry up, make dry', O.H.G. *derr(i)u* (same meaning) beside Goth. *þaursei-þ mik* 'I am athirst'. Gr. *qoβίω* 'I make to flee, scare away' beside *qέβομαι* 'I flee'. Lat. *moneō* 'I make some one think, remind' beside *meminī*. Goth. *satja* 'I make sit, I place' (Skr. *sādāya-ti*) beside *sita* 'I sit'.¹⁾

Secondly, they express a meaning which may be called Intensive, Iterative, or Frequentative. This is often weak and elusive, and in many cases was certainly extinct at the time when we find the verb actually used. Skr. *vi-vāhayati* beside *vi-vahati* 'leads away (a bride), leads her home' Avest. *vādayē-iti* 'leads home', O.C.Sl. *voždā vodi-ti* freq. of *veda* 'I lead', $\sqrt{\text{uedh-}}$. Gr. (*f*) *oxέομαι* pass. 'I am taken backwards and forwards, I am carried', Goth. *vagja* 'I move' beside *ga-viga* 'I move', O.C.Sl. *vožā voziti* freq. of *veza* 'I carry, convey', $\sqrt{\text{uegh-}}$. Skr. *mar-daya-ti* beside *mydnā-ti* *marda-ti* 'presses, crushes', Lat. *mordeo* beside perf. *momordi* = Skr. *mamarda*. Skr. *a-tanayati* 'stretches, makes stiff' beside *ā-tanōti* 'stretches, pulls up' a piece

1) Sometimes these verbs are causal to the Passive of the simple verb; as Goth. *ga-tarhja* 'I cause to be seen' *fra-atja* 'I divide for food, cause to be eaten' O.H.G. *ezzu* 'I cause to be grazed upon, use for pasture' (also 'I let eat, give a taste').

of weaving, Goth. *-þanja* 'I lengthen, stretch'. Skr. *pēṣaya-ti* beside *pināṣ-ti* 'treads or crushes to atoms' Lith. *paisý-ti* 'to knock (barley, in order to free it from the beard)'. O.Ir. *for-tugim* 'I cover, hide', O.H.G. *decch(i)u* 'I cover' beside Lat. *tegō*. Skr. *dhārāya-ti*, beside *dharati* (very rare), 'holds fast, keeps', *nōdaya-ti* 'drives on' beside *nudā-ti* 'knocks, strikes away, pulls', *rājya kārayati* and *karōti* 'is king, uses lordship'. Gr. *φορέω* 'I carry about with me, wear' beside *φέρω* 'I carry', *ποτέομαι* 'I fly about, flutter' beside *πίτομαι* 'I fly', *στροφέω* 'I turn round and round excitedly' beside *στρέφω* 'I twist, turn', *τροπῖω* beside *τρέπω* 'I turn', *ῥέω* 'I hold fast' beside *ἔχω* 'I hold, have'. Lat. *lūceō* (in O.Lat. also causal 'to make shine'), *haereō*, *tondeō*, and others. Goth. *uf-rakja* 'I reach up' beside Gr. *ὀρέγω* 'I reach out', Goth. *þragja* 'I run' beside Gr. *τρέχω* 'I run', O.Sax. *kenniu* 'I beget' beside Skr. *jāna-ti* 'begets'. The Intensive or Frequentative meaning is clearest in Balto-Slavonic: cp. further Lith. *ganý-ti* 'to keep (animals), pasture them' O.C.Sl. *goni-ti* 'to drive' freq. of *ženq gna-ti* to drive, hunt', *✓ghen-* 'strike, kill', Lith. *grāšý-ti* freq. of *grēžiù grēszti* 'to turn, twist, bore', O.C.Sl. *vlači-ti* freq. to *vlēka vlēsti* 'to pull, drag along'.

I shall not go into the question of the relation between these two original uses. An attempt to explain it is made by Gaedicke, *Der Acc. im Veda*, pp. 276 f.

§ 792. Considering the very real and living connexion which existed between the *éyo*-present and the primary present stems, e. g. Skr. *bōdhāya-ti* and *bōdha-ti*, *vārāya-ti* and *vr̥ṇō-ti*, it is easy to understand why *éyo*-forms were often built up on a complete present stem, not on the root. Thus Skr. *jīvāya-ti* O.C.Sl. *živi-ti* beside *jt-vāmi ži-vq* (inf. *ži-ti*) 'I live' (§ 488 p. 47), Skr. *dhūnāya-ti* beside *dhū-nā-ti dhū-nō-ti* 'shakes, shatters' (cp. Gr. *θῦνέω* § 801), *kṛntaya-ti* with *kartaya-ti* beside *kṛntā-ti* 'cuts', Lat. *misceō* beside a form **miscō* for **mic-scō* *✓meixē-*, O.H.G. *scein(i)u* beside *scī-nu* 'I shine'. Other examples will be given below.

§ 793. There are often nouns which most closely resemble these verbs both in form and meaning. The result of this was that *éjo*-verbs were formed from nouns direct. If, for instance, people derived Skr. *vāj-áya-ti* 'hastens, conquers, spurs on, makes something use its power' (= Goth. *us-vakja* 'I wake up') from *vāja-s* 'speed, power' — which was really inevitable, as there was no such parallel stem as **vaja-ti* — it was easy to form *mantrāya-tē* 'advises' from *mán-tra-s* 'advice'. It was, as has been observed in § 487 p. 43, the action of the same principle which produced in Gothic *fullnan* from *full-s* 'full' by analogy of *af-lifnan áuknan*, in Lithuanian *línksmin-ti* from *línksma-s* 'glad' by analogy of *krùvin-ti kùpin-ti*, *rentù* from *rēta-s* 'thin' following *tenkù tèkti*, *gelstù gelsti* from *gelta-s* 'yellow' following *virstù vīrsti mirsztù mīrszti* (§ 623 p. 160, § 624 p. 161, § 635 p. 173, § 686 p. 217). Compare further Skr. *muṣ-nd-ti* 'steals' from *mūṣ-* 'a mouse' § 599 Rem. p. 143.

These *éjo*-denominatives are commonest in Germanic and Balto-Slavonic, and one or two of these new formations occur in both branches: Goth. *fulljan* O.C.Sl. *plūni-ti* 'to fill' from *full-s* *plūnū* 'full' (**pl-no-s*), Goth. *hailjan* O.C.Sl. *celi-ti* 'to heal' from *hail-s* *celū* 'whole, healthy'. But it is quite possible that these two developements are independent.

§ 794. Pr. Idg. Examples with monosyllabic root, as Skr. *v-áya-ti* Lith. *v-ejù* O.C.Sl. *v-ŷja*, Skr. *śv-áya-ti* Lat. *qu-eō*, have already been cited in § 790 p. 323.

As regards the following examples, which shew a strong grade of root, it is to be remembered that this formation was always an active living type in Aryan, Germanic, and Balto-Slavonic; so that it is not unlikely that all these languages hit upon the particular forms independently. I therefore give by preference such examples as are found in Greek or Italic as well, where the type was less prolific.

**bhor-éjō* √ *bher-*: Skr. *sam-bhāraya-ti* 'causes to be gathered', Gr. *φορέω* 'I carry about, wear'. **tor-éjō* √ *ter-*: Skr. *tārāya-ti* 'gets carried over, transports, furthers', Gr. *τορέω*

'I make to pierce, shout loudly'. **uol-éið* √ *uel-*: Skr. *prā-vāraya-ti* 'appeases, offers, offers for sale', Goth. *valja* 'I choose', O.C.Sl. *voli-ti* 'to wish, to prefer'. **mon-éið* √ *men-*: Skr. *māndya-ti* 'honours, shows honour'¹⁾ Avest. *manaye-iti* 'causes to believe, regards' (for *a* cp. I § 200 pp. 168 f.), Lat. *moneō* (O.H.G. *manēm manōm* 'I imagine' with different inflexion), Lith. *isz-maný-ti* 'to understand'. **ton-éið* √ *ten-*: Skr. *a-tānaya-ti* 'stretches, stiffens' *sā-tānaya-ti* 'gets carried out, brings to conclusion', Goth. *uf-panja* 'I stretch, lengthen out'. **q̄iou-éið* √ *q̄ieu-* (Hom. ἔ-σσευε): Skr. *cyāvāya-ti* 'sets in motion, moves from its place', Gr. σο(φ)έω in ἐσσομένηνον · τεθορυβημένον, ὠρυμένηνον Hesych. (I § 489 p. 360).²⁾ **poi-éið* √ *pei-* (Skr. *pāy-a-tē*): Skr. *pāyāya-tē* 'gives to drink', O.C.Sl. *poji-ti* 'to give to drink' (1st sing. *pojā*). **tors-éið* √ *ters-* 'to be dry, thirsty': Skr. *tarśāya-ti* 'makes to thirst or pine', Lat. *torreō*, O.H.G. *derr(i)u* (pr. Germ. **parzi(i)ð*) 'I make dry, cause to wither'. **mord-éið* √ *merd-*: Skr. *mardaya-ti* 'presses, oppresses, crushes', Lat. *mordeō*. **uort-éið* √ *uert-*: Skr. *vartaya-ti* 'sets circling, rolls, causes to take a certain bent or direction', Goth. *fra-vardja* 'I bring to nought, destroy, make away with', Lith. *vartý-ti* O.C.Sl. *vrati-ti* freq. 'to turn, twist'. **kroth-éið* √ *kreth-*: Skr. *śrāthaya-ti* (*śrathāya-ti*) 'loosens, frees', O.H.G. *rett(i)u* (Goth. **hradja*) 'I tear away, rescue'. **bhlog-éið* √ *bhleḡ-*: Skr. *bhrājaya-ti* 'causes to gleam or shine',³⁾ O.H.G. *blecch(i)u* (Goth. **blakja*) 'I make visible, show'. **logh-éið* √ *legh-*: Goth. *lagja* 'I lay', O.C.Sl. *loži-ti* 'to lay'. **month-éið* √ *menth-*: Skr. *manthaya-ti* 'causes to be stirred

1) The meaning of this verb was influenced by the subst. *māna-s māna-m* 'opinion, high opinion, esteem, honour', in the same way as H.G. *blenden* (O.H.G. *blenten* 'to daze, darken, blind' = O.C.Sl. *blqđiti* 'to wander' Mod.Slov. *bluditi* 'lead astray, deceive') by the adj. *blind*, whose factitive the verb is now used for, though originally the factitive was Goth. *-blindjan* A.S. *blindan*. Compare § 681 p. 213 on Skr. *lōṣṭa-tē*.

2) Parallel verb σοῦμαι = σοόμαι, a denominative, see W. Schulze in Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxix 264 f.

3) This may also be formed from the pres. *bhrāja-tē* = Idg. **bhleḡe-tai* (§ 494 p. 55), by analogy.

up', O.C.Sl. *mati-ti* 'to bring into perplexity'. **tonag-éið* ✓ *tenag-*: Lat. *tongeō*, Goth. *þagkja* 'I think over, think about', but cp. § 804. **nok-éið* ✓ *nek-*: Skr. *nāśāya-ti* 'causes to disappear, destroys', Lat. *noceō*.¹⁾ **louq-éið* ✓ *leuq-*: Skr. *rōcāya-ti* 'causes to shine, lights up', Lat. *lūc-eō* 'I shine, am bright' and O.Lat. 'I make shine'. **loubh-éið* ✓ *leubh-*: Skr. *lōbhāya-ti* 'excites some one's desire, attracts' Goth. *us-lāubja* 'I allow', O.C.Sl. *ljubi-ti* 'to love'. **gōus-éið* ✓ *geus-*: Skr. *jōśāya-tē* 'likes, takes pleasure in, approves', Goth. *kāusja* 'I taste, try'. **suop-éið* ✓ *suep-*: Skr. *svāpāya-ti* 'sends to sleep', O.H.G. *int-swebb(i)u* 'I send to sleep' O.Icel. *svef* 'I pacify, quiet'. **uogh-éið* ✓ *uegh-*: Skr. *vāhaya-ti* 'conveys, makes (a carriage or horses) go, drives', Gr. *ὀχέω* 'I convey, make ride' pass. 'I am carried about, am carried, I ride on', Goth. *ga-vagja* 'I move', O.C.Sl. *vozi-ti* 'to carry (in a vehicle), vehere'. **uoīd-éið* ✓ *ueīd-*: Skr. *vēdaya-tē* 'gives to know, informs', O.H.G. *weiz(i)u* 'I give to know, I show'. **bhoīd-éið* ✓ *bheīd-*: Skr. *bhēdaya-ti* 'splits, divides', O.H.G. *beiz(i)u* 'I make to bite, I bait'. **pot-éið* ✓ *pet-*: Skr. *patāya-ti* 'makes to fly or fall', Gr. *πτεῖν* 'I fly, flutter'. **dhogh-éið* ✓ *dhegh-*: Skr. *dāhaya-ti* 'causes to be burnt', Lat. *foveō* 'I warm, keep warm, cherish, take care of'.²⁾ **bhog-éið* ✓ *bheg-*: Skr. *bhājāya-ti* 'drives away',³⁾ Gr. *φοβέω* 'I make to flee, scare or hunt away'. **tjog-éið* ✓ *tjeg-*: Skr. *tyājaya-ti* 'bids leave alone', Gr. *σοβέω* 'I drive off quickly, scare away'. **sod-éið* ✓ *sed-*: Skr. *sādāya-ti* 'gets seated, sits', O.Ir. *ad-suidim* 'I prolong, postpone' (Thurneysen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxi 97), Goth. *satja* 'I seat, place'. **od-éið* ✓ *ed-*: Skr. *ādaya-ti* 'causes to eat, feeds, fattens', Goth. *fra-atja* 'I divide up for a meal' O.H.G. *ezz(i)u* 'to make eat, give to eat, feed'. **pāk-éið*

1) The construction *nocēre alicui* is doubtless due to the analogy of *obesse officere* etc.

2) Compare *fōmes* 'kindling, tinder' (for **forimes*) with Lett. *daglīs* 'tinder'.

3) Skr. *bhaj-* is contaminated of two distinct roots, that of *ḡayajir* (Fick, Wtb. I⁴ 87) and that of *ḡṛajam* Lith. *bėgn* (id. ib. 490).

✓ *pāk-*: Skr. *pāśāya-ti* 'binds', O.H.G. *fuog(i)u* O.Sax. *fōgiu* 'I make fit, join, bind together'. Skr. *hrādaya-ti* 'causes to make a sound' (*hrāda-tē* 'sounds'), O.H.G. *gruoz(i)u* O.Sax. *grōtiu* 'I address, speak to'; if another, Goth. *grēta* 'I wail out', is of this kin, then we must assume Idg. **ghrōdēiō*. Goth. *af-dauī-þs* 'exhausted' pres. **dōja* for **dōuīō* in the first instance (I § 179 p. 156), O.C.Sl. *davi-ti* 'to strangle'. —

In the following, *-ēiō* was not added immediately to the root; see § 792 p. 325.

**tons-ēiō* from the stem *ten-s-*: Skr. *taśaya-ti* 'pulls about, tugs, tears, shakes', Lith. *tāsy-ti* 'to drag about'; cp. Skr. *taśa-ti* Lith. *tēs-iū* § 657 p. 191. **uos-ēiō* from stem *u-es-*: Skr. *vāsāya-ti* 'causes to put on, clothes with something', Goth. *ga-vasja* O.H.G. *weriu* 'I clothe'; cp. Skr. *v-ās-tē* Gr. *ἐντ-εσ-ται* § 656 p. 191.

**rōdh-ēiō* stem *rē-dh-*: Skr. *rādhaya-ti* 'brings about', O.Ir. *no rāidiu* 'I speak', Goth. *rōdja* 'I speak', O.C.Sl. *radi-ti* 'to consider, care for'; cp. Skr. *ārādha-t* Goth. *ur-rēda* § 689 p. 220. **iōudh-ēiō* **iudh-ēiō* stem *ieu-dh-* 'to stir, set in motion': Skr. *yōdhāya-ti* 'involves some one in war, fights against', Lat. *jubeō* properly 'I set in motion' (cp. Lith. *jūdinu* 'I move, cheer up, exhort'); cp. Skr. *yōdha-ti* etc., *loc. cit.*; the O.Lat. *joubeō* is only once found (S. C. de Bacch., 27), and *ou* was perhaps only caused by the spelling of *jousiset* which precedes.¹⁾

Goth. *stōja* 'I direct' for **stōuīō* (I § 179 p. 156), O.C.Sl. *stavljā* 'I place, stay, stem' with Goth. *staua* 'court of law' (see *ibid.*) O.C.Sl. *stavū* 'compages' *po-stavū* 'loom-frame, or web' *stava* 'joint, limb' Lith. *stovà* 'place' from ✓ *stā-* 'stand'; to argue from Gr. *στῆω στῆ-λο-ς* Skr. *sthū-lā-s*, we had best assume *stū-* *stāu-* (cp. § 488 pp. 44 ff.).

The causal Skr. *jīvāya-ti* 'makes living, lets live' O.C.Sl. *življā* 'I make alive' is probably derived from the present

1) If *joubeō* is a genuine form, it may be a variant of *jūbeō* like Skr. *śōcāya-ti* beside *śucāya-ti*.

jī-va-ti *ži-ve-tū* 'lives' (§ 792 p. 325), whilst Goth. *ga-qiuja* 'I make alive' is a denominative causal from *qiu-s* 'living' (§ 793 p. 326, § 806).

§ 795. Aryan. A pass. part. in *-i-tá-* formed from all verbs with strong grade of root syllable; see § 789 pp. 319 f.

Skr. *dhārāya-ti* Avest. *dāraye-iti* 'holds fast, carries, supports, strengthens, preserves', O.Pers. *dārayāmīy* 'I hold, possess', √ *dher-*. Skr. *vārāya-ti* Avest. *vāraye-iti* 'holds back, keeps off, hinders': Goth. *varja* 'I hinder, protect, defend', √ *uer-*. Skr. *nāmāya-ti* *namāya-ti* Avest. *nāmāye-iti* 'makes bend, bends' (tr.), √ *nem-*. Skr. *śrāvāya-ti* *śravāya-ti* Avest. *srāvaye-iti* 'causes to hear, recites, informs', √ *kley-*. Skr. *cāyaya-ti* *cayaya-ti* 'ranges together, collects', √ *qei-*. Skr. *nāyaya-ti* 'causes to be carried away'. Skr. *vardhāya-ti* Avest. *vardāye-iti* 'causes to grow, increases, furthers'. Skr. *bandhaya-ti* 'causes to be bound, chains', Avest. *bandāye-iti* 'binds', √ *bhendh-*. Skr. *raḥāya-ti* Avest. *renjaye-iti* 'expedites, despatches', √ *lenogh-* (I § 199 p. 167). Skr. *jambhāya-ti* Avest. *zembāye-iti* 'grinds to powder, destroys', √ *ḡembh-*. Skr. *rōcāya-ti* 'causes to shine, illuminates', Avest. *raocāye-iti* 'lights up, illuminates': Lat. *lūceō*, see § 794 p. 328. Skr. *rēcāya-ti* 'makes empty, lets free, deserts', Avest. *raēcāye-iti* 'deserts', √ *leiq-*. Skr. *saddāya-ti* 'places', Avest. *ni-šādāye-iti* 'causes to sit down, brings under, subdues' O.Pers. *niy-ašādāya-m* 'I made sit down, arranged' (for *š* in the O.Pers. cp. I § 556 p. 410): Goth. *satja*, § 794 p. 328. Skr. *bhāyaya-ti* 'causes fear to, frightens', √ *bhaḡ-*.

Many Skr. forms are proved by their root syllable to be re-formates. E. g. *arjaya-ti* (as also *ārja-ti* and suchlike), from √ *reḡ-* 'to stretch oneself' (*rājīṣṭha-s*, Gr. *ῥάγις*), is a transformate of *fjya-ti* following *ardhāya-ti* : *ṛdhya-tē* *ṛdhnō-ti* etc. *tōlaya-ti* 'lifts, weighs' formed from *tul-* (*tulaya-ti* etc.) = Idg. *tǵl-* (I § 287 p. 229, § 290 p. 232), follows *bōdhāya-ti* : *budh-* and the like.

Forms with weak grade of root. Skr. *v-āya-ti* 'weaves': Lith. *v-ejũ*, see § 790 p. 323. *śv-āya-ti* 'swells, thrives, is

strong': Gr. *xv-ém* Lat. *qu-eō*, see *ibid.* Skr. *hv-āya-ti* Avest. *zb-aye-iti zur-aye-iti* 'calls'. Skr. *dhun-aya-tē* 'roars': O.Sax. *duniu*, see *ibid.* *tul-aya-ti* beside *tōl-aya-ti*, see just above. *grbh-āya-ti* 'grasps'. *śuc-āya-ti* 'shines, beams'. *pīd-aya-ti* 'presses' for **pi-zd-eje-ti* ('makes sit down') from *√sed-*, see I § 591 p. 447. Avest. *urūpaye-iti* 'does harm'. Add doubtless Skr. *chad-āya-ti* beside *chandaya-ti* from the pres. *chant-ti* 'appears'.

§ 796. Many new forms from Primary Present Stems (see § 792 p. 325):

Skr. *irāya-ti* 'sets a-going, excites, arouses' beside *ir-tē* Idg. **ǵ-tai*, *pūrāya-ti* 'fills' beside *pūr-dhi* Idg. **pǵ-dhi*, Class I § 497 p. 57.

A group of fairly common forms, such as Skr. *patāya-ti* Avest. *pataye-iti* beside Skr. *pātāya-ti*, have been derived from forms of Class II A, as has been already said (§ 790 pp. 322 f.). The following may be connected with stems of Class II B: Skr. *gūhaya-ti* Avest. *guzaye-iti* (but not O.Pers. *gaudayāhy* 2nd sing. conj.), cp. Skr. *gūha-ti* 'hides' Avest. mid. *guza-tē*; Skr. *turāya-ti*¹⁾ (beside *tārāya-ti*), cp. *turā-ti* 'gets through, makes oneself master of'. But this view is not the only one possible, since the *éjo*-verbs themselves could have a weak grade of root syllable (§ 790 p. 323, § 795 p. 330).

Avest. *titāraye-iti* 'seeks to overcome, or strike down' beside Skr. *ti-tar-ti* Avest. *ti-tar-a-p* Classes III, IV, § 540 p. 100, § 548 p. 105.

Skr. *sajjaya-ti* 'fastens on' beside *sajja-tē* for **sa-zj-a* Class VI § 562 p. 110.

Causal of the Intensive class. Skr. *dādharaya-ti* 'causes to hold fast' from *dā-dhar-ti*, *jāgarāya-ti* 'awakes, enlivens' from *jā-gar-ti*, Class V § 560 p. 109. Skr. *dandaśayi-toā* gerund 'having caused to be severely bitten' beside *dān-daś-āna-s* partic., from *dqš-* 'to bite', *varīvarjāya-nt-* 'turning

1) O.Pers. *atarayūma* may be the same formation (I § 290 p. 232).

backwards and forwards' beside *vāri-vrj-at-* partic., from *varj-* 'to turn, twist' Class VII § 568 p. 113.

Skr. *prīṇaya-ti* 'gladdens, delights, makes inclined' from *prī-ṇā-ti*, *dhūnaya-ti* 'moves to and fro, shakes' from *dhu-nā-ti*, Class XII § 599 pp. 142 f.; *dhūnaya-ti* is perhaps identical with Gr. *θύνειω*, § 801.

Skr. *iṣāṇaya-nta* from *iṣāṇa-t* Class XIV, and *iṣāṇyā-ti* Class XIX (§ 619 pp. 156 f., § 743 p. 266), cp. Gr. *ὀλιγο-δρανεῖω* beside *δραύω* § 801.

From Present Stems of Classes XV and XVI, §§ 625 ff. pp. 162 ff. Skr. *kṛntaya-ti* (beside *kartaya-ti*) Avest. *ker'ntaye-iti* 'cuts, splits' from Skr. *kṛntā-ti* Avest. *ker'nta-iti*. Skr. *rundhaya-ti* 'stems, holds back, torments' (beside *rōdhaya-ti*) from *ruṇaddhi rundh-a-ti*. Skr. *śundhaya-ti* 'cleanses' (beside *śōdhaya-ti*) from *śunaddhi śundh-a-ti*. Skr. *limpayā-ti* 'besmears, anoints' (beside *lēpayā-ti*) from *limp-ā-ti*. Skr. *bṛhaya-ti* 'strengthens' (beside *barhaya-ti*) from *bṛh-a-ti*. Skr. *dṛhaya-ti* 'makes fast, fixes firmly' from *dṛh-a-ti*. Avest. *bunjayē-iti* 'cleanses' from *bunj-a-iti*.

O.Pers. 3rd pl. *a-kū-nav-ayata* 'they made' beside *a-kū-nav-am* 3rd sing. *a-kū-nav-a*, Classes XVII and XVIII, § 640 p. 178, § 649 p. 185.

Skr. *pinvaya-ti* 'makes swell or abound' from *pī-nva-ti*, Class XVIII § 651 p. 186.

From unreduplicated Presents, Classes XIX and XX, § 656 pp. 190 f. Skr. *vāsāya-ti tāsaya-ti*, see § 794 p. 329. Skr. *vakṣaya-ti ukṣaya-ti* Avest. *varṣaye-iti* 'makes grow' from Skr. *ūk-ṣa-ti* Avest. *vax-ṣa-iti*. Skr. *bhīṣāya-tē* 'frightens, overawes' (beside *bhāyaya-ti*) from *bhy-āsa-ti* § 659 p. 195. Avest. *aiwy-axšayēinti* 'they inspected' beside O.Pers. *patiy-axšaiy* 'I inspect' § 659 p. 194.

From reduplicated s-Presents (Desideratives), Class XXI §§ 666 f. pp. 198 ff. Skr. *cikīrṣaya-ti* from *cī-kīr-ṣa-ti* 'wishes to make, begins, purposes', *śikṣaya-ti* from *śikṣa-tē* 'learns' for **śi-ṣk-ṣa-tai*.

prachaya-ti (gramm.) from *prchá-ti* 'asks' ground-form

**pr(k)-ske-ti*, *ichaya-ti* (beside *ēṣaya-ti*) from *ichá-ti* 'desires', Class XXII §§ 670 f. pp. 202 f.

mṛdāya-ti 'is gracious' from *mṛdā-ti* for **mṛṣ-du-ti* Class XXV § 692 p. 222.

chāyaya-ti from *cha-ya-ti* 'cuts up', Class XXVI § 707 p. 237. *pyāyāya-ti* from *pyā-ya-tē* 'swells', Class XXVIII § 736 p. 262.

§ 797. Near kin to the *ējo*-forms cited in the preceding paragraphs, are the Skr. groups ending in *-payati* and *-apayati*, as *sthā-payati* and *snā-pāya-ti*.

In these endings, as in *glej-p-* and *lej-p-* (§ 634 pp. 170 f.), *-p-* must be counted one of the Root-Determinatives which have been discussed in § 488 pp. 44 ff.¹⁾ In principle, these do not differ from ordinary present suffixes.

(1) *-payati*. The following may be considered as the forms which originated this type in Sanskrit. *sthāpaya-ti* causal of *st-ṣṭh-a-ti* 'stands', cp. Lith. *stapy-ti-s* 'to stand still' O.I.G. *stab* 'staff' *stabēm* 'I get stiff', √ *stā- stā-*. *dāpaya-tē* causal of *dā-ti d-yā-ti* 'divides, gives a share', cp. Gr. *ḍán-τω* 'I divide up, tear in pieces' *ḍan-ἀνῆ* 'expenditure' Lat. *daps*, √ *dā- dā-*. *dīpāya-ti* causal of *ā-dī-dē-t* 'shone' imper. *dī-dī-hi*, cp. *dīp-ya-tē* perf. *didīpē* part. *dīp-ta-s*. On the analogy of such as these arose forms like *dhā-paya-ti* from *dha-* 'to set, place', *snā-pāya-ti* from *snā-* 'to wash', *kṣē-paya-ti* (beside *kṣay-āya-ti*) from *kṣi-* 'to stay, dwell', *ar-pāya-ti* from *ar-* 'to raise oneself'.

Then again *smāpaya-ti* beside *smāy-aya-ti* from *smi-* 'to smile', *māpaya-ti* instead of **māy-aya-ti* from *mi-* 'minuere', *adhy-apaya-ti* beside *praty-āyaya-ti* from *i-* 'to go'. There were two causes for this set of forms. Firstly, the participles came in contact, *smi-ta-s smi-tvā* seeming to be parallel with e. g. *sthi-tā-s sthi-tvā*; secondly, *pāy-āya-ti* 'gives to drink'

1) Compare now Per Persson's *Wurzelerweiterung* pp. 49 ff. In this work *p* is taken to be a root determinative in many words where we have regarded it as part of the root proper, as in Skr. *sārpa-ti* Lat. *serpō*, which the writer derives from the root of Skr. *sār-a-ti* 'moves, flows'.

(beside *pī-tā-pāy-a-tē*) was compared with *pā-paya-ti* 'gives to drink' (from *pā-ti*), and *gāy-aya-ti* 'makes sing' (beside *gī-tā-gē-ṣṇa-*) compared with *gā-paya-ti* 'makes sing' (beside *gā-ti-gā-sya-ti*). Then a further step was taken, and the resemblance of *s̥thi-tā-s* to *vardhi-tā-s* *dīkṣi-tā-s* produced *vardhāpaya-ti* from *vardhāya-ti* 'helps, arouses, causes a pleasant excitement', *dīkṣā-paya-ti* from *dīkṣaya-ti* 'consecrates'; and again we have on the analogy of these *bhūñjāpaya-ti* from *bhōjaya-ti* 'gives to eat' (pres. *bhunák-ti*), and others.

(2) *gl-apaya-ti* 'brings to decay, ruins, exhausts' (beside *glā-pāya-ti* *glā-ti* *glā-ya-ti*) beside opt. *glapē-t* (Whitney, Skr. Roots p. 41), Gr. βλ-έπω 'I look, see' (cp. βαλεῖν ὄμματα or ὄσσε εἰς τι or πρὸς τι),¹⁾ *✓gel-*. *sn-apāya-ti* 'washes, bathes' (beside *snā-pāya-ti* *snā-ti* *snā-ya-tē*) compared with Lat. *Nep-tūnu-s*. *śr-apāya-ti* 'boils, roasts, burns' (beside *śrā-ya-ti* *śrā-tā-s*) is connected with *su-śrāpa-s* 'easy to cook'; *jñ-apaya-ti* 'instructs' (beside *jñā-paya-ti* *jñā-sya-ti*) beside *jñap-tā-s* 'instructed' *jñap-ti-ṣ* 'attainment of knowledge'. *ml-apaya-ti* beside *mā-pāya-ti* 'makes languid, takes away the elasticity'.

Remark. Other forms with *-ep-* are: Gr. κλ-έπτω Lat. *cl-epō* Goth. *hl-ifa* 'I steal' beside O.Ir. *celim* O.H.G. *hilu* 'I hide'; Gr. δρ-έπω 'I break off, cut off, pluck' δρ-επαρο-ν 'sickle' beside δρ-έω 'I flay'; Lat. *tr-ep-idu-s*, O.C.Sl. *tr-epe-tū* 'to tremble' beside Skr. *tar-ald-s* 'trembling'. Compare the Author, *Morph. Unt.* I 40, 48, 49; Per Persson, *Wurzelerw.* 50 ff.

§ 798. A Denominative *éjo*-formation like Skr. *mantrāya-tē* (§ 793 p. 326) can only be definitely maintained for Sanskrit; we know nothing of the Old Iranian accent, and therefore cannot say whether Avest. *frayrāraye-iti* 'wakes up' would answer to a Skr. **grārāya-ti* or **grārāyā-ti*. Other examples from Sanskrit are: *ṛtāya-nt-* 'behaving in due form and order' from *ṛ-tā-m* 'order, rite', *arthāya-tē* 'allows oneself to be persuaded' from *ār-tha-m* 'goal, business'; *pālāya-ti* 'watches, protects' from *pā-lā-s* 'guardian' is used in Sanskrit as causal

1) βλέπατορ seems to be a transformate of γλέπατορ, which comes from another root, on the analogy of βλέπω.

of *pā-ti*, and *ghātaya-ti* 'causes to be killed, kills' (aor. *a-jīghata-t*) from *ghā-ta-s* 'blow, killing' as causal of *hān-ti*.

It may be mentioned that when a root-final *k*-sound is not changed to *c* before *-aya-*, this proves the form to be denominative; for we have seen in vol. I § 445 p. 331 that a *k*-sound must become *c* before *-eio-* in protoethnic Aryan, as it does in *rōcāya-ti*. We know therefore that *mṛgāya-tē* 'sets on the trail of a quarry' is derived from *mṛgá-s* 'wild animal, game', *tarkāya-ti* 'conjectures' from *tarka-s* 'guess', and so with others.

§ 799. In Sanskrit, the present in *-āya-ti* served as the foundation for a desiderative formation in *-ayiṣa-ti*, as *lu-lōbhayiṣa-ti* from *lōbhāya-ti*.

The passive is formed with *-yá-tē*, *-ayu-* being dropt; e. g. *bhāj-yá-tē* from *bhājaya-ti*. How this passive originated is not at all clear. It may be supposed that it had no special connexion properly with the *éio*-present, any more than had the aorist of Class IV (§ 548 p. 105).

§ 800. Armenian. There are no clear traces of this *éio*-group, which appears to have been absorbed into the class of verbs ending with *-em*. For instance, *lizem* 'I lick' may answer equally well to Skr. *lēhāya-ti* or to Gr. *λείχω*. Compare § 774^a p. 293, on *gorcem* etc.

§ 801. Greek. Here this *éio*-class ran into one group with the denominative present in *-e-íō*, such as *φιλέω* from *φίλο-ς*. Hence arose *φορήσω ἐφόρησα* etc., following *φιλήσω ἐφίλησα* (§ 773 p. 290). Hence again, in the present itself, Lesb. *ποθήω* like *ἀδικήει* (§ 775 p. 293), and *φόρημι* like *φίλημι* (§ 589 p. 131).

I arrange the forms about to be cited according as they had one or other of the two original functions of this class (§ 791 p. 324).

Causal (or Factitive). *τορέω*, (*F*)*οχέω*, *φοβέω*, *σοβέω*, see § 794 pp. 326 ff.

Intensive (or Iterative). *φορέω*, *σοέω* (*ἐσσοημένον* Hesych.), *ποτέομαι*, see *ibid*. *ὀχέω* 'I hold fast, hold out, hold' for **σοχέω*

beside *ἔχω*: Skr. *ut-sāhaya-ti* 'helps some one to endure, strengthens, gives heart'. *ποθέω* 'I desire' beside *θέσσεσθαι* Avest. *jaidye-iti* √ *ghedh-* (§ 706 p. 234): O.Ir. *no guidiu* 'I pray' first for **godiu*. *στροφέω* 'I turn round and round' beside *στρέφω*. *τροπέω* 'I turn, twist' beside *τρέπω*. *ροφέω* 'I swallow' beside Lith. *sreb-iù* √ *srebh-*; Lat. *sorbeō* seems to be an *éio*-form with weak grade of root, like *jubeō* Skr. *gṛbhāya-ti*, and others (§ 790 p. 323). *βρομέω* 'I hum, buzz' beside *βρέμω*. *σκοπέω* 'I watch, look at, ponder' beside *σκέπτομαι*. So perhaps *ὀρχέομαι* 'I hop, spring, jump, tremble, quake' beside *ερχομαι* 'I go'; in that case the word will be akin to Skr. *ṛghāyā-ti* 'quakes, throbs'. *ώθέω* 'I push': cp. Skr. *vadhaya-ti* 'strikes down' Avest. *vādaye-iti* 'knocks back'; *ώθέω* will be equivalent to Skr. *badhaya-ti* 'subdues', if in this word *b* is for *v-* (cp. p. 225 footnote 1).

Looking at these verbs in *-εω* from the Greek point of view only, it must be admitted that they mostly look like derivatives from substantives; cp. *φορέω* *φόρος*-, *ποθέω* *πόθος*-, *στροφέω* *στροφή* and so forth. However, it can hardly be doubted that they had their origin rather in this *éio*-class, in as much as the earliest verbs of the kind ended in *-έϊδ*. After the Greek verb had lost the original Idg. accent (cp. § 527 with the Rem., p. 89), present stems in *-έϊδ* and denominatives in *-ε-ϊδ* were bound to run together.

However, another possibility must not be forgotten: to wit, that before the time in question some few denominative causals, of the type of Skr. *mantrāya-ti* (§ 793 p. 326, § 798 pp. 334 f.) may have been formed.

-εω is not uncommon after present formative suffixes (cp. § 792 p. 325). So far as one can see, the new verb meant much the same as the old unextended verb.

εἰλέω 'I press' beside *εἶλω* for **fel-νω* (§ 611 p. 150). Ion. inscr. conj. *βουλέωνται* beside *βούλομαι* 'I wish' for **bol-νο* (§ 611 p. 150). *πιτ-ρέω* 'I fall' beside *πίτ-νω*, whose preterite *επιτρων* became aorist by contrast with *πιτρένω* (see Curtius, Verb² 1 268, II 12); *ι* in the root syllable instead of *ε* (√ *pet-*)

as in *κίρ-νῆ-μι* etc., § 602 p. 144. *δαμνέι* · *δαμάζει* (Hesych.) beside *δάμ-νῆ-μι*. *ικνέομαι* 'I arrive' beside Hom. *ικάνω* for **ικ-ανφω* § 652 p. 187. *οἶχ-νέω* 'I go, go away, I am off'. Cret. *ἀγ-νέω* 'I lead, bring'.

ὀλιγο-δρανέω 'I am faint, weak' beside *δο-αίνω* (§ 621 p. 159) like Skr. *iṣ-an-āya-nta* beside *iṣ-an-yá-ti* (§ 796 p. 332).

With Skr. *pi-nv-āya-ti* § 796 p. 332 may be compared the following. *ἀγίνεω*, beside *ἀγίνω* 'I lead, bring' for **ἀγί-νφω*. *ἐξίνει*, beside *ἐξίνε-ν* for **zgi-nuō*. See § 652 p. 187. Perhaps also *δινέω* 'I eddy' beside *δίνω*, and *θύνέω* 'I move wildly, storm' beside *θύνω*, see *loc. cit.*; but still these may be denominatives, derived later from *δῖνο-ς* and *θῦνο-ς*; *θύνέω* moreover may be identified with Skr. *dhū-n-āya-ti* (§ 796 p. 332). We are still quite in the dark whether *-nu-éiō* or *-ne-íō* (*-ne-íō*) is to be assumed for *κινέω* 'I move from its place' beside *κί-νν-μαι*, *βύνέω* 'I stop up' beside *βύνω* and *βύω* fut. *βύσω*, *βῖνέω* 'coeo' beside Skr. *ji-nā-ti* 'overpowers, oppresses' partic. *jī-tá-s*.

πεκτέω beside *πέκτω* 'I comb', § 680 p. 212.

γηθάέω beside *γῆθουμαι* 'I am glad' seems to fall here along with Lat. *gaudeō* for **gavideō*, § 694 p. 223. *μιννθέω* (Hippocr.) beside *μινύ-θω* 'minuo'.

μνζέω (Hippocr.) beside *μνζω* 'I suck'. *χρηόμαι* (Chalc. *χρηείσθω* Boeot. *χρειεῖσθῃ*) and Gort. *ληῖω* (for **ληέω*) beside *χρηόμαι* **λήω* perhaps like Skr. *pyāy-āya-ti* beside *pyā-yā-tē* 'swells', see § 737 p. 263.

These forms in *-εω* are also found in association with present stems which have no special characteristic, as *ἐλκέω* beside *ἐλκω* 'I pull'.

Now comes the question — are all these forms with *-εω* to be brought into close connexion with the Idg. *-éiō*, and did they originally have an Intensive or Frequentative meaning? We saw in § 578 p. 119, § 756.4 p. 275, that from the very earliest period non-present forms with an *ē*-suffix occur side by side with present forms which have no *ē*-suffix; as *μελήσει*

ἐμίλησε μεμέληκε beside μέλει, τυπήσω beside τύπτω. It is therefore possible, that at first the only forms used were, say, ἔλκω ἔλκησω, πέκτω πεκτήσω, and that it was only their *ε*-forms which brought these stems in contact with the *εω*-class, and produced ἔλκείω πεκτέω.

§ 802. *Italic*. On the Latin present inflexion see § 788 pp. 318 f. The part. pass. ends sometimes in *-i-tus*, see § 789 p. 319.

We have already mentioned *moneō*, *torreō*, *mordeō*, *tongeō*, *noceō*, *lūceō*, *foveō*, and *jubeō jubeō*, see § 794 pp. 326 ff.

Besides these there are but few words which can with any certainty be called *éjō*-formations. *spondeō*, beside Gr. σπένδω 'I pour a libation, offer it', mid. 'I make a solemn compact'. *doceō*, beside *discō* for **di-tc-scō* (§ 678 p. 210), perhaps from the same root as *decet*, and identical with Gr. δοκέω (cp. Fick, Wtb. I⁴ 66, 452). *roveō*, although there are doubts as to its origin (cp. I § 428 c p. 316; Fick, Wtb. I⁴ 408; Osthoff, Morph. Unt. v 82). *tondeō*, beside Gr. τένω 'I bite' for **τεμ-δω* (§ 695 p. 224). *haereō*: Goth. *us-gáisja* 'I frighten' properly 'I make stiff, or congeal'. Umbrian has *tursitu tusetu* 'terreto' *tursiandu* 'terreantur' from a pres. **torséjō*, beside Lat. *terreō* Gr. ἐτερεῖν ἐφόβησεν (Hesych.), all from *✓ter-s-*, see § 657 p. 192.

The root syllable has a weak grade in: Lat. *qu-eō*, identical with Skr. *śv-āya-ti*, *ci-eō*, see § 790 p. 323; *sorbeō* beside Gr. ῥογέω, see § 801 p. 336; *jubeō*, parallel stem *jubeō* once found, see § 794 p. 329.

We should also add, it seems, the following: *misceō*, see § 792 p. 325; *augeō*, cp. Lith. *augu* 'I grow'; *suadeō* 'I make a thing acceptable to some one', cp. Gr. ἡδομαι § 690 p. 221.

Remark. It is hardly possible to prove that the *éjō*-formation became denominative in Latin as it did in Germanic and Balto-Slavonic, *dēnseō* 'I make thick' beside *dēnsu-s* is certainly not to be explained like Goth. *fulljan* beside *full-s*, and other such; tempting though it be to draw this parallel. See § 777 Rem. p. 301.

§ 803. Keltic. Only a few examples which are anything like certain.

We have already cited the following: O.Ir. *for-tugim* 'I cover over': O.H.G. *decch(i)u* 'I cover', √*teg-* § 791 p. 325; *ad-suidim* 'I prolong, postpone': Goth. *satja* 'I place', √*sed-* § 794 p. 328; *no rāidiu* 'I speak, say': Goth. *rōdja* (same meaning), *ibid.*; *no guidiu* 'I pray': Gr. *ποθέω* 'I desire, crave for', √*ghedh-*, § 801 p. 337. Further examples: *do-luigim* 'I let off, forgive' perhaps connected with *legaim* 'I fail, perish, go to pieces' (Thurneysen, *Rev. Celt.* vi 316). *luadim im-luadim* 'I set in motion' beside *do-lod* 'I went'. *no-m-mōidim* 'I boast, exult' beside *miad* 'pride, honour'. *guirim gorim* 'I heat, warm' from √*gher-*.

§ 804. Germanic. On the confusion of this type with other present classes see § 781. 2 p. 306. The present inflexion in Gothic may be regarded as regularly growing out of the original one (I § 142 p. 125 f.); but in O.H.G. such forms as 2nd sing. *denis* (1st sing. *denn(i)u* = Goth. *þanja*) *beizis* (1st sing. *beiz(i)u* = Goth. **bāitja*) are a re-formation following *hevis* and *suchlike* (1st sing. *heff(i)u* = Goth. *hafja*), Class XXVI. The partic. pass. in pr. Germanic ended in *-idā-*, as Goth. *fra-vardīps* stem *-vardida-*, *nasīps* stem *nasida-* O.H.G. *gi-nerit*, see § 789 p. 319.

The class was productive, from proethnic Germanic onwards, in the Causal or Factitive use, where the primary verb has some simple meaning. Only a few examples, as O.H.G. *decch(i)u* 'I hide', still keep the Idg. Intensive or Frequentative meaning (§ 791 p. 324); but this meaning very early became so weak, that soon no difference was felt between the original verb and the secondary verb in *-éjo-*, for which reason the former was generally dropt altogether out of use.

Goth. *varja* O.H.G. *weriu* 'I hinder, guard': Skr. *vārāya-ti*, see § 795 p. 330. O.H.G. *zeriu* O.Sax. *teriu* 'I destroy, tear to pieces': Skr. *dārāya-ti* 'makes burst, splits'. Goth. *valja* O.H.G. *well(i)u* 'I choose': Skr. *pra-vārāya-ti*, see § 794 p. 327.

Goth. *uf-panja* 'I stretch out' O.H.G. *denn(i)u* 'I stretch': Skr. *ā-tānaya-ti*, see § 794 p. 327. O.H.G. *wenn(i)u* O.Icel. *ven* (inf. *venja*) 'I accustom': Skr. *sq-vānaya-ti* 'makes inclined, accustoms to', √ *yen-* 'to like'. O.H.G. *flouw(i)u* 'I rinse' (2nd sing. *flewis*, cp. Braune O.H.G. Gr.² pp. 84, 253): Skr. *plāvaya-ti* 'floods, pours over', Serv. *plovi-ti* 'to make flooded', √ *pleu-* 'flow, swim'. Goth. *fra-wardja* 'I bring to nought, destroy, disfigure', O.H.G. *wert(i)u* 'I destroy': Skr. *varīaya-ti* etc., see § 794 p. 327. Goth. *marzja* 'I hurt, vex', O.H.G. *merr(i)u* 'I hold back, hinder, disturb, mislead' (orig. 'cause any one to make an oversight'): Skr. *murṣaya-ti* 'looks after, carries off, lets alone' (*mṛṣya-ti* 'forgets, neglects, bears patiently'), √ *mers-* 'forget, take no notice of'. O.H.G. *derr(i)u* 'I make dry, wither up': Skr. *tarṣāya-ti* etc., see § 794 p. 327. Goth. *ga-tarhja* 'I mark out, blame': Skr. *darśāya-ti* 'shows', √ *derk-* 'see'. Goth. *uf-rakja* 'I reach up', O.H.G. *recch(i)u* 'I reach, stretch out' from √ *reġ-* (Gr. *ῥέγω*). O.H.G. *(h)rett(i)u* 'I tear away, rescue': Skr. *śrāthaya-ti*, see § 794 p. 327. Goth. *þraŋja* 'I run', beside Gr. *τρέχω* 'I run' (fut. *τρέξομαι*) from √ *threkh-*¹⁾ O.H.G. *blecch(i)u* 'I make visible, show': Skr. *bhrājaya-ti*, see § 794 p. 327. Goth. *lagja* O.H.G. *legg(i)u* 'I lay': O.C.Sl. *loži-ti*, see § 794 p. 327. Goth. *þagkja* O.H.G. *dench(i)u* 'I ponder, think': Lat. *tongeō*, see § 794 p. 328; the irregular pret. *þahtu dahta* partic. **þaht-s gi-daht* (variant *gi-denkit*) — for *aō* becoming *ā* see I § 214 p. 181 — arose on the analogy of the corresponding preterite of *þugkja dunch(i)u* (Goth. *þūhta* etc.), which verb we have placed in Class XXVI (§ 722 p. 252); it is true *þagkja* may also be placed in this class, as it may come from **tāg-iō*, which would have a grade of root shown apparently in Osc. *tangin-om* 'sententiam' (not so Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. xvii 123). O.H.G. *blent(i)u* 'I darken, blind': O.C.Sl. *blādi-ti* 'to go astray', orig. transitive like

1) We must believe that the root is *threkh-*, not *thregh-* (I § 553 p. 406), because of O.Icel. *þræll* for **þráχ-ila-*. Then the Gothic verb, like *fra-wardja* and *marzja*, shows in its root-final the regular voiced consonant.

Mod.Sloven. *bluditi* 'to lead astray, deceive' (Miklosich, Vgl. Gr. II 437), \checkmark *bhlendh-*; cp. p. 327 footnote (1). Goth. *us-láubja* O.H.G. *ir-loub(i)u* 'I allow': Skr. *lōbháya-ti* etc., see § 794 p. 328. Goth. *káusja* 'I taste, try': Skr. *jōṣáya-tē*, see § 794 p. 328. Goth. *ráupja* O.H.G. *rouf(i)u* 'I pick, pluck, tear out': Skr. *rōpayati* 'makes a tear, breaks off', \checkmark *reyp-reyb-* (I § 343 p. 270, § 469.7 p. 345). Goth. *dráusja* 'I make fall, throw', O.H.G. *trōr(i)u* 'I make trickle, shed', beside Goth. *driusa* 'I fall'. O.H.G. *int-swebb(i)u* 'I lull to sleep': Skr. *svāpáyati*, see § 794 p. 328. Goth. *ga-vagja* O.H.G. *wegg(i)u* 'I move': Skr. *vāhaya-ti* etc., see § 794 p. 328. Goth. *us-vakja* 'I wake up', O.H.G. *wecch(i)u* 'I wake': Skr. *vājáya-ti* 'excites, drives on', \checkmark *ueg-*. O.H.G. *weiz(i)u* *weiz(i)u* 'I give to know, show': Skr. *vēdaya-ti*, see § 794 p. 328; O.H.G. *beiz(i)u* *beiz(i)u* 'I cause to bite, corrode, bait': Skr. *bhēdaya-ti*, see § 794 p. 328; originally *weiz(i)u* *weizis* etc., *beiz(i)u* *beizis* etc., whence by levelling in both directions *weiz(i)u* *weizis* and *weiz(i)u* *weizis*, *beiz(i)u* *beizis* and *beiz(i)u* *beizis* etc. (cp. *flōz(i)u* *flōg(i)u* § 805). Goth. *láisja* O.H.G. *lēr(i)u* 'I teach', \checkmark *leis-* 'learn'. Goth. *satja* O.H.G. *sezz(i)u* 'I set, place': Skr. *sadáyati*, see § 794 p. 328. O.H.G. *heng(i)u* 'I cause to hang, hang' beside O.H.G. *hahu* 'I hang' for **hanhu* (*hiang gi-hangan*). Goth. *uf-hlōhja* 'I make some one laugh', O.Icel. inf. *hlægja*, beside Goth. *hlahja* 'I laugh' (pret. *hlōh*). O.H.G. *fuog(i)u* O.Sax. *fōgiu* 'I make fit, join, tie up': Skr. *pāśáyati*, see § 794 p. 329. O.H.G. *gruoz(i)u* *gruoz(i)u* O.Sax. *grōtiu* 'I address, speak to': Skr. *hrādaya-ti*, see § 794 p. 329.

§ 805. Where the *éjo*-verb, and the primary verb from which it was formed, had come to have a different articulation in the final consonant of the root, through the action of Verner's Law (I §§ 529 f. p. 384 f. § 581 p. 434), the final of the *éjo*-verb was very often in Gothic levelled back to match that of the other. Of the examples cited in § 804, the following show this change: Goth. *-turhja* instead of **-targja* following a lost **tatrha*, *káusja* instead of **káuzja* following *kiusa*, *dráusja* instead of **dráuzja*

= O.H.G. *trōr(i)u* following *driusa*, *lāisja* instead of **lāizja* = O.H.G. *lēr(i)u* following *lāis* 'knows', *-hlōhja* instead of **-hlōgja* = O.Icel. *hlēge* following *hlahja*.

The following *éjo*-forms arose from present stems with some characteristic suffix (see § 792 p. 325).

O.H.G. *hlein(i)u* 'I cause to lean' trans. of *hli-nē-m* O.Sax. *hli-nō-n*, Class XII, § 605 p. 146.

O.H.G. *scein(i)u* 'I make visible, show' beside *scīnu*; *swein(i)u* 'I make disappear, diminish' beside *swī-nu* 'I disappear'; *bi-swell(i)u* 'I make swell, dam up' beside *swillu*; *scell(i)u* 'I cause to sound, dash in pieces' beside *scillu*: Class XIII, § 614 pp. 151 f.

Goth. *sagqja* O.H.G. *sench(i)u* 'I make sink, push under' beside *sigga*; O.Sax. *thengiu* 'I complete' beside *thīhu* 'I thrive' for pr. Germ. **þeŋχō*; O.H.G. *meng(i)u* O.Sax. *mengiu* 'I mingle, mix' beside a pr. Germ. **mingō*; O.H.G. *spreng(i)u* 'I make burst, I burst' beside *springu*: Class XVI § 628 pp. 164 ff., § 634 pp. 170 ff. With these were associated *éjo*-formations made from presents with a *t*-suffix and a nasal infix: Goth. *vandja* O.H.G. *went(i)u* 'I turn' from *vinda* ✓ *uej-*; O.H.G. *swent(i)u* 'I make disappear, I annihilate' from *swintu* beside *swī-nu*, see § 634 p. 172, § 685 p. 216.

Goth. *kannja* 'I make know, inform', O.H.G. *ir-chenn(i)u* 'I make know, understand', beside *kann kun-nu-m*, Class XVII § 646 p. 183.

Goth. *ur-rannja* 'I make arise' O.H.G. *renn(i)u* 'I make run, or make run quickly', beside Goth. *rinna*; Goth. *ga-brannja* 'I cause to be burnt up, I burn up', O.H.G. *brenn(i)u* 'I make burn, I burn' beside *brinna*: Class XVIII, § 654 pp. 187 f.

Goth. *ga-vasja* O.H.G. *weriu* 'I clothe' (Goth. *-vasja* instead of **-vazja*, see p. 342): Skr. *vāsāya-ti*, from *u-es-* (Class XIX) ✓ *eu-*, see § 794 p. 329.

O.H.G. *frōr(i)u* 'I make freeze' beside *friu-su*, Class XX § 664 p. 197.

O.H.G. *ir-lesk(i)u* 'I cause to be quenched, I quench' beside *ir-lisku*, Class XXII, § 676 p. 208.

Goth. *rōdja* 'I speak, say' beside *-rē-da*: Skr. *rādhaya-ti* etc., see § 794 p. 329; O.H.G. *flōz(i)u flōg(i)u* Mid.H.G. *vlætze vlæze* 'I make flow, cause to swim off, to float (trans.)' (cp. *weiz(i)u weiz(i)u* § 804 p. 341) beside *flu-zu*; Class XXV § 699 p. 225.

§ 806. Denominative *éjo*-verbs (see § 793 p. 326) are common. We have already given some examples found both in Germanic and in Balto-Slavonic (*loc. cit.*), to wit, Goth. *fullja* O.H.G. *full(i)u* 'I fill' from *full-s* 'full' and Goth. *hailja* O.H.G. *heil(i)u* 'I heal' from *hails heil* 'whole, healthy'. Other examples are: Goth. *hauhja* O.H.G. *hōh(i)u* 'I make high, raise aloft' from *hauh-s hōh* 'high'; Goth. *ga-blindja* 'I make blind' Engl. *to blind* (distinguish this from O.H.G. *blent(i)u*, see § 804 p. 340); Goth. *ga-giuja* 'I make living' from *giu-s* (cp. § 794 p. 330); O.H.G. *sterch(i)u* 'I make strong, strengthen' from *starc* 'strong'; *fest(i)u* 'I make fast, fortify' from *festi* 'fast'.

If Germanic did not inherit *éjo*-denominatives from pre-Germanic times, we have to turn for an explanation of their existence in this branch to those instances, where, connected with an old primary causal, there is some adjective having the same grade of root-syllable, as Goth. *gramja* O.H.G. *gremm(i)u* 'to provoke, make angry': O.H.G. *gram* O.Icel. *gram-r* 'angry, provoked'; Goth. *hndivja* 'I lower, degrade' O.H.G. *(h)neig(i)u* 'I bend, incline, sink' tr.: Goth. *hndiv-s* 'low, humble'; O.H.G. *ga-fuog(i)u* 'I make to fit, I join': *ga-fuogi* 'fitting, suiting'. Once these verbs came to be regarded as derived from the adjectives in question, it is easy enough at once to explain new forms like *fullja*.

§ 807. Balto-Slavonic. The original present system, *-eĩð -eĩesi* and so forth, is still represented by the Lith. *v-ejũ* O.C.Sl. *v-ĩjq v-ĩja* 'I wind, turn, twist', as we have already seen in § 788 p. 319. How the place of this series was usurped by Lith. *-au -ai*, O.C.Sl. *-jq -ĩši* has been explained in § 789 pp. 321 f.

This type was very fertile in Balto-Slavonic; and we meet with both the original meanings, — the Causal, and the Intensive or Frequentative (§ 791 p. 324).

We may mention as further examples Lith. *vartaũ vartý-ti* O.C.Sl. *vraštą vrati-ti*, O.C.Sl. *voljā voli-ti*, *pojā poji-ti*, *ložā loži-ti*, *maštā maši-ti*, *ljublją ljubi-ti*, *vožā vozi-ti*, *davljā davi-ti*, Lith. *isz-manaũ -maný-ti* § 794 pp. 326 ff., Serv. *plovi-m plovi-ti*, O.C.Sl. *blǫdǫ blǫdi-ti* § 804 pp. 339 f. Others are: O.C.Sl. *morjā mori-ti* 'to kill' (causal): Skr. *mārāya-ti* 'makes die, kills', √ *mer-*. Lith. *daraũ darý-ti* 'to make' beside *deriũ* 'I bargain, hire, am of use' (cp. Leskien, Der Ablaut der Wurzels. im Lit., 99), √ *der-*. Lith. *ganaũ ganý-ti* 'to tend (cattle), to pasture' O.C.Sl. *gonjā goni-ti* 'to drive' (freq.), √ *ghen-* 'strike'. Lith. *ramaũ ramý-ti* 'to soften, calm' (causal): Skr. *rāmaya-ti* 'brings to a standstill', √ *rem-*. Lith. *žargaũ-s žargý-ti-s* 'to stretch the legs apart' (freq.) beside *žergiũ* 'I stretch my legs'. Lith. *praszaũ praszý-ti* 'I ask, pray', O.C.Sl. *prošā prosi-ti* 'to ask, pray', √ *prek-*. Lith. *láužau láužý-ti* 'to break' trans. (freq.) beside *láušti* 'to break' trans. O.C.Sl. *bužďa budi-ti* 'to wake' (causal): Skr. *bōdhāya-ti* 'causes to awakes, wakes, makes aware', √ *bhejdh-*. Lith. *snaigo snaigý-ti* 'to snow' (freq.) beside *snik-ti* 'to snow', √ *sneigh-*. Lith. *szvaitaũ szvaitý-ti* O.C.Sl. *svěštā světi-ti* 'to make clear, light up' (causal), √ *kuejt-*. O.C.Sl. *běždā bědi-ti* 'to compel': Goth. *báidja* 'I compel', √ *bhejdh-*. Lith. *maiszaũ maiszý-ti* O.C.Sl. *měšā měsi-ti* 'to mix', √ *mejċ-*; the verb may just as well be derived from **moikéiō*, **moik-s-éiō* (Skr. *mēkṣaya-ti* cp. Classes XIX and XX, §§ 656 ff. pp. 190 ff.), or **moik-sk-éiō* (cp. Lat. *misceō*, see § 792 p. 325). Lith. *sakaũ saký-ti* 'to say', O.C.Sl. *sočā soči-ti* 'to point out': O.H.G. *segg(i)u* 'I say', √ *seq-* (Gr. *ἐν-σπε* Lat. *in-sece*). Lith. *kasaũ kasý-ti* 'to scratch' (freq.), √ *qes-* (O.C.Sl. *česa-ti*). O.C.Sl. *topljā topi-ti* 'to warm, beat' (causal): Skr. *tapāya-ti* 'warms', √ *tep-*. O.C.Sl. *točā toči-ti* 'to make run, make flow, pour' (causal): Avest. *tācayē-iti* 'makes flow', √ *teq-*.

§ 808. New formation from Primary presents, in which a present root-extension of the *ējo*-form has been handed down (§ 792 pp. 325 f.):

Class XVI §§ 635 ff., pp. 172 ff. — Lith. *rāžau rāžy-ti* 'to reach' (freq.) beside *isz-si-ręszti* 'to reach out, extend, resist', √ *reğ-* (Gr. *ῥέγω*). Lith. *grándau grándy-ti* 'to shave, scrape' (freq.) beside *gréndu grésti* 'to rub, scour', doubtless connected with O.Icel. *krota* 'to dig in, dig down' O.H.G. *chraz-zōn* 'to scratch'. O.C.Sl. *lačq lači-ti* 'to separate' beside *lęka* 'to bend', √ *leq-*. O.C.Sl. *kraštq krači-ti* 'to turn, twist' (freq.) beside *krę(t)-nq* 'deflecto', √ *qert-*. O.C.Sl. *izū-sqčq -sqči-ti* 'to make exhausted, dry up' Pol. *w-sqczy-ć* 'to make trickle in' (causal) beside O.C.Sl. *sęk-nq* 'I dry up', √ *seiq-*. O.C.Sl. *trašq traši-ti* 'to shatter' (freq.) beside *tręsq* 'I shatter', perhaps derived from *tr-es-* (Class XX, § 636 p. 174, § 657 p. 192).

Class XX, §§ 657 ff., pp. 191 ff. — Lith. *tąsau tąsy-ti* 'I pull or tear about' (freq.) beside *tę-s-iù*, √ *ten-* (§ 794 p. 329). Compare too the above mentioned O.C.Sl. *tręsi-ti*.

Class XXII, §§ 670 ff., pp. 202 ff. — Lith. *draskaū draský-ti* 'to tear about' (freq.) beside *dreskiù* 'I tear' *driskaū* 'I am torn'. Compare § 807 p. 344, on Lith. *maiszy-ti* O.C.Sl. *męsiti*.

Class XXV, §§ 688 ff. pp. 218 ff. — O.C.Sl. *raždq radi-ti* 'to consider, care for': Skr. *rādhaya-ti* etc., stem **rē-dh-* (§ 794 p. 329). Lith. *val̃laū valdy-ti* 'to rule', beside *vel̃du* 'I rule', stem *uel-dh-*; *skardau skardy-ti* 'to shred, cut about' (causal) beside *skėrdžiu* 'I burst', stem *sger-dh-*; *girdau* 'I give to drink' (causal) beside *geriù* 'I drink', stem *ger-dh-*; *pūdaū* 'I cause to rot' (causal) beside *pūv-ù* 'I rot', stem *pū-dh-*. *spráudaū spráudy-ti* (freq.) beside *spráudžiu* 'I push forcibly into an interstice', stem *spreu-d-*; *száudaū száudy-ti* (freq.) beside *száu-ju* 'I shoot', stem *sķeu-d-*. With *-dh-* or *-d-*, uncertain which: *maldaū maldý-ti* 'to beg' (freq.) beside *mel-džiu* 'I beg'; *skáldaū skáldy-ti* 'to split' (freq.) beside *skelù* (**skel-iù*) 'I split', both trans. (*skél-du* and *skél-džiu* 'I split' intrans.). Starting from verbs of this kind, the ending *-dau -dy-ti* became independent, like *-dinu -din-ti*, and was the type for others: *spár-dau* 'I kick'

(freq.) beside *spir-iù*, *gy-dau* 'I heal' (causal) beside *gy-jù* 'I get well' (cp. Leskien, *Der Ablaut der Wurzels. im Lit.*, 182 ff.).

Lastly, we may mention once again O.C.Sl. *življa živi-ti* 'to make alive' (causal), beside *ži-vq* 'I live', see § 794 p. 329.

§ 809. Denominative verbs in Lith. *-y-ti* O.C.Sl. *-i-ti* (see § 793 p. 326) are common. Examples found in both Germanic and Slavonic are O.C.Sl. *plūni-ti* 'to fill' and *cēli-ti* 'to heal', mentioned above (*loc. cit.*).

Lith. denominatives such as *jū'stau jū'sty-ti*, a class which is mixed up with the *ā*-denominatives, have been cited already § 782.4 p. 310. Some more Slavonic exx. may be mentioned: *pravlja pravi-ti* 'to make right, direct' beside *pravū* 'right', *oštrja ostrī-ti* 'to point, sharpen' beside *ostrū* 'pointed, sharp', *diplja divi-ti* sę 'to wonder' beside *divo* 'wonder', *dělja dēli-ti* 'to divide' beside *dělū* 'part', *darja dari-ti* 'to present' beside *darū* 'a present', *mērja mēri-ti* 'to measure' beside *mēra* 'measure', *kramolja* 'I disturb, confuse' beside *kramola* 'disquiet, noise, uproar'. It must also be mentioned that the Idg. denominatives from *i*-stems, ending in *-i-ǵō*, have run into this Class; see § 782.5 p. 311.

THE *s*-AORISTS.¹⁾

§ 810. We saw in § 485 p. 38 f., and § 655 p. 190, that thematic and non-thematic *s*-Preterites belonged to our Present

1) On the Indo-Germanic *s*-Aorist in general: — The Author, *Zur sigmatischen Aoristbildung im Griech., Ital., Kelt. und Ar.*, *Morph. Unt.* III 16 ff.

Aryan. Whitney, *On the Classification of the Forms of the Sanscrit Aorists*, *Proceed. Amer. Or. Soc.* 1875—76 pp. xviii f. *Idem*, *The siṣ- and sa-Aorists in Sanskrit*, *Amer. Journ. Phil.* VI 275 ff. Bartholomae, *Zur Bildung des sigmatischen Aorists [in Avestic]*, *Kuhn's Zeitschr.* XXIX 288 ff.

Greek. Inama, *Degli aoristi greci*, *Rivista di filol.* II 249 ff. L. Meyer, *Griech. Aoriste*, Berl. 1879. T. H. Key, *On the Formation of Greek Futures and First Aorists*, *Transact. Philol. Soc.* 1861 pp. 1 ff. Leskien, *Die Formen des Futurums und zusammengesetzten Aorists mit*

Classes XIX and XX. The reason why I treat these stems again by themselves has been given in the first of those two places.

Before *-s-* we have (1) either the bare Root, as Skr. *á-dik-š-i á-dik-ša-t* Gr. *ἔ-δix-σ-α* Lat. *dix-s-it*, Skr. *á-dha-s-am* O.C.Sl. *dě-chŭ*, or (2) Root + Suffix of some kind (Root-Determinative, or what not), as Skr. *á-hv-a-s-ta* O.C.Sl. *zŭv-a-chŭ*, Skr. *á-vēd-i-š-am* Gr. *(F)ειδ-ε-(σ)-α* Lat. *vīd-i-s-tis*, Skr. *á-yō-t-s-am* Lat. *jussit* for **ju-t-s-e-t* (pres. *yō-dha-ti ju-b-eō*). Under the second heading, a special class is composed of forms like Skr. *ávēdiš-am* Gr. *(F)ειδε-α* Lat. *vidis-tis*, and others

as in den homer. Gedichten, Curtius' Stud. II 65 ff. P. Cauer, Die dor. Futur- und Aoristbildungen der abgeleiteten Verba auf *-ω*, Sprachwiss. Abhandl. aus G. Curtius' Gramm. Gesellsch. pp. 126 ff. G. Mekler, Die Flexion des activen Plusquamperfects, in: Beitr. zur Bildung des griech. Verbums, Dorpat 1887, pp. 43 ff.

Italic. J. V. Netušil, Ob aoristach v latinskem jazykě (The Aorist in Latin), Charkow 1881. Corssen, Kein Aoristus I im Lateinischen, in: Beitr. zur ital. Sprachk. pp. 556 ff. *Idem*, Die synkopierten Formen des Futurum II und Coniunctiv des Perfects auf *-si, -a-ssi, -e-ssi, -i-ssi, ibid.* pp. 523 ff. Ch. Blinkenberg, Om resterne af det sigmatiske aorist i Latin, Kort Udsigt det Kjöbenh. phil. Samf. xxxi. Madvig, De formarum quarundam verbi Latini natura et usu [on *faxō faxim* and the like], Kopenh. 1835 and 36 = Opusc. ac. alt. pp. 60 ff. G. Hermann, De I. N. Madvigii interpretatione quarundam verbi Lat. formarum, Leipz. 1843 = Opusc. VIII 415 ff. G. Curtius, De verbi Lat. futuro exacto et perfecti coniunctivo (issued in welcome of the Congress of Philologists), Dresd. 1844. E. Lübbert, Gramm. Stud. I: der conj. perf. und das fut. ex. im älteren Lat., Bresl. 1867. *Idem*, Paralipomena zur Geschichte der lat. Tempora und Modi II [on *faxim* and the like], Archiv f. lat. Lexikogr. II 223 ff. Fr. Cramer, Das lat. futurum exactum, *ibid.* IV 594 ff. P. Giles, The Origin of the Latin Pluperfect Subjunctive and other etymologies, Cambridge Phil. Transact. 1889 pp. 126 ff. — For other works which deal with the lat. *s*-Aorist associated with the Perfect, see under Perfect, § 843.

Keltic. D'Arbois de Jubainville, Du futur sigmatique [in Irish], Mém. d. l. Soc. d. ling. VI 56. Thurneysen, Der *s*-Aorist im Ir., Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVIII 151 ff. H. Zimmer, Die Schicksale des idg. *s*-Aorists im Ir. und die Entstehung des kelt. *s*-Präteritums, *ibid.* XXX 112 ff. Thurneysen, Zu den ir. Verbalformen sigmatischer Bildung, *ibid.* XXXI 62 ff.

Slavonic. Miklosich, Zusammengesetzter Aorist [in Old Slovenian], Sitzungsber. d. Wien. Akad. LXXXI 110 ff.

associated closely with these, such as Skr. *á-yā-s-iṣ-am* Gr. *δειξιαν* for **δεικ-σ-ε(σ)-ιαν* Lat. *dīc-s-is-tis*. Another subdivision includes the forms with *-s-s-*, as Gr. *ἐσβησσα ἐκάλεσσα* Lat. *vīdissem capessō amāssō* O.Ir. *ro-charus* for **carāss-*.

A. STEMS IN *-s-* AND *-so-*.

I. Non-Thematic *s*-stems.

§ 811. Roots of the *e*-series appear in three vowel grades; and the original Idg. division of these grades was as follows.

The Indic. Act. Sing. had the *ē*-grade: as O.C.Sl. *vēs-ū*¹⁾ Skr. *á-vākṣ-am* from *√ uēgh-*; whether *ē* in Lat. *vēr-i-t* is this *ē* unchanged, is doubtful. The Indic. Act. Plural and Dual, and the whole of the Indic. Middle, had the weak root: as Skr. *á-vīt-s-i* Gr. *ἴσ-αν* from *√ uēid-*. The Conjunctive had the *e*-grade: as Skr. *pákṣ-a-t* Gr. *πέψ-ω* from *√ peq-*, Avest. *var's-a-itī* Gr. *ἐρξ-ω* from *√ uerg-*. The Optative had the weak root; as Skr. *mas-īya* from *√ men-*. With this ablaut compare Skr. indic. *stāú-ti stu-mási stu-tē mārṣ-ti mṛj-ánti*, conj. *stāv-a-t mārj-a-t*, opt. *stuv-i-tá* (§ 494 p. 55).

The Conjunctive stem of this *s*-aorist is identical with the Indicative stem of the XXth Present Class; e. g. Skr. *tāsa-t(i)* and indic. *tāsa-ti* = Goth. *pīnsa*, Lat. (fut.) *dīxō* and indic. pret. *dīxi-t dīxi-mus*, so too the conj. Skr. *áy-a-t* and indic. *áy-a-tē* = Lat. *eō* (§ 489 p. 47, § 493 pp. 51 f.).

§ 812. Pr. Idg. Skr. *kṣar-* Gr. *κθαρ-* 'cause to run off, make disappear' (cp. Kretschmer, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxi 431): *á-kṣārṣ-am* 2nd and 3rd sing. *á-kṣār*, Gr. *ἐκθάρω* (*ἐκθάρωσα* Lycophron). *√ der-* 'split, flay': Skr. conj. *dārṣ-u-t(i)*, Gr. *ἐδειξα*. *√ bher-* 'carry': Skr. *á-bhārṣ-am*, Gr. *ἐφερσεν* *ἐκύησεν*

1) In the Indicative system of several languages forms of some other inflexion were associated with the non-thematic forms. This will be examined under the headings of the languages in question.

(Hesych.), Lat. conj. *ferrem*. √ *uel-* 'choose, wish': Skr. 1st sing. mid. *á-vṛṣ-i* Avest. 1st sing. conj. mid. *var's-anē*, Lat. *vellem*. √ *ten-* 'stretch out, lengthen, tighten': Skr. *á-tās-am* 2nd and 3rd sing. *á-tān* mid. 1st sing. *á-tas-i* 1st pl. *á-tas-mahi*, Gr. *ἐ-τινα*. √ *men-* 'think, mean': Skr. mid. 3rd sing. *á-mas-ta* conj. *mās-a-tē* opt. 1st sing. *mas-īya*, Lith. 1st and 2nd pl. injunct. (fut.) *mīs-me mīs-te*. √ *ghen-* 'strike': Skr. 2nd and 3rd sing. *ghān* (*gh-* instead of *h-* following **ghas-* = **ghy-s-*), Gr. *ἐ-τινα*, Lith. injunct. *gīs-me -te* O.C.Sl. 2nd and 3rd sing. *po-žę*. √ *rem-* 'rest': Skr. *á-ras-am* mid. *á-ras-ta*, Lith. injunct. *rems-me -te* (trans.) and *rims-me -te* (intrans.). Lat. *dēmpsi prōmpsi* opt. *emps-i-m*, Lith. injunct. *išs-me -te* O.C.Sl. *jęs-ŭ*. √ *qeī-* 'to inflict punishment' etc.: Skr. *á-caīṣ-am*, Gr. *ἐ-τεισ-α*. Skr. *kṣi-* Gr. *φθι-* 'destroy': Skr. mid. *kṣēṣ-ta*, Gr. *ἐ-φθεισ-α*. √ *pleu-* 'swim': Skr. mid. *á-plōṣ-ta*, Gr. *ἐ-πλευσ-α*, Lith. injunct. *plāus-me -te* O.C.Sl. *pluch-ŭ*. √ *kļu-* 'hear': Skr. *á-śrāuṣ-am* O.C.Sl. *po-sluchŭ*. √ *terp-* 'satisfy, content': Skr. *á-trāps-am á-tārps-am* (gramm.), Gr. *ἐ-τερον-α*. √ *uert-* 'vertere': Skr. mid. *á-vṛts-i*, Lith. injunct. *verš-me -te* (trans.) and *višs-me -te* (intrans.). √ *serp-* 'serpere': Skr. *á-srāps-am á-sārps-am* (gramm.), and perhaps also mid. *ásṛpta* for **a-sṛps-ta* (§ 816), Gr. *ἐῖρω-α* (late), Lat. *serps-ī*. √ *derk-* 'see': Skr. *á-drakṣ-am* 2nd and 3rd sing. *á-drak* mid. 3rd pl. *á-dṛkṣ-ata* conj. *darkṣ-a-t*, Gr. *ἐ-δεοξ-άμην* (late). √ *uerḡ-* 'work': Avest. conj. *var's-a-itī*, Gr. *ἐργ-α*. √ *merḡ-* 'stroke, brush': Skr. *á-mārkṣ-am*, Gr. *ἀμ'οξ-αι ομόοξ-αι*. √ *melḡ-* 'milk': Gr. *ἀμέλξ-αι*, Lat. *muls-ī*, Lith. injunct. *mīlsz-me -te*. √ *leīḡ-* 'leave': Skr. *á-raikṣ-am* 2nd and 3rd sing. *á-raik* mid. *á-rikṣ-i*, Gr. *ἐ-λειν-α*, Lith. injunct. *līks-me -te*. √ *ueīd-* 'know, learn, find': Skr. mid. *á-vits-i*, Gr. mid. *ἐ-εἶσ-ατο* 3rd pl. act. *ἴσ-αν*, Lat. *vīs-ī* (pres. *vīs* § 662 p. 197), Lith. injunct. *isz-výs-me -te*. √ *leīp-* 'besmear': Skr. mid. *á-līps-i*, Gr. *ἀλείψ-αι*, Lith. injunct. *līps-me -te*. √ *deīk-* 'show': Skr. mid. *á-dikṣ-i*, Gr. *ἐ-δειξ-α*, Lat. *dīx-ī dīx-ō dīx-i-m*. √ *neīḡ-* 'wash': Skr. *á-nāikṣ-am* mid. *á-nīkṣ-i*, Gr. *ἐ-νυψ-α*. √ *steīḡh-* 'climb': Gr. *ἐ-στεῖξ-α*, O.Ir. injunct. 3rd sing. *for-tē*. √ *jeyḡ-* 'yoke to, fasten': Skr. *á-yōkṣ-am* and

á-yāukš-am (gramm.), Gr. ἄ-ζευξ-α; cp. Skr. *á-yurākṣ-mahi* Lat. *jūnx-ī* Lith. injunct. *jūnks-me -te* § 813. *✓ meug-meyg-* 'strip off, let go': Skr. *á-māukṣ-am* 2nd and 3rd sing. *á-māuk* mid. *á-mukṣ-i* Gr. ἄν-έμυξα, Lith. injunct. *maūks-me -te*; Lat. *ē-mūnx-ī*. *✓ bheydh-* 'awake, notice': Skr. mid. *á-bhuts-i*, Lith. injunct. *-būs-me -te* O.C.Sl. *bljus-ū*. *✓ uegh-* 'vehere': Skr. *á-vākṣ-am* 2nd and 3rd sing. *á-vāṭ* conj. *vākṣ-a-t*, Lat. *vēx-ī*, Lith. injunct. *vēs-me -te* O.C.Sl. *vēs-ū*. *✓ yedh-* 'to lead': O.Ir. *don-fē* 'let him lead us' for **vets-t*, Lith. injunct. *vēs-me -te* O.C.Sl. *vēs-ū*. *✓ dhegh-* 'burn': Skr. *á-dhākṣ-am* *á-dhāk* conj. *dhākṣ-a-t(i)*, Lith. injunct. *dēks-me -te* O.C.Sl. *žach-ū* for **žech-ū* (I § 76 p. 66) beside *žega* for **dega* (§ 522 pp. 85 f.). *✓ sed-* 'sedere': Skr. conj. *sāts-a-t*, Gr. ἕσθ-α, Lith. injunct. *sēs-me -te*. *✓ peq-* 'coquere': Skr. conj. *pākṣ-a-t*, Gr. ἑ-πεψ-α, Lat. *coxī* for **quex-ī*. *✓ seq-* 'to be with, follow': Skr. mid. *á-sakṣ-i* conj. *sākṣ-a-t*, Lith. *sēks-me -te*. *✓ reg-* 'regere': Gr. οὔρεξ-αι, Lat. *rēx-ī*, O.Ir. 2nd sing. *comēir* for **cóm-ex-rex-s*. *✓ leg-* 'legere': Gr. ἑ-λεξ-α, Lat. *-lēx-ī*. *✓ plek-* 'fold': Gr. ἑ-πλεξ-α, Lat. *plēx-ī*. *✓ ed-* 'eat': Lat. conj. *ēss-e-m*, Lith. injunct. *ēs-me -te* O.C.Sl. *jas-ū*. *✓ dhē-* 'set, place, lay': Skr. *á-dhas-am* mid. *á-dhiṣ-i*, Lat. conj. *con-derem*, Lith. injunct. *dēs-me -te* O.C.Sl. *dēch-u*. *✓ spē-* 'help onwards, further': Avest. conj. *spārah-a-iti*, Lith. injunct. *spēs-me -te* O.C.Sl. *spēch-ū*. *✓ dō-* 'give': Skr. mid. *á-diṣ-i* conj. *dās-a-t*, Lat. conj. *dar-e-m*, Lith. injunct. *dā's-me -te* O.C.Sl. *dach-ū*; compare also Alban. *Jašë* 'I gave' (G. Meyer, Kurzgef. alb. Gr., 38). *✓ stā-* 'stand': Skr. mid. *á-sthiṣ-i* Avest. conj. *stārah-a-p*, Gr. ἑ-στῆσ-α 3rd pl. Hom. ἑ-στασ-αυ, Lat. conj. *stār-e-m*, Lith. injunct. *stós-me -te* O.C.Sl. *stach-ū*.

The following examples are a group by themselves, having peculiar vocalism in the root (*a*, *i*, *f*). *✓ bhey-* 'be, become': Gr. ἑ-φῶσ-α, conj. (fut.) Umbr. fust *fust* Osc. *fust* 'erit', Osc. conj. *fusíd* 'foret', Lith. injunct. *būs-me -te* O.C.Sl. *bych-ū*; cp. fut. Avest. *būšyēiti* etc. § 748 p. 271. *✓ dhey-* 'shake': Skr. mid. *á-dhūṣ-ta*, Gr. ἑ-θῦσ-α. *✓ gei-* 'live': Lith. injunct. *gýs-me -te* (inf. *gý-ti* pres. *gy-jù*) O.C.Sl. *žich-ū* (inf. *ži-ti*

pres. *ži-va*). Skr. 3rd pl. *á-kirš-ata* from *kar-* 'scatter'. Gr. ἰ-στροωσ-α from στερε- 'sternere'.

§ 813. Forms with the root-suffixes *-a-*, *-ē-* *-ō-* (§§ 579 ff. pp. 121 ff., §§ 734 ff. pp. 261 ff.). **dr-a-* 'run': Skr. conj. *drās-a-t*, Gr. ἀπ-έδροαα (late). **tr-a-* 'to press through, succeed in traversing': Skr. 1st pl. mid. *á-trās-mahi* Avest. 2nd pl. mid. *brāz-dam*, Lat. conj. *in-trārem*. **gh(i)ā-* 'hiare': Lat. conj. *hiār-e-m*, Lith. injunct. *žiós-me -te*. **gh(u)ā-* 'call': Skr. mid. *á-hvās-ta*, O.C.Sl. *zŭvach-ŭ*. *arā-* 'plough': Lat. conj. *arār-e-m*, O.C.Sl. *orach-ŭ*. **pl-ē-* 'fill': Skr. *á-prās-am* 2nd and 3rd sing. *á-prās*, Lat. conj. *-plēr-e-m*; whether Gr. ἐπλησα comes in here is doubtful (see § 750.3 p. 272). **sn-ē-* 'weave, spin, sew': Gr. ἔ-νησ-α, Lat. conj. *nēr-e-m*. **bhs-ē-* 'chew, devour': Skr. *á-psās-i-t* (gramm., cp. § 816), Gr. ἔ-ψησ-α. **gn-ē gn-ō-* 'learn, know': Skr. *á-jñās-am*, Gr. ἀν-έγνωσα, O.C.Sl. *znach-ŭ*. **uid-ē-* 'see': Lat. conj. *vidēr-e-m*, Lith. injunct. *pa-vydēs-me -te* O.C.Sl. *vidēch-ŭ*. **rudh-ē-* 'blush': Lat. conj. *rubēr-e-m*, O.C.Sl. *rŭdēch-ŭ*. Lat. conj. *favēr-e-m*, O.C.Sl. *govēch-ŭ* 'veneratus sum', cp. § 590 p. 132. With these aorists are associated the *s*-preterites of the later denominative group, as Gr. ἐ-τίμασ-α Lat. conj. *plantār-e-m* Lith. injunct. *lankós-me* O.C.Sl. *lākach-ŭ* (cp. § 769 p. 286), Gr. ἐ-φίλησ-α Lat. *claudēr-e-m* Lith. *gŭdēs-mé-s* O.C.Sl. *cělēch-ŭ*, Gr. ἐ-κόντισ-α Lat. *fīnīr-e-m* Lith. *dalýs-me* O.C.Sl. *gostich-ŭ*, Gr. ἐ-δάκρυσ-α, Gr. ἐ-μίσθισ-α Lith. *jākŭ's-me* (cp. § 773 p. 290 f.). Venetian *zonas-to* 'donavit' (cp. p. 53 footnote 2).

As this *s*-formation must be regarded as original for stems with the suffixes *-a-*, *-ē-* *-ō-*, so too for certain roots with a dental suffix. From *gei-t-* 'to observe' (§ 680 p. 212): Skr. 3rd sing. *á-cait*, O.C.Sl. *čis-ŭ*. From *iey-dh-* 'disturb, set moving, drive' (§ 689 p. 219 f.): Skr. *á-yōts-am yuts-mahi*, Lat. *juss-i* O.Lat. *jous-ī*.

Of the remaining *s*-forms with roots having some extra suffix, those which are associated with Classes XV and XVI deserve particular mention. Skr. 1st pl. mid. *á-yurəkš-mahi* Lat. *jūnx-ī* Lith. *jūnks-me* beside Skr. *yurək-tē* Lat. *jungō*

Lith. *jūngiu*, from *√jeug-* 'yoke, join'; cp. the associated forms Skr. *á-yōkṣ-am* Gr. *ἔ-ζευξ-α* § 812 p. 349. Gr. *ἔ-πλαγξ-α* Lat. *plānx-i* beside Gr. *πλάζω* for **πλαγγ-ω* Lat. *plangō*, from *√plaq-* *plag-* 'strike': cp. Gr. *ἔ-πληγξ-α* Lith. *plāks-me*. Of course these examples, with many more from Greek, Latin, or Baltic, may all be regarded as new analogical formations in the separate languages.

§ 814. Aryan. First, a few more examples to supplement those given in §§ 812 and 813. *√dher-* 'hold fast': Skr. *á-dhārṣ-am* (gramm.), Avest. 3rd sing. *dār's-t dōr's-t* (*ō* for *a*) O.Pers. 1st sing. mid. *a-darš-iy* (O.Pers. *darš-* may be either **dher-* or **dhṛs-*). *√per-* 'bring across, transfer, translate': Skr. conj. *pārṣ-a-t(i)*: Gr. *ἔ-πειρ-α*. *√uen-* 'win, conquer': Skr. mid. *vās-i* conj. *vās-a-t(i)* opt. *vas-i-mahi vās-i-mahi*, Avest. Gathic conj. *vəəgh-a-itī* = Skr. *vāṣati*. *√gem-* 'go': Skr. mid. *á-gas-mahi á-gas-mahi*, Avest. conj. Gath. *jəəgha-itī*. Skr. *yam-* 'cohibere': *á-yāṣ-am* 3rd sing. *á-yān* conj. *yās-a-t(i)*. Ar. *naḥ-* 'lead': Skr. *á-nāṣ-am* mid. *á-nēṣ-i* conj. *nēṣ-a-t(i)*, Avest. conj. *naēṣ-a-p*. Skr. *jaḥ-* 'conquer': *á-jāṣ-am* mid. *á-jēṣ-i* conj. *jēṣ-a-t(i)*. Skr. *dhī-* 'notice': Avest. 2nd sing. *dāiš*, cp. partic. *dāšemna-* Skr. *dhīṣamāna-s* § 833. Avest. *praṇ-* 'nourish' (*pr-u-* beside *pr-ā-*, cp. § 579 p. 121 f.): 2nd pl. act. *praōš-ta* 3rd sing. mid. *praōš-ta*. Skr. *sarj-* 'let go': Skr. *á-srākṣ-am* mid. *á-sṛkṣ-i* conj. *sṛakṣ-a-t(i)*. *√prek-* 'ask': *á-prākṣ-am* mid. *á-praṣ-ṭa*, Avest. mid. *fraš-i fraš-ta* imper. *ferāšva*. Skr. *chand-* Avest. *sand-* 'appear': Skr. 2nd and 3rd sing. *á-chān* conj. *chantṣ-a-t(i)*, Avest. 2nd and 3rd sing. *sas*. *√deik-* 'show, point': Skr. mid. *á-dikṣ-i*, Avest. opt. *diṣ-yā-p*: Gr. *ἔ-δείκ-α* etc., see § 812 p. 349. Skr. *viṣ-* 'enter': 1st pl. mid. *á-vikṣ-mahi*. *√ueq-* 'speak': Avest. conj. *vaxṣ-a-p*. *√ped-* 'go': mid. *á-pats-i*. *√bhag-* 'enjoy': Skr. *á-bhakṣ-am* 2nd and 3rd sing. *á-bhak* mid. *á-bhakṣ-i* conj. *bhakṣ-a-t(i)*, Avest. 3rd sing. mid. *baxṣ-ta*. *√dhē-* 'place' and *dō-* 'give': Skr. *á-dhās-am á-dhiṣ-i á-diṣ-i das-a-t(i)*, Avest. 2nd sing. opt. mid. *dah-i-ša*: Lat. *con-derem* etc., see § 812 p. 350. *√kō-* 'sharpen, cut':

Avest. 2nd pl. *saz-dūm*. Skr. *hā-* 'go, yield' (*jā-hā-ti ja-hi-mas*): *á-hās-am* 3rd sing. *á-hās* 1st pl. *á-hās-ma*.

§ 815. There are many deviations in Sanskrit and Avestic¹⁾ from the original distribution of these three vowel grades, as set forth in § 811.

The weak stem (as Skr. *ta-s-* from $\sqrt{\text{ten-}}$) is hardly found outside its original sphere; but no longer in the plural and dual indic. act., only in the Indic. Middle and the Optative: e. g. Skr. *á-dhiṣ-i dhiṣ-īya á-gas-mahi mas-īya*, Avest. *a-mēh-maidi diṣ-yā-p*. Irregular: Skr. 2nd sing. conj. mid. *dfkṣ-a-sē* instead of **drakṣ-a-sē*.

In Sanskrit the *ā*-grade (as *tā-s-*) spread from the Sing. indic. act. to the Plural and Dual; e. g. *áchāntsur ájāiṣma úbhārṣṭam* following the sing. *áchāntsam* etc.; cp. *ádhāma* instead of **á-dhi-ma* following *á-dhā-m* (§ 495 p. 55), *spar-tam* instead of *spr-tam* (§ 499 p. 62), and the like. But beyond this line Sanskrit has very few other examples of *ā*; one is mid. *áyās-i*. In the Gatha dialect *ā* is quite restricted to its original sphere. But in later Avestic it has crept into *nāš-ī-ma*, if this be the optative to an indic. **nāš-em* (O.C.Sl. *nēs-ū*); cp. Bartholomae, Stud. idg. Spr., II 166.

The *a*-grade (as Skr. *tā-s-*) spread from the Conjunctive, where it is still the usual form in Sanskrit and Avestic, through the whole Indicative and Optative moods; and in particular it occurs with the weak stem; e. g. indic. 3rd sing. Skr. *á-mas-ta* Avest. *mas-tā* opt. Skr. *mas-ī-māhi* (variant, Avest. Gath. *a-mēh-maidi* Skr. *mas-īya*) following the conj. Skr. *más-a-tē*, Skr. 1st pl. *jēṣ-ma* (beside *á-jāiṣ-ma*), Avest. Gath. 2nd pl. *praoš-tā*, 3rd pl. *vērogh-en*; within the orig. sphere of the *a*-grade, Skr. *á-ras-am á-yōkṣ-am*.

§ 816. In Sanskrit, the 2nd and 3rd sing. indic. act. became identical by regular change (*ájaiṣ* = **a-jāiṣ-ṣ* and **a-jāiṣ-ṭ*); and if a consonant preceded the aorist sign, the aorist sign was dropt as well as the personal ending (*árāik* = **a-raikṣ-ṣ* and

1) Here we have to disregard Old Persian, from lack of material.

**a-raikṣ-t*), and sometimes this was done even to the root-final (*á-čan* = **a-chants-s* and **a-chānts-t*). The inconvenience thus caused served to root the forms with *-s-i-ṣ* *-s-i-t* firmly in later Vedic, and these are the only ones used in classical Sanskrit (except *bhaiṣ* in the phrase *mā bhaiṣ* 'fear not'); e. g. *á-jaiṣ-i-ṣ* *-i-t*. These endings were borrowed from the *siṣ*-aorist (§ 839). For instance, *áyāsi-ṣ* *áyāsi-t* belonged originally to the series *áyāsiṣ-am* *áyāsiṣ-ma* etc., next displaced 2nd and 3rd sing. *áyās* (which belonged to the 1st sing. *áyās-am*); and the relation between *áyāsi-ṣ* *-t* and *áyās-am* produced *ájaiṣi-ṣ* *-t* beside *ájaiṣ-am*, *ábharṣi-ṣ* *-t* beside *ábharṣ-am*, and so forth.

A few times the 2nd sing. in *-aiṣ* (for **-aiṣ-ṣ*) produced a 3rd sing. in *-ai-t*, as *ánait* by complementary analogy from *ánaiṣ* (*nī-* 'to lead').¹⁾ As this formation touched only roots with an *i*-vowel, it may be that the type was set by preterites like *áj-ai-t* beside *áj-ai-ṣ* from *aj-* 'agere' (§ 572 p. 114).

The Sanskrit grammars class under the *s*-aorist some forms of the 2nd and 3rd sing. which more properly belong to our Present Class I; such are *á-kṛthas* and *á-kṛta*, which by their structure belong not to *á-kṛṣ-i* *á-kṛṣ-mahi* but to *á-kr-i* *á-kr-ata*. The reason of this confusion was that in a certain number of consonantal roots the 2nd and 3rd sing. of both these series had become indistinguishable; e. g. *áchitthas* *áchitta* in the systems of *á-chid-i* (*á-chēd-i*) and *á-chits-i* both (cp. 2nd pl. *áchantta* for **a-chants-ta*, I § 557. 3 p. 413). Compare also the 2nd pl. *ámugdhvam* from *muc-* 'to let go', which may belong equally well to the aorist stem *muc-* (precative *muc-iṣṭa*) or to the aorist stem *mukṣ-* (3rd pl. *mukṣ-ata*).

§ 817. *s*-aorists from Roots with characteristic, or from Present Stems.

Forms with the suffixes *-a-*, *-ē-* *-ō-* have been cited in

1) Analogous formations outside the *s*-aorist are collected by Joh. Schmidt in Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxvi 403. Compare further 1st sing. *uchinam* (Maha-Bh.) beside 3rd sing. *a-chinat* = **a-chinat-t* from *chid-* 'to cut off'.

§ 813 p. 351; add to those Skr. *á-yās-am* conj. *yās-a-t(i)* from *y-ā-* 'to go', *á-dhyās-am* from *dhy-ā-* 'to think'.

With the suffix *-ī- -āi-* (§ 498 pp. 61 f.); Skr. *á-grabh-ī- -ś-am á-grah-āi-ś-am* beside *á-grabh-ī-t á-grh-ī-tām* from *grabh-* 'to seize' (§ 574 p. 116).

Skr. *á-yuṣṭ-ś-mahi* from *yuj-*, see § 813 p. 351. Skr. *á-stamps-am* beside *stambha-tē* 'fortifies or strengthens itself', *√ stebh-*, see § 629 p. 166.

O.Pers. 3rd sing. *a-kū-nau-š* 'he made' *a-durš-nau-š* 'he durst' come from *nu-* presents (§ 640 p. 178). And so doubtless 3rd sing. *-āiš* 'he went' 3rd pl. *-āiša* arose in Persian itself in association with the present stem *aī-* (imperf. *-āy-am*), and is therefore not an orig. *s*-aorist as might be supposed from Skr. 3rd sing. mid. *adhy-āišṭa* (gramm.). The origin of these new forms lies perhaps in certain pairs of imperfect forms; 2nd sing. **āiš* 3rd sing. **āi*, 2nd sing. **akūnauš* 3rd sing. **akūnau* running parallel to 2nd sing. **abara* 3rd sing. *abara*, 2nd sing. **adadā* 3rd sing. *adadā*, and the like. If there were connected aorist forms such as 2nd and 3rd sing. **a-nāiš* = Skr. *á-nāiš*, the above 2nd sing. in *-š* might easily be looked upon as an *s*-preterite, which its use for both 2nd and 3rd sing. suggested. After that, *-āiš* would be complemented by 3rd pl. *-āiša*.

§ 818. Armenian. So far no *s*-preterites have been found. Compare the remarks on the *ç*-aorist, § 672 p. 204.

§ 819. Greek. First, a few examples shall be added to those given in §§ 812 and 813. Hom. *ἐ-κερσ-α* Att. *ἐ-κειρ-α* from *κείρω* 'I shave' fut. *κερῶ*. Hom. *ἐ-κελσ-α* from *κέλλω* 'I move, drive'. *ἐ-στειλ-α* (*ἐστέλσιν* in Hesych.) from *στέλλω* 'I order, arrange'. *ἐ-πηλ-α* for **ἐ-παλσ-α* mid. *πάλτο* from *πάλλω* 'I shake, brandish'. On the relation of Lesb. *ἐφθερρα* Att. *ἐφθειρα* Dor. *ἐφθηρα* to Hom. *ἐκερσα*, and of Lesb. *ἐστελλα* Att. *ἐστειλα* Dor. *ἐστηλα* to Hom. *ἐκελσα*, and such like, see I § 563.3 p. 419, Wackernagel, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxix 127 ff., the Author, Gr. Gr.² p. 63. *ἐμεινα* Lesb. *ἐμεννα* Dor. *ἐμηνα* for **ἐ-μενσ-α* from *μένω* 'I remain'. So *ἐκτεινα* from *κτείνω*

'I kill', ἔθνεμα from νέμω 'I divide'. ἔνευσ-α from νέ(φ)-ω 'I swim': Skr. mid. *á-snoṣ-ṭa* (gramm.). ἔπνευσ-α from πνέ(φ)-ω 'I blow, breathe'. ἔπερσ-α from πέρω 'I sack, destroy'. ἔτρεψ-α from τρέπω 'I turn': Lat. *torsī* for **torcs-ī* from *torqu-eō*. ἔγραψ-α from γράφ-ω 'I write', *√gerph-*. ἔφρασ-α from φράζω 'I give to understand, show' for **φραδ-λω*: Lith. 1st and 2nd pl. injunct. (fut.) *gĩrs-me -te* from *girstũ* 'I apprehend', *√gherd-*. βράξαι· συλλαβεῖν (Hesych.) beside aor. βραχεῖν: Skr. *á-mrākṣ-ī-t á-mārkṣ-ī-t* from *mṛśá-ti* 'touches, grasps' (§ 527 p. 90). ἔσπεισ-α Cret. ἔσπευσ-α from σπένδιω 'I offer, pour'. ἔπεισ-α from πείθω 'I persuade', *√bheidh-*; ἔπεισα instead of **ἔφσεισα* like Skr. *á-dukṣa-t* instead of *á-dhukṣa-t*, which is also found (§ 659 p. 195). ἔγευσ-α from γένω 'I give to taste', *√gēus-*. ἐύσ-α from εὔω 'I burn': Lat. *ussī* from *ūr-ō*, *√eus-*. ἔγλυψ-α from γλύφω 'I incise, engrave'. ἔζεσ-σα ἐξεσα from ζέ(σ)-ω 'I boil, bubble'. θίσσαντο for **θετσο-* from θίσσεισθαι 'to beseech', *√ghedh-* (§ 706 p. 234). ἐδέξ-άμην δέκτο for **δεκσο-το* from δέχομαι 'I receive'. ἔκλαισ-α from κλαίω 'I weep' for **κλαφ-λω*. ἡσάμην ἄσμενος from ἡδομαι 'I rejoice': Lat. *suās-ī* from *suād-eō*. ἔπηξ-α πήκτο for **πηκσο-το* from πηγνύμι 'I fix' *√pak-* *pāg-*. ἔδησ-α from δέδημι 'I bind', *√dē-*.

§ 820. The *α* which is seen after *σ* came from the 1st sing. in *-σ-α* and the 3rd pl. in *-σ-αν* (whence, by complementary analogy, *-σα-ς -σα-τε -σα-ο* etc.). According to Osthoff, Perf. 407, *α* is regular also in *-σαμεν -σαμεθα -σαμην*, which endings he derives from **-s-ḡmen* and so forth. The 3rd sing. in *-σε* properly belongs to the thematic conjugation; ἔδειξ-ε is like Skr. *á-dikṣa-t* Lat. *dixi-t* (see § 833). The 2nd and 3rd sing. **ἔδειξ = *ἔδεικ-σ-ς* and **ἔδεικ-σ-τ* were dropt for clearness; and it was the perfect forms (λέλοιπε : λέλοιπα) that caused a thematic form to take root in the 3rd singular and nowhere else.

The Conjunctive in Homer and elsewhere still shows the thematic vowel, as τείσομεν, instead of which we have later τείσωμεν (§§ 914, 923). We have already seen (§ 747 p. 269)

that the indic. fut. in *-σω* was in all probability partly the conjunctive of the *s*-aorist; compare further in § 833.

The optative in *-σαιμι* is a re-formation on the analogy of the optative in *-οιμι*; see § 944. On forms like *δείξειαν*, see § 836.

The Participle Active shows in all its cases *-σαντ-*; see II § 126 pp. 399 f., and IV § 1099. 6.

Even before *α* had spread by analogy in the system of the *σ*-aorist, *σ* had dropt between a root-final consonant (explosive, liquid, or spirant) and a personal ending with consonant initial (I § 566 p. 423). Some forms of this kind lasted into the historical period: Hom. *λέκτο* 'laid itself' for **λέκσ-το*, imper. *λέξο* for **λέκσ-σο*, partic. *-λέγμενο-ς* for **λεκ(σ)-μενο-ς*, beside *ἔλεξα ἐλέξατο*; *ἔμεικτο* 'mixed itself' for **ἐ-μεικσ-το*, *ἐμείχθη* for **ἐ-μεικ-σ-θη* (§ 589 p. 130), beside *ἔμειξα*; *πάλλω* for **παλσ-το*, beside *ἔπηλα*; *ἄρμενο-ς* for **ἄρσ-μενο-ς*, beside *ἦρσα*.

In forms like *ἴσθησα ἔδησα ἔμνησα ἐτίμησα ἐμίσθωσα* (§§ 819, 822), *σ* seems to have been due to the analogy of consonantal stems, as *ἔτερψα ἐκήρυξα* (cp. I § 564 p. 420), just as *στέγω τιμίσγω* got their *σ* by analogy of *τέρωσκω κηρύσσω* (§ 755 p. 274). But *σ* drops, as it should, in *ἦδεα* for **ἐ-φειδεσ-α* (§ 836).

Remark. El. *ἰποίηα* has not kept unaltered the Idg. sounds. It is far more likely that *α* disappeared in Elean itself; in the same way the change of *σ* to *h* in Lac. *ἐνίσαι* and Argive *ἰπολφη* belonged to these dialects separately.

The question might be asked whether the *σ* of *ἔμνησα ἔμνησαν* may not have returned to them unweakened at some time when the forms **ἔ-μνᾶσ(-ε)* **ἔ-μνᾶσ(-τ)* **ἔ-μνᾶσ-τε* **ἔ-μνᾶσ-τον* existed; just as *ἦσαν* (beside Boeot. *παρ-εῖαν*) got back its *σ* by analogy of *ἦσθε ἦστον ἦσθη*. I put the counter question, why we have *ἦδεα*, not *ἦδεσα*. It cannot be made probable that this *es*-formation was found in the singular only — if so, the state of things would differ widely from the *s*-aorist.

§ 821. The pr. Idg. differences in root-gradation (§ 811 p. 348) were largely levelled out in Greek.

Often the vocalism of the whole aorist was decided by the Present; and we saw in § 748 p. 270, that where this

dependence upon the present stem is seen, the σ -future always goes along with the aorist. Compare ἔγραψα ἔγλυψα ὤμορξα ἔστιξα ἔσχισα ἔπηλα (for *ἔπαλσα) with γράψω γλύψω ὀμώγω στίξω σχίξω πάλλω, but ἔτερψα ἔδειρα (for *ἔδερσα) ἔστειξα ἔφθειρα (ἔφθερσα) ἔστειλα (ἔστειλσα) beside τέρω δέρω στείχω φθείρω στέλλω. Thus there is no ground for believing that, say, ἔσχισάμην inherited from the parent language its grade σχισ- (cp. Skr. *áchitsi*), or that the conj. δείρω inherited *ḍers- (cp. Skr. *dārṣ-a-t*).

The vocalism is independent of the present in ἔτεια beside τίνω, or ἔδειξα beside Cret. -δίκνυτι (Att. δείκνυσι), amongst other examples. The ϵ of these forms was carried right through the aorist system. However, it need not come exclusively from the Conjunctive; η may have been shortened to ϵ in the indic. ἔδειξα ἔτεια, and in ἔξενξα ἔπλευσα ἔκερσα etc., by the rule laid down in vol. I § 611 p. 461. In this case ἔξενξα would be equivalent to Skr. *áyañkṣam*. This shortening cannot have taken place in the 1st sing. ἔμεινα ἔνιμα for pr. Gr. *ἔ-μενσ-α *ἔ-νεμσ-α, as is proved by Lesb. μῆν-ος Att. μῆν-ός (see *loc. cit.*). But it may have come about in the 2nd and 3rd sing., at a time when these took the forms *ἔ-μηνσ(-ς) and *ἔ-μηνσ(-τ), etc. On this view, the old vowel gradation must have been kept, or undergone nothing but regular change, in the conj. act. and mid. δείξω δείξομαι and in the sing. indic. act. ἔδειξα; while there has been analogical influence in the plural and dual indic. act., and in the whole of the indic. middle, ἐδείξαμεν etc., ἐδειξάμην etc.

Survivals of the original weak grade are ἴσαν, ῥσαν for *ἡφίσαν¹⁾ beside εἰσάμην, Hom. ἔστασαν beside ἔστησα, ὤσμενο-ς beside ἡσάμην ἥσασθαι (Lat. *suāst*).

1) On ἴσασι Dor. 1st sing. ἴσαμι etc., which are due to the analogy of ἴσαν, see § 863.

§ 822. Many σ-aorists come from roots with characteristic, or from present stems of different kinds (usually these have a similar σ-future associated with them).

(1) Forms with Reduplication. *ἰδίδαξα* from *διδάσκω* 'I teach' for **δι-δακ-σκω* Class XXIII (fut. *διδάξω*). *ἐτίτηνα* from *τεταίνω* 'I stretch' for **τι-ταν-νω* Class XXVII B. Hom. *τέτρηνα* from *τι-τραίνω* 'I bore', cp. *ἔξηνα* under (2). Hom. *ῆμξα* Att. *ῆξα* from *αἰσσω* 'I rush wildly' for **Φαι-Φικ-νω*, *ἐποίφνξα* from *ποι-φύσσω* 'I blow, snort', *ἐποίπνυσα* from *ποι-πνύω* 'I puff, pant' Class XXVII A (fut. *αἰξω ῥξω* etc.).

(2) With a Nasal Suffix. *ἐκλίνα*, *ἐφηνα* for **ἐ-κλινσ-α*, **ἐ-φανσ-α*, from *κλίνω* 'I bind' for *κλι-ν-ω*, *φαίνω* 'I cause to appear' for **φα-ν-ω*. *ἔξηνα* for **ἐ-ξανσ-α* from *ξαινίω* 'I scratch, comb' for **ξε-αν-ω*. *ἔφηνα* from *ύφ-αίνω* 'I weave' (on the *α* of *ύφανα* see the Author, Gr. Gr.² 58 p. 71, Solmsen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxix 66 f.). For these presents in -ν-ω and -αν-ω see under Class XXIX § 743 pp. 265 f. The aorists were formed on the analogy of *ἐκτεῖνα* from *κτείνω*, *ἐπηλα* from *πάλλω*, and so forth (§ 611 p. 150). The futures of these are *κλινῶ φανῶ ύφανῶ*, § 757 p. 276 f.

Remark. *αὔηνα* for *(*ι*)-*σανσ-αν-σα* should be compared with the Lith. 1st and 2nd pl. injunct. (fut.) *saũs-ĩ-s-me -te*. But these forms are not equivalent. For **saũs-ũ-s-*, which may be the ground-form of the Lith. aorist stem, would become **au-ασ-* in Greek. The Greek aorist was built upon the present, at a time when -ũ-ĩō had become -αν-ω (-αινω).

(3) With Nasal in the root (cp. § 813 p. 351 f.). *ἐπλαγξα* from *πλάζω* 'I strike, beat' for **πλαγγ-νω* Class XXIX: Lat. *plānx-ĩ*. *ἔκλαγξα* (fut. *κλάγξω*) from *κλάζω* 'I make a sound, cry' for **κλαγγ-νω* Class XXIX and beside *κλαγγ-αίνω* Class XIV. *ἔσφιγξα* (fut. *σφίγξω*) from *σφίγγω* 'I bind, tie' Class XVI. See § 621 p. 158, § 628 p. 166, § 631 p. 167, § 744 p. 266.

(4) Later group of Denominatives. Following *ἐκτεῖνα*: *κτείνω*, *ἐπηλα*: *πάλλω*, *ἔστειλα*: *στέλλω*, *ἐπληξα*: *πλήσσω*, *ἔσφαξα*: *σφάζω* were formed *ωνόμηνα* from *ονομαίνω* 'I name', *ἐτεκτηνάμην* from *τεκταίνομαι* 'I carpenter' (*ἑσήμενα* beside *ἐσήμενα* like *ύμενα*, see above), *ἤγγειλα* from *ἀγγέλλω* 'I announce', *ἐκήρῳξα* from

κηρύσσω 'I proclaim', ἤρπαξα from ἀρπάζω 'I seize', ἐσάλπιγγα from σαλπίζω 'I sound the trumpet' (for *σαλπιγγ-ω), ἐτέλεισσα Att. ἐτέλεσα from τελέω -ω 'I finish' (for *τελεσ-ω). The futures are ὀνομαυῶ τεκτανοῦμαι ἀγγελῶ like κτενῶ etc., but κηρύξω ἀρπάξω σαλπύγξω τελέεσσω like πλῆξω etc. Compare § 756. 3 p. 275.

Many analogical changes took place in the aorist forms from presents in -ζω, because these represent both -δ-ω and -γ-ω; e. g. ἤρπασα instead of ἤρπαξα following ἰδίκασα (δικάζω for -αδ-ω), and ἰδίκαξα instead of ἰδίκασα following ἤρπαξα. The ending -ξα became very common for δ-verbs in Doric and the N.-W. Greek dialects. The σ-future followed suit.

(5) σ-aorists from stems having the suffixes -α-, -ε- or ο go back to the pre-Greek period. To those cited in § 813 p. 351, add the following: ἔμνησα Dor. ἐμᾶσα from mn-ā-√men- 'think, mean'; ἔβησα Dor. ἐβᾶσα from g-ā- 'to go' (§ 497 Rem. p. 57); ἔζησα ἐζίσσα from gi-ē- gi-ō-√gei- 'live'; ἔχορησα from χρ-η- 'to give an oracle'. Amongst dissyllabic aorist stems with these suffixes, those in -ησ- take a prominent place; as ἐμέλησε from μέλει 'it is a care', ἐθίλησα from θέλω 'I wish', ἰδέησα Hom. Aeol. ἰδεύησα from δέω Hom. Aeol. δεύω 'I lack, need', with which were associated forms made from present stems with some characteristic, as καθιζήσαζ from ἵζω 'I place' for *si-zd-ō, ἐτύπησα from τύπ-τω 'I strike', ἐχαίρησα from χαίρω 'I rejoice' for *χαρ-ω, ὠζησα from ὀζω 'I smell' for *ὀδ-ω. With these go similar futures, as μνήσω βήσομαι μελήσει, see § 750. 1 p. 271, § 756. 1 p. 275.

(6) Along with the forms mentioned under (5) go the aorists of later denominatives, as ἐτίμασα Ion. ἐτίμησα, ἐφίλησα, ἐμίσθωσα, ἐδάκρυσα, ἐκόνισα. See § 756. 5 p. 276, § 773 p. 290, § 813 p. 351.

§ 823. *Italic*. Three *Italic* categories fall here.

(1) Forms of the perf. indic. ending in *-s-t* (to the building up of which a great many things have gone, see § 367). We have already mentioned *dēmpst prōmpst serpst*

torsī mulstī vīstī dīxī ussī vēxī cōxī -rēxī -lēxī plēxī sudstī jousī jussī, jūnxī ē-mūnxī plānxī; §§ 812, 813. Other examples are: *mānsī* from *manedō*. *tempsī* from *temnō*. *mirī* (*mīxī*?) and *mīnxī* from *mingō* ✓ *meiġh-* 'to stale': Gr. ὠμίξα (*i* ?), Lith. 1st and 2nd pl. injunct. (fut.) *mīsz-me -te*. *scripsī* from *scribō*. *dī-vīstī* from *dī-vidō*. *frīxī* from *frīgō*: cp. Skr. *á-bhrākṣ-am á-bhārṣ-am* (gramm.) from *bhṛjjá-ti* (cp. § 524 p. 87). *dūrī* from *dūcō*. *clepsī* from *clepō*: Gr. ἐκλεψα from κλέπτω 'I steal'. *pēxī* from *pec-tō*: Gr. ἐπεξάμην from πεκ-τέω 'I comb'. *cōn-spēxī* from *-spiciō*. *ges-sī* from *gerō* for **gesō*. *aurī* from *augeō*: Lith. 1st and 2nd pl. injunct. (fut.) *áuks-me -te* from *augu* 'I increase'. *haesī* for **haes-sī* from *haereō*. With internal nasal (cp. *jūnxī* etc., above): O.Lat. *nīnxi-t* from *ningui-t* ✓ *sneiġh-* 'snow': cp. Gr. ἐνειψε (*ēvīpse*). *distīnxī* from *distinguō*: cp. Gr. ἐστιξα from στίζω 'I prick, pierce'. *sānxī* from *sanciō* beside *sacer*.

In the paradigm of *dīxī* there is not one form which can be held with any safety to be regularly derived from one of the unthematic forms of the pr. Idg. *s*-aorist. We cannot connect the 1st sing. with Skr. mid. *kṛ-ṣ-ē* beside *á-kṛ-ṣ-i* (§ 656 p. 191), because of its past meaning. It is as impossible to prove that *-imus* in *dīx-imus* represents a proethnic **-ḡmos*, as it is to prove that *-αμεν* in *ἐ-δείξ-αμεν* represents **-ḡmen* (§ 820 p. 356). The short forms of the 2nd pl., e. g. *dīxtis accestis exclūstis*, may, it is true, be regarded one and all as *s*-aorist forms (cp. Stolz, Lat. Gr.² p. 372 footnote 3); but on the other hand there is nothing against the traditional view, namely, that they are contractions of *dīxistis accessistis exclūstis* (cp. Osthoff, Perf. 216 ff.).

I would suggest that before the *s*-aorist had been drawn into any close connexion with perfect forms like *tu-tud-ī* and with aorists like *fīd-i-t*, some thematic forms had intermingled themselves amongst the non-thematic forms of the *s*-aorist, just as happened in other branches of Indo-Germanic (§ 833). I regard as thematic aorist forms, originally with secondary personal ending, *dīxi-t* and *dīxi-mus* (cp. Skr. *á-dikṣa-t*

á-dikṣā-ma, Gr. ἱ-δεῖε, O.C.Sl. *jeso-mŭ*), whose ending is equivalent to that of *fidi-t fidi-mus*; then between pret. *vīsi-t vīsi-mus* and present *vīsi-t vīsi-mus* there was the same relation as between pret. *scandi-t* and pres. *scandi-t* (the preterite forms originally had a secondary personal suffix). If aorists of this kind came to have the same syntactical value as perfect forms such as *totondit totondimus*, then *dīx-ī fid-ī* might be made on the model of *totond-ī*. To this group were attracted *vīdistis vīdistī*, which really belong to the is-aorist (possibly *vīderunt* also, see § 1023), and on the model of them sprang up *dīxistis dīxistī dīxerunt* (§ 841).

§ 824. (2) The Conjunctive with -e- -o-, and the Optative with -ī-.

Lat. *dīxō dīxim*: Gr. δεῖξω. *axim*: cp. Gr. ἀῖξετε § 833. *empsim*, *in-cēsim*, *capsō capsim*, *ob-jexim*, *faxō faxitur faxim*, *oc-cīsim*, *ausim*. Conj. *dīxō* beside indic. pres. *vīdō* indic. pret. *dīxi-t dīxi-mus*, like Skr. conj. *tāsa-t(i)* beside indic. pres. *tāsa-ti* pret. *(á-)tāsa-t*, see § 833.

The Umbr.-Osc. s-future is also a similar conjunctive (on the disappearance of the conj. vowel, see I § 633 p. 474, § 655.5 p. 503 and the remarks on the ending -e-d of the 3rd sing. perf. in § 867.7 below). Umbr. fust *fust* Osc. *fust* 'erit' Umbr. 3rd pl. *furent*: cp. Gr. ἐφῆσα etc., § 812 p. 350. Umbr. *pru-pehast* 'ante piabit'. Osc. *deivast* 'iurabit', *censazet* 'censebunt'. Compare the future with -es-, Umbr. *ferest* Osc. *pert-ernest* § 837. The ending of the 3rd pl. Umbr. -ent(i) stands for *-onti, see § 1022 at the end.

(3) Conjunctive with -ē- (§ 926 b). Osc. *fusi-d* 'foret', cp. § 812 p. 350. Lat. *essem*, cp. Gr. fut. ἔσομαι. Lat. *ferrem vellem essem con-derem* (✓ *dhē-*) *darem stārem*, see § 812 pp. 348 f. With the root-suffixes -ā-, -ē-: *in-trārem hiārem flārem nārem arārem iuvārem*, -plērem nērem flērem vidērem tacērem; then denominatives as *plantārem claudērem finīrem*. See § 813 p. 351. Pelign. *upsaseter* 'operaretur' or 'operarentur'.

Compare the forms with *-es-* Lat. *agerem viverem*, Osc. patensins for **patenesent* § 837.

This *ē*-conjunctive from the *s-* and *es*-aorist was very closely connected in Latin with the Infinitive in *-se* for **-s-i* (loc. sing.); e. g. *esse ferre in-trāre -plēre plantāre claudēre finīre*. The same sort of thing occurs in Aryan and Greek; as Skr. inf. *ji-ṣ-ē* beside indic. *á-jāiṣ-am* (mid. **á-jiṣ-i*), inf. *ṛñj-ás-ē* beside indic. *ṛñj-as-ē* part. *ṛñjas-áná-s*, Avest. inf. *a nāš-ē* ('to make away with') beside *nāš-i-ma* (§ 815), Gr. *δεῖξαι μνησθαι τιμῆσαι κοινῶσαι* beside *δεῖξα* etc. The infinitives belong to nominal *s*-stems (II § 132 pp. 414, 416, 418, § 162 pp. 489 f.), and are a proof of the etymological sameness of the *s*-suffix in the verb and in the noun; see § 655 p. 189, § 834.

§ 825. As regards the relation of the vocalism in the root-syllable of the Italic *s*-forms to that of the parent language (§ 811 p. 348), all is obscure.

The vocalism has been influenced by non-aorist forms in many words; e. g. *mulsi* beside *mulgeō mulctum*, *torsi* beside *torqueō tortum*, compared with *tersi* beside *tergeō (tergō) tersum*. Sometimes the aorist goes along with the *to*-participle, and is different from the present; *ussi* : *ustu-s*, but *ūrō*; *dī-vīsi* : *dī-vīsu-s*, but *-vidō*; howbeit, *mīsi* is different from *missu-s*.

Whether *ē* in *-lēxi tēxi vēxi rēxi* in the Idg. *ē* of O.C.Sl. *těchŭ* Skr. *ádhakṣam*, is doubtful in the extreme. It appears to have been imported from forms like *lēg-i* beside partic. *lēc-tu-s*, and suchlike. *coxi* (for **quexi*) like Gr. *ἔπειρα*, cp. partic. *coctu-s* (for **quectu-s*).

As regards forms like *serpsi dīxi* (for *deix-*) it must be remembered that *ē* may have been shortened to *e* as set forth in vol. I § 612 p. 462, *serps-* for **sērps-* and so on.

§ 826. Keltic. In Irish the only indic. forms we have are the 2nd and 3rd sing., but without augment, and therefore really injunctive. The 2nd sing. is only used as a conjunctive (or hortative), the 3rd sing. both as conj. and future. Examples: 2nd sing. *comēir* 'raise thyself' for **cóm-ecs-recs-s* beside

con-ērgim 'I raise myself': Gr. *ōpsēa*. 2nd sing. *tair* 'veni' for **tō-air-incs-s*, 3rd sing. *tair* 'veniat' for **incs-t*, *co-tē* 'donec veniat' for **t(o)-incs-t* beside *-icim*: cp. Skr. pret. mid. *ākṣ-i* beside pres. *ākṣa-tē* from *aś-nō-ti* 'reaches' (§ 659 p. 194). *for-tē* 'subveniat, iuvet' for **-steics-t* beside *tiagim* 'I step, go' (*for-tiagim* 'I come to the help'), √ *steigh-*: Gr. *ē-streī-a*; perhaps by contamination of *-tē* with the conjunctive *tēis* (see below) arose *-tēi*, which is used as equivalent to *-tē*. *do-n-fē* 'let him lead us' for **-pēt-s-t*¹⁾ beside *fedim* 'I bring, lead': Lith. *vèsme* etc., see § 812 p. 350.

In all persons the Conjunctive is used with conj. meaning, and more rarely as a future. Examples: — from *tiagim*: sing. 1st pres. *-tias* 2nd *-tēis* 3rd (abs.) *tēis tēs*, pl. 1st *-tiasam* 2nd *-tēsid* 3rd *-tiasat*. On account of the relation between absolute and conjunct inflexion in the present, arose the new forms sing. 1st *tiasu* 2nd *tēisi*, pl. 1st *tēisme* 2nd *tēsit*. Other instances: *no tes* 'effugiam' from *techim* 'I flee': O.C.Sl. *téch-ŭ* from *tekā* 'I run, flee': *at-resat* 'surgent' from *at-reig* 'raises itself', cp. *comēir* above; *co n-dārbais* 'ut demonstres' from *du-ad-bat* 'demonstrat' (pass. *-badar*); *ma fris-tōssam* 'si abiuraverimus' from *tongaim* 'iuro'.

Again, the so-called *t*-preterite comes in here, as far as it was derived from the 3rd sing. mid. of the *s*-aorist in **-s-to*; say *do-bert* 'he brought' for **-ber-s-to*, *celt* 'celavit' for **cel-s-to*, *ro-anacht* 'he protected' for **anek-s-to*. See § 506 p. 72 f.

§ 827. Germanic. A survival of the *s*-aorist is conjectured in O.H.G. *scri-r-un* 'they cried' opt. *scri-r-i* (part. pret. *gi-scriran*) beside pret. sing. *srei* 'he cried' pres. inf. *scrian* 'to cry'; *-r-* = pr. Germ. *-z-*, see I § 581 p. 434. Later on, this *r*-formation got into the verb *spīwan* 'to spew', the participle being changed from *ge-spiwen* to *ge-spiren* (but, vice versa, O.H.G. 3rd pl. *er-scriwun* follows *spīwun*). See

1) The long vowel in *-fē* is not due to Compensatory Lengthening, but to the fact that monosyllables bearing the chief accent, and ending in a vowel, were all lengthened in Irish (III § 440. 2 p. 373).

Joh. Schmidt, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxv 599 f.; Kluge, Paul's Grundr. i 375. But this view of *scrirum* is very questionable; see G. Holz, Urgerm. geschloss. z, pp. 47 f.; and Zarneke in P.-B. Beitr. XV 350 ff.

A few *s*-aorist forms have perhaps contributed to the system of the weak preterite, as Goth. *vissa* O.H.G. *wissa* 'he knew', whose plurals *wissum wissut wissun* may be compared with Gr. *ῥαυ*. Compare § 907.

§ 828. Balto-Slavonic.

In Lithuanian, we find the 1st and 2nd plural and the 1st and 2nd dual injunctive used with future meaning. They have run into one paradigm with the future in *-siu* (§ 761 p. 278), and in certain dialects appear side by side with the future in *-sime -site* and *-siva -sita*. As the Lith. future could be used hortatively in the 1st and 2nd persons, there is the less reason for surprise at this commixture of the injunctive with the future in *-sjo-*. In addition, the 3rd sing. in *-s* appears to belong to our *s*-aorist, at least partly. If, for example, we assume that *-s* comes from *-st*, it is easy to understand the vowel shortening in *būs* (1st sing. *būsiu*) *rīs* (1st sing. *rýsiu*) *gaūs* (1st sing. *gáusiu*) and the like, of which more is said in I § 664. 3 p. 523. Then we may compare the use of the future in general statements as *kàs vòks nepralòps* 'the thief never grows rich' with the similar use of the injunctive in Greek (§ 909. 1). And further, this view of the 3rd singular is favoured by the Prussian forms, used exclusively as conjunctive, *boūsai* (*boūsei boūse*) 'be he, be they', and the like, which cannot be separated from Lith. *su-gausai* beside *su-gaūs* etc., whose *-ai* moreover is the same affix as we see in *tasaī* beside *tàs* 'the, that' (§ 999). This would be making **būs* for **bū-s-t* proethnic Baltic.

O.C.Sl. *s*-aorist forms of this group are the 2nd and 3rd sing., plur., and dual; as sing. *ję ję*, pl. *jęste jęse*, dual *jęsta jęte*; but the 1st persons are thematic (*jęsū jęsomū jęsově*); see § 833.

Of *s*-forms preserved in both branches we have mentioned in § 812 *gīs-me -te* from *genù* 'I hunt, drive' O.C.Sl. *po-žę* from

žin-ją 'I cut, harvest', Lith. *imš-me* from *imù* 'I take' O.C.Sl. *jēs-ũ* from *imā* 'I take', Lith. *plāus-me* from *plāu-ju* 'I rinse' O.C.Sl. *pluch-ũ* from *plov-a* 'I swim, sail', Lith. *pa-būsme* from *pa-bundũ* 'I awake' O.C.Sl. *bljusũ* from *bljudą* 'I guard, protect, take care', Lith. *vės-me* from *vežũ* 'I drive' (trans.) O.C.Sl. *vēs-ũ* from *veza* 'I drive' (trans.), Lith. *vēs-me* from *vedũ* 'I lead' O.C.Sl. *vēs-ũ* from *ved-a* 'I lead', Lith. *dėks-me* from *deg-ũ* 'I burn' (trans. and intr.) O.C.Sl. *žachũ* from *žeg-a* 'I burn' (trans.), Lith. *ės-me* from *ėd-mi* *ėd-u* 'I eat' O.C.Sl. *jas-ũ* from *jamĩ* 'esse', Lith. *dės-me* from *de-d-ũ* 'I lay' O.C.Sl. *děch-ũ* from *dě-ją* 'I lay', Lith. *spės-me* from *spė-ju* 'I have leisure' O.C.Sl. *spěch-ũ* from *spě-ją* 'I get on, have success', Lith. *dũ's-me* from *dũ'du* 'I give' O.C.Sl. *dach-ũ* from *damĩ* 'I give', Lith. *stós-me* from *stó-ju* 'I tread' O.C.Sl. *stach-ũ* from *sta-na* 'I place myself', Lith. *būs-me* from *bũ-ti* 'to be' O.C.Sl. *bych-ũ* from *by-ti* 'to be', Lith. *gýs-me* from *gy-jũ* 'I revive, get well' O.C.Sl. *žich-ũ* from *ži-vą* 'I live'. Forms with *-a-*, *-ē-*, and denominative forms in § 813: Lith. *pa-vydėsme* from *pa-výd-žiu* 'invideo' O.C.Sl. *viděchũ* from *vižda* 'I see', Lith. *lankós-me* from *lankó-ju* 'I try to make soft or malleable' O.C.Sl. *lākach-ũ* from *lāka-ją* 'I cheat, deceive'.

§ 829. Lithuanian. Besides the examples given in § 828 others were given in §§ 812 and 813, as *mĩlsz-me* from *mėlė-u* 'I milk', *sės-me* from *sėd-u* 'I place myself, sit', *žiós-me* from *žio-ju* 'I open my mouth', *gūdės-mė-s* from *gūdė-jũ-s* 'I am greedy', *jūkũ's-me* from *jūkũ'-ju* 'I play, sport'.

The vocalisation of the root in the forms under § 812 is always that of the *sjo*-future. There is no trace left of the Idg. vowel gradation (§ 811 p. 348).

From present stems with internal Nasal: *jũnks-me* from *jũng-iu* 'I put in the yoke', *skũs-me* from *skũnd-žiu* 'I lament' (cp. § 761 p. 278), to be compared with Skr. *á-yunakṣ-mahi* Lat. *jũnx-i*. From presents in *-inu -enu*: *saũsš-me* from *saũs-inu* 'I make dry', *gabėš-me* from *gabe-nũ* 'I push something

forward, help it on' (cp. § 761 p. 278), to be compared with Gr. *αἵμα* for **(ē-)σασ-αν-σα* (§ 822. 2 p. 359), and again with O.C.Sl. *vr̥ignach-ŭ*, granting the correctness of the hypothesis offered in § 615 Rem. p. 154.

§ 830. Slavonic. Some examples were given in § 828, and more in §§ 812 and 813; as *po-sluchŭ* from *-slu-jā* 'I hear', *orach-ŭ* from *or-jā* 'I plough', *rŭdēch-ŭ* from *rŭdā* 'rubeo', *cělēch-ŭ* from *cělē-jā* 'I get well'. On the aorist in *-nqch-ŭ*, as *vr̥ichnqchŭ* from *vr̥ig-nq* 'I throw', see § 615 p. 154 and § 829.

The general question of the s-aorist inflexion has been discussed in § 829 p. 366. In the 2nd and 3rd sing. -s-s and -s-t dropt entirely by rule, which gave forms like *jē* the look of a preterite of our Ist Present Class, those like *zna ora rŭdē* the look of preterites of Present Class X, and denominatives like *lāka* the look of preterites without -jō- such as Gr. Lesb. *ἐρίμα* (for **-a-t*). Probably, however, some of these forms really are what they look like; for instance *bē* 'eras, erat' may come from Idg. **bhŷ-ē-s -t* as well, and *da* 'thou gavest, he gave' may also come from Idg. **dō-s -t*.

With roots in a consonant, the 2nd and 3rd sing. are found only when this root-final was a nasal, *r*, or *l*; as *jē* (*jēsŭ*), *žrē* and *žrī* (*žrēchŭ* for **žerchŭ* and *žrīchŭ* from *žir-a* 'I devour, offer'), *kla* (*klachŭ* for **kolchŭ* from *kol-jā* 'I slay'); otherwise the thematic aorist without *s* was used, as 2nd and 3rd sing. *teče* beside *tēchŭ tēchomŭ* etc. The reason is that these roots were the only ones which according to the laws of Slavonic did not drop their final consonant.

The 2nd and 3rd sing. often add -tŭ, the ending of the 3rd sing. pres.; as *pri-jētŭ* instead of -jē, *bitŭ* instead of *bi* (*bija* 'I strike'), *u-mrētŭ* instead of -mrē (*u-mīrā* 'I die'); *dastŭ* instead of *da* following *dastŭ* 'dat'. This addition came up first in the 3rd sing. aorist, and then went on to the 2nd sing. because the two persons had the same form. Compare imper. *juždŭ* both 2nd and 3rd sing. § 949, and again Skr. 2nd and 3rd dual *cakr-āthur -ātur* § 1038.

§ 831. From what was said in § 811 p. 348 on the Idg. gradation of the root syllable, it follows that *ē* is original in such forms as *věšū nēsū tēchū rēchū* (*reka* 'I say'), and the *a* = Idg. *ō* in *basū* (*boda* 'I pierce', cp. Lat. *fodiō fodi*); the long vowel was originally confined to the singular. Since a long vowel before *i*, *u*, liquid, or Nasal + Consonant was shortened, as laid down in vol. I § 615 p. 465, the same vowel-grade may be assumed for forms like *bich-ū* (**bhēi-s-*), *cisū* (*cīta* 'I count, reckon, honour', cp. Skr. *cāits-*), *po-sluchū* (Skr. *śrauṣ-*), *mrēch-ū* for **merch-ū* (*mīra* 'I die', **mēr-s-*), *vrēs-ū* for **vers-ū* (*vrīz-a* 'I tie', cp. Lith. 1st and 2nd pl. injunct. *veršz-me -te* from *verž-iū* 'I tie', √*uergh-*), *mēs-ū* (*mēta* 'I stir up').

Where the root syllable has a weak grade, this is always seen in the infinitive stem as well, so that we are not justified in assuming that it comes from the Idg. weak form of the plural and dual active. E. g. *žrīch-ū* (also *žrēch-ū*) beside *žrī-ti* (also *žrē-ti*), *klach-ū* for **kolch-ū* beside *kla-ti* for **kol-ti* from *qł-* like Lith. *káls-me -te* (§ 726 p. 256), *krych-ū* beside *kry-ti* 'to cover' as contrasted with Lith. *kráus-me kráu-ti*.

§ 832. Roots ending in a consonant also make aorists with the ending *-ochū* in O.C.Sl.; e. g. beside *nēsū*: sing. *nesochū*, pl. *nesochomū nesoste nesoše*, dual *nesochově nesosta nesoste*. The W.-Slav. languages have *-ech* etc. instead of S.-E.-Slav. *-ochū* etc. The conjecture as to this inflexion offered in vol. I § 110 p. 105, and supported now by Jagić, is untenable (Arch. slav. Phil., x 175, 191). It is far more likely that this is some peculiar Slavonic growth; probably a transformation of the aorist without *s* (*nesū*) on the analogy of the s-aorist. The relation of the 2nd and 3rd sing. *děla* to the 2nd pl. *dělaste* 2nd dual *-asta* 3rd dual *-aste* first caused the 2nd and 3rd sing. *nese* to change its forms *nesete -eta -ete* into *neseste -esta -este*, as the former were the same as those of the present. Next, *nesochomū nesochově* may have arisen beside *nesomū nesově*, and by and by the 1st sing. *nesochū* completed the group. Then

differences were levelled out, the West-Slavonic in all consistency putting *e-* in all persons (*nesech* etc.), while the other branch took *-o-*, and changed *neseste* to *nesoste* etc. A different view is taken by Wiedemann, Beitr. zur altbulg. Conj., 109 f.

II. Thematic *s*-stems.

§ 833. The forms which fall under this heading belong to our XXth Present Class. They have been partly given in §§ 657 ff., and the only reason for reverting to them here is that they are very intimately connected with the non-thematic *s*-aorist.

(1) Indicative. In Sanskrit, as we saw in § 659 p. 194, the use of the thematic vowel with the *s*-aorist was conditioned by the form of the Root, as *á-mṛkṣa-t*; but non-thematic inflexion is also found, as *á-dikṣ-i* beside *á-dikṣa-t* from *diṣ-* 'to show, point', *á-drākṣ-am* beside *á-dṛkṣa-t* from *dṛṣ-* 'to see', *á-srākṣ-am á-sṛkṣ-i* from *syj-* 'to free'. O.Pers. *niy-apišam* 'I wrote' seems to be similar to *á-dikṣ-a-m*, see *loc. cit.* above. An Avestic thematic form is *a-saša-p* from *sarəh-* (*kens-*) 'speak', with strong root.

In Greek, the 3rd sing. act. was thematic from the pro-ethnic stage; e. g. *ἔ-δειξε*, see § 820 p. 356. In the Epic dialect this is true of other persons, as *ἔξε-ς ἔξο-ν* beside *ἔξο-μαι* 'I will come', *ἔ-βησι-το* beside *ἔ-βησ-α* fut. *βήσο-μαι* from *g-a-* 'go' (see Curtius, Verb II² pp. 307 f.). Perhaps these latter forms arose partly by analogy of the 3rd sing. in *-ε*, and partly by that of thematic forms of the imperative (see below).

Remark. The Att. *ἔπεον* 'I fell' *ἔχεον* 'oacavi' do not come in here. They got their *σ* from the fut. *πέσομαι χεοῦμαι*. See F. Hartmann, De aor. sec., 66; Wackernagel, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxx 313 ff.; the Author, Gr. Gr.² p. 169.

Latin. Aorists of this sort are forms like *dixi-t dixi-mus*, see § 823 p. 361. These forms were related to the conj. (fut.) *dixō* and to the opt. *dixim* just as Skr. *á-bhakṣa-t* to conj. *bhákṣa-t*, and Gr. *ἔ-βησε* to conj. *βήσο-μεν*.

Irish. Mid.Ir. *seiss* 'has seated himself, sat' and 'sits' for **setse-t* from $\sqrt{\text{sed-}}$, cp. Skr. conj. *sáts-a-t* Gr. indic. $\epsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha$. From *seiss* as used for the present upsprang a redupl. pret. *siassair* 'he sat' for **se-(s)ess-* (Thurneysen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxi 99), to be compared with Skr. *na-nákṣ-úr* from *nák-ṣa-ti* 'reaches' and others (§ 659 p. 194).

In O.C.Slav. the 1st persons are thematic, as *jěsŭ jěso-mŭ jěso-vě*. On the *ch* of *dachŭ trŭchŭ* etc., see I § 588.1 and 2, pp. 442 f.; on the Idg. sound-groups *ks* and *qs* in *něsŭ (nesq)* and *rěchŭ (reka)*, see *ibid.*, and § 414 p. 303. The *s*-type spread into the *ch*-series, and thus we have forms like *jachŭ jachomŭ* instead of *jasŭ jasomŭ* (ground-form **ětso-*, $\sqrt{\text{ed-}}$ 'to eat'), as also in the 3rd pl. *jašę* instead of *jaseę*.

(2) Imperative. Aryan and Greek forms come in here. Ved. 2nd sing. *něša*, cp. conj. *něš-a-t(i)* from *nī-* 'to lead'; *parša*, cp. conj. *pārš-a-t(i)* from *par-* 'to bring over, transfer'; mid. 3rd sing. *rāsa-tām* 3rd pl. *rāsa-ntām*, cp. conj. *rās-a-t(i)* from *rā-* 'to give'. Avest. 3rd pl. *janhe-ntu*, cp. conj. Gath. *jēnagha-itī* from *jam-* (*gem-*) 'to go'. Gr. Ep. $\omicron\lambda\sigma\epsilon\ \omicron\iota\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omega$, cp. fut. $\omicron\lambda\sigma\omega$ 'I will carry, or bring'; $\omicron\psi\epsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon$ (sing. $\omicron\psi\epsilon\sigma$ in Hesych.), cp. fut. $\omicron\psi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ 'I shall see'; $\acute{\alpha}\xi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\xi\epsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon$, cp. fut. $\acute{\alpha}\xi\omega$ 'I will lead'; $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\text{-}\beta\acute{\eta}\sigma\tau\omicron$, $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon\sigma$ and others. These Greek imperative forms were adduced in § 747 p. 269 to support the theory that the σ -future, at least in part, has grown out of the conjunctive of the *s*-aorist. I admit that the parallel \omicron -conjunctives of Aryan and Greek, with which the imperative forms went very closely, belong to the non-thematic indicative with *s*. But I must remind my readers of the formal identity of the Skr. conj. *tāṣ-a-t(i)* and the indic. *ta-sa-ti* Goth. *-þinsa*. Imperative forms with a genuine personal ending are really Injunctive, and these have been used in the parent language and ever since both for the Indicative and for the Conjunctive (wish, futurity); see § 909. Compare § 854, on the imper. perf. Skr. *mumōc-a-ta* Gr. $\kappa\epsilon\kappa\omicron\acute{\alpha}\gamma\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}\tau\epsilon$.

(3) Participle. Skr. *dhīṣa-māṇa-s* Avest. *diše-mna-* beside Avest. 2nd sing. indic. *daiš* from *dhī-* 'to notice'. Avest.

xšnaoše-mna- beside 3rd pl. injunct. *xšnaošen* from *xšnu-* 'to join oneself to, comply with'.

B. STEMS IN *-es-*, *-əs-*, AND *-is-*.

§ 834. Between *-s-* and what is usually called the Root there often appears *-e-*, *-o-*, or *-i-*. We have *-e-s-* in Aryan, Greek,¹⁾ Italic, perhaps Keltic; *-ə-s-* in Aryan, Greek, perhaps Keltic; *-i-s-* in Latin (*-i-s-* in Sanskrit). In view of the connexion of verbal forms with *-s-* and noun-stems with *-s-* (§ 655 pp. 189 f., § 824 p. 363), we may identify Gr. **Feidec-* in *εἶδε-α* ἦδε-α with **Feidec-* in gen. *εἶδε-ος*, 2nd sing. mid. *ἔ-πελάσ-θης* with adv. *πέλας*, Skr. mid. *á-rōciṣ-ṭa* with neut. *rōciṣ-*, 3rd pl. *á-jāriṣ-ur* with Gr. *γῆρας*, and Lat. *vidis-tis* may be compared with *cinis* Gr. *θέμισ-* (II § 134 pp. 425 f.). The same intermediate vowels occur in the *s*-future: Gr. *τενέω* *τενῶ*, *πελάω* *πελῶ*, Skr. *rōciṣya-tē*, see § 749 ff. pp. 271 ff.

Special vowel-grades for the root-syllable, as in the *s*-aorist (§ 811), cannot be made out for the parent language; and regard being had to the variants *-e-s-*, *-ə-s-*, *-i-s-*, which undoubtedly must often have been interchanged by form-transference, we might expect without further argument an intricate ablaut in the root syllable. The commonest grade in historical times is the *e*-grade (1st Strong Grade), as *ueṓd-* in Skr. *vēdiṣ-* Gr. *εἶδε(ο)-* Lat. *vīdis-*, *gem-* in Skr. *gamiṣ-* Umbr.-Osc. *benes-*; cp. the *s*-future Skr. *haniṣya-ti* Gr. *θενέω* etc.

As regards the tense, or kind of action denoted, we must observe that whilst the *s*-stems described under (A) are prevalingly aorist, so that we must regard this as fairly representing the proethnic use, these *-es-* *-əs-* and *-is-* stems do not have the aoristic use anything like so often in proportion; for instance, Skr. *arcas-ē* Gr. *ἦδε-α* never had it. The verb-

1) I no longer regard *e* in Gr. *ἦδε-α* as representing Idg. *a*. See p. 271 footnote 1.

suffix *-s-* therefore, in all its forms, had originally nothing at all to do with tense. This explains the mass of instances in all sorts of languages where *s* runs right through the verb (cp. the *s*-verbs, in §§ 656 ff.). Hence it happens that even where *s* does not go through a verb, *s*-forms often enough have no aorist meaning, as in Gr. εἰδ-εσ- (ἦδεα εἰδέω εἰδέειν). It certainly cannot be proven that here the meaning conveyed was originally aorist. Here again we see how useful it would be if we could keep Verb Morphology quite free from terms borrowed from Syntax (cp. § 484 pp. 33 ff.).

I. *es*-stems.

§ 835. There are no *es*-preterites in Aryan. But we may refer once more to the presents cited in § 656 pp. 190 f., Skr. *v-ās-te* (Gr. ἐνι-εσται) *arc-as-ē* Avest. *rānəh-anəh-ōi* etc.

§ 836. Greek. ἦδεα εἶδεα 'I knew', served for a preterite to οἶδα 'I know', cp. O.Ir. *ro-fetar* 'I know' with *-es-* or *-is-* (§ 838), Skr. *á-vēdiṣ-am* with *-əs-*, Lat. *vīdis-tis* with *-is-*; conj. Ion.-Att. εἰδέω εἰδῶ (2nd sing. εἰδέης εἰδῆς 3rd pl. εἰδέωσι εἰδῶσι by transfer to the *ē*: *ō-* conj.)¹⁾ and (Hom.) ἰδέω, cp. Skr. *vēdiṣ-a-t* Lat. *vīder-ō*, opt. εἰδείμεν for **ἑιδ-εσ-ῖ-μεν* sing. εἰδέειν, cp. Lat. *vīder-ī-mus vīder-i-m*.

Hom. ἦτα (unless it be properly ἦεα — see below —, the form in our texts is ἦτα) Att. ἦεν 'I went', imperf. and aor. preterite to εἶμι, ground-form **ēḡ-es-ḡ*, cp. Umbr. conj. (fut.) *cest est* 'ibit' for **ēḡ-es-e-t(i)*, Skr. mid. *dy-iṣ-ṭa* (gramm.), Lat. *iis-* (i. e. **ēḡ-is-*) in *iis-tis ier-ō ier-i-m*. As in pr. Greek ἰ dropped between sonants, ἦεν (which should be **ἦεν*) must have got its iota subscript from ἦμεν etc. (§ 502 p. 64); and it becomes a question whether the Homeric form should not be read ἦεα. If Hom. εἶην is to be recognised for an

1) On the forms εἰδῶ εἰδέης in the text of Homer, see W. Schulze, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XIX 251.

optative of εἶμι (see Curtius, Verb II² p. 99), it is natural to derive it from *ἐ(λ)-ε(σ)-ε(ν).

Remark. G. Mekler's theory (Beitr. zur Bild. des Gr. Verb., 69 ff.), that ἤδεα comes from *ἤφεδεκα, an aorist of the verb εἶδω, is untenable. See Wackernagel, Phil. Anzeiger 1887 pp. 240 f.

ἐ-κορέσ-θης (stem κορεσ- 'to satisfy') ἐ-στορέσ-θης (stem στορεσ- 'sternere') come in here as the 2nd sing. mid., if we may venture to assume that they helped to form the θην-aorist (§ 589 pp. 129 f.). On ἐκόρεσ(σ)α ἐστόρεσ(σ)α, see § 842.

Furthermore, the future in -έω, as κορέω *τενέω*, if it be a conj. of the es-aorist and not for -εσ-έω (§ 747 p. 269). The difference in the use of this future and εἰδέω is explained because εἰδέω was bound fast to the indic. εἶδεα.

-es- in Greek has been borrowed by perfect stems, as πεποιθ-ια πεποιθειν beside πέποιθα 'I believe', ἐστήκειν beside ἔστηκα 'I stand', ἐτετίμηκειν beside τετίμηκα 'I have honoured' (side by side with the old perf. preterites like ἐπέπιθμεν ἔσταμεν γεγάτην); the same with -is- in Latin, as *totondis-tis totonder-ō totonder-i-m*. I incline to think that this transfer is independent in Greek and Latin, πεποιθεα following εἶδεα and *totondistis* following *vidistis*; but some hold that it took place before the original language broke up. The matter is discussed by Mahlow, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxvi 583; the Author, Ber. d. kgl. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss., 1883, pp. 178 f.; Thurneysen, Bezz. Beitr. viii 274; and others. How obvious this re-formation was can be seen from Irish, where in later times the perfect was very largely transformed on the analogy of the s-preterite, as *tānacus* 'I came' instead of *tānac*.

In the Indicative, -εα -εας -εε(ν) became in Ion.-Att. -η -ης -ει(ν). Then -ει(ν) by complementary analogy produces Att. -ειν -εις, cp. ἦν 'eram' instead of ἦα ἦ § 502 p. 65. The 3rd pl. was -εσαν in older Attic; this followed *-εσ-τε *-εσ-τον *-εσ-την as ἦσαν followed ἦστε etc. (§ 1021). -εσαν similarly caused the forming of -εμεν -ετε, which are the endings of old Attic. The endings -εμεν -ειτε -εισαν are first found at a late period; so it can scarcely be allowable to derive -εμεν from *-εσμεν, which

has to be postulated for proethnic Greek. Probably *-ei-* came in from the singular.

A Greek new formation is doubtless the opt. *δεῖξται*, for **-σ-εσ-ται*, which, on the analogy of the indicative, produced *δεῖξται* *-ειε*; similarly Skr. *á-yā-s-iṣ-am* (§ 839) and Lat. *dix-is-tis dix-er-ō dix-er-i-m* (§ 841). Compare §§ 944 and 1021. 1.

§ 837. Italic has nothing but Conjunctive forms.

(1) *o*-Conjunctive used as future in Umbr.-Osc. (cp. *fust* § 824 p. 362). Umbr. *eest est* 'ibit' for **eḷ-es-e(ti)*: Gr. *ἔειν* § 836; *ferest* 'feret', *an-penes* 'impendes'. Osc. *pert-ermet* 'perimet'. The same future could be made from present stems with some characteristic, as Osc. *didedest* 'dabit' beside Vestin. *dī-d-e-t* 'dat' (§ 553 p. 107), to be compared with Skr. mid. *á-dad-iṣ-ṭa* beside *dá-dā-ti dá-d-a-ti*; Umbr. *heries* 'voles' *heriest* 'volet' beside *heris* 'vis' Osc. *heriad* 'velit' (§ 706 p. 233, § 716 p. 249).

(2) *e*-Conjunctive in Latin and Umbr.-Oscan (cp. Lat. *es-s-e-m* Osc. *fu-s-i-d*, § 824 p. 362).

Lat. *ager-e-m ager-ē-s*: cp. Skr. 3rd pl. *ājiṣ-ur. unguer-e-m*: cp. Skr. *dhñjiṣ-am. merger-e-m*: cp. Skr. *á-majjiṣ-am. vīver-e-m*: cp. Skr. *á-jīviṣ-am*. I think it more likely that *forem* comes from **fu-es-ē* (I § 172. 3 p. 152), than from **fu-s-ē*; it therefore belongs to *-bō* for **fuō*, as *agerem* to *agō*. The same formation is made from characterised present stems; as *sisterem* from *si-st-ō*, *jungerem* from *jung-ō* ✓ *jeug-* (cp. Skr. *ṛñj-as-ē* § 656 p. 191, *ātndh-iṣ-ṭa* § 839), *sternerem* from *ster-nō*, *gnōscerem* from *gnō-scō*.

Umbr. *ostensendi* 'ostenderentur' for **-tendes-ē-ntēr* (§ 1082. 1). Osc. *herríns* 'caperent' for **heres-ē-nt* from a pres. **herō*, *patensins* 'aperirent' for **patenes-ē-nt* from a pres. **patenō* (§ 622 p. 159).

§ 838. Keltic. O.Ir. *ro-fetar* 'I know' 3rd sing. *ro-filir* for **uid-es-* (I § 521 p. 379, and Thurneysen Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxi 62 f., 98): Gr. *ἵδεα* conj. Hom. *ιδέω* beside *εἰδέω*, § 836 p. 373. I conjecture that *ro-fetar* originally meant 'I have

learnt', hence its present meaning 'I know', cp. *seiss* § 833 p. 370. The phonetic rules however permit of another derivation, from **uid-is-*, in which case it would come near to Lat. *vīdis-tis*.

II. *ʔs*-stems.

§ 839. Aryan *-iṣ-* in Sanskrit and in the Gatha dialect of the Avesta.

In the Gathas we find three forms. 1st sing. conj. *xšnev-iṣ-a* from *xšnu-* 'to attach oneself' (cp. *xšnao-še-mna-* § 833 p. 371), indic. mid. *civ-iṣ-i* *civ-iṣ-tā* from *ku-* 'to look away to something, to hope'; *i* is probably to be read *ī*, as often.

The formation is common in Sanskrit. As regards the 2nd pl. mid. in *-iḍhvam*, as *ājanīḍhvam*, it is to be noted that *-iḍh-* is due to the analogy of the other persons which have *-iṣ-* instead of **-iḍh-* = **-iḍḍh-* (I § 591 pp. 447 f.).

Usually with *e*-grade (1st Strong Grade) in the root. *ā-star-iṣ-am* from *star-* 'to strew'. 2nd sing. mid. *kṣan-iṣ-θās* from *kṣan-* 'to wound'. 3rd sing. mid. *yām-iṣ-ṭa* from *yam-* 'cohibere'. 2nd dual *cay-iṣ-ṭam* from *ci-* 'to put in layers, collect'. 3rd sing. mid. *ā-nav-iṣ-ṭa* from *nu-* 'to praise'. *ā-dharṣ-iṣ-ur* from *dharṣ-* 'to be brave, dare'. Conj. *jambh-iṣ-a-t* from *jambh-* 'to snap at'. *ā-śas-iṣ-am* from *śas-* 'to praise'. 3rd pl. mid. *ā-bōdh-iṣ-ata*, conj. *bōdh-iṣ-a-t* from *budh-* 'to awake, notice'. 3rd sing. mid. *ā-sah-iṣ-ṭa* opt. *sah-iṣ-i-māhi* from *sah-* 'to subdue'. 3rd pl. *āj-iṣ-ur* from *aj-* 'agere'.

Other grades of root. *ā-bhār-iṣ-am* from *bhar-* 'to carry'. *ā-tār-iṣ-am* conj. *tāriṣ-a-t* opt. *tāriṣ-i-mahi* from *tar-* 'to carry across, pass through'. 3rd pl. mid. (pass.) *ā-nāy-iṣ-ata* from *nī-* 'to lead'. Opt. *idh-iṣ-i-mahi* from *idh-* 'set afire'. Opt. *gm-iṣ-īya* from *gam-* 'to go'.

As the root of 2nd sing. mid. *pūr-iṣ-θās* (*par-* 'to fill') shows it to have been based upon verbal forms like *par-dhi*, so also the *iṣ*-aorist is often made from a characterised present stem. 3rd sing. mid. *ā-dad-iṣ-ṭa* beside *dā-da-ti* *dā-d-a-ti* from

dā 'to give' (cp. Osc. *didest*, § 837. 1 p. 374). 3rd sing. mid. *āindh-iṣ-ṭa* opt. *indh-iṣ-īya* (also *idh-iṣ-*) beside *in(d)dhē* pl. *indh-ātē* from *idh-*, *ā-dṛh-iṣ-am* beside *dṛh-a-ti* from *darh-* 'to make firm' (cp. Lat. *junger-e-m* § 837. 2 p. 374). *āṭps-iṣ-am* beside *ṭp-sa-ti* from *āp-* *ap-* 'to attain', 1st sing. mid. *jīñās-iṣ-i* beside *ji-jñā-sa-tē* from *jñā-* 'to learn'. 3rd pl. mid. *ā-hlāday-iṣ-ata* beside *hlād-aya-ti* causal of *hlād-* 'to refresh, give life to', 2nd sing. mid. *pyāyay-iṣ-ṭhas* beside *pyāy-āya-ti* causal of *pyā-ya-tē* 'swells' (§ 796 p. 333). Compare 1st sing. pres. mid. *gāy-iṣ-ē* beside *gā-ya-ti* 'sings' (§ 656 p. 191).

The origin of the *siṣ-* aorist is like that of the latter group of forms. 3rd pl. *ākṣiṣ-ur* beside pres. *ak-ṣa-tē* (§ 659 p. 194) and beside aor. *āk-ṣ-i* (§ 655 p. 189) from *aṣ-* *aṣ-* 'to attain'. *hāsiṣ-am* beside pres. *hā-sa-tē* (§ 659 p. 195) and beside aor. *ā-hā-s-am* (§ 814 p. 353) from *hā-* 'to go, yield'. 3rd sing. mid. *ā-bhasiṣ-ṭa* (gramm.) beside pres. *bhā-sa-ti* (aor. *ā-bhas-ī-t*, gramm.) from *bhā-* 'to shine'. Compare the fut. *akṣiṣya-ti* *bhāṣiṣya-tē* § 750. 2 p. 272. So again *ā-jñā-siṣ-am* beside *ā-jñā-s-am* (cp. Lat. *gnōri-tur*), *ā-gā-siṣ-ur* conj. *gā-siṣ-a-t* beside 1st sing. mid. *gā-s-i* from *gā-* 'to sing', *ra-siṣ-am* beside 3rd sing. mid. *ā-ra-s-ta* from *ram-* 'to be quiet'. Compare with these *siṣ-* aorists, which had not become common in Vedic, Gr. *ἔειπεν* § 836 p. 374, and Lat. *dixis-tis* *dixer-ō* *dixer-i-m*, § 841.

Remark. In Mss. of the Veda occur forms with *-ṣiṣ-* instead of *-siṣ-*, as *pyā-ṣiṣ-i-mahi*. This shows the same phonetic change as *ṣuṣ-ka-s* for **suṣka-s* I § 587. 4 p. 413. Compare Whitney, Am. Journ. Phil. vi 277; Bloomfield and Spieker, Journ. Amer. Or. Soc. xiii 118.

The 2nd and 3rd sing. of the aorists with *-iṣ-* and *-siṣ-* ended regularly in *-ī-ṣ* and *-ī-t*, as *ā-stari-ṣ* *-t* beside *ā-stariṣ-am*, *ā-yāsi-ṣ* *-t* beside *ā-yāsiṣ-am*. The original endings must have been **-iṣ(-ṣ)* and **-iṣ(-t)*. That of the 3rd sing. is still seen in injunctive forms like *aviṣ-t-u* (§ 909), and the influence of the 2nd sing. can be made out in aorist forms such as *ā-jay-i-t* (§ 574 p. 115). *-ī-ṣ* *-t* cannot be got out of **-iṣ-ṣ* and **-iṣ-t*. They rather belonged in origin to our IXth Present Class, and were not sigmatic aorist at all; *ā-star-ī-t* is like *ā-rōd-ī-t*

á-brav-ī-t (§ 574 p. 116). As *á-star-ī-t* is to *stara-ti*, so is *á-hās-ī-t* to *hā-sa-tē*, and *á-bhās-ī-t* to *bhā-sa-ti*.¹⁾ These forms in *-īš -īt* took the place of **astariš *ahasiš* (2nd and 3rd sing.) because it then became possible to distinguish the persons; then *-īš* and *-īt* drove **iš *it* out of the field altogether. Compare *ī* instead of *i* in *á-dhī-mahi*, *mṛ-ñī-mās* and the like § 498 p. 62. How *-siš -sit* passed afterwards from the *siš*-aorist to the *s*-aorist, see in § 816 p. 354.

§ 840. Greek. Here *-ao-* = *-əs-* is found only in such verbs as use the *s*-suffix outside of the aorist stem. Attention should be called to the future in *-aw*, if it was conj. of the *σ*-aorist (§ 747 p. 269, § 757 pp. 276 f.), and the indic. 2nd sing. in *-ao-θης*, if it had a share in originating the *θην*-aorist (§ 589 pp. 129 ff.). E. g. *κρεμάω ἐκρεμάσθης* from *κρεμιω*- 'to hang' (*κρεμασ-τό-ς*) beside *κρεμα-* (*κρέμα-μαι κρεμά-θῃ*), *κεράω ἐκεράσθης* from *κερασ-* 'to mix' (*κρασ-τό-ς κεκέρασται*), *σκεδάω ἐσκεδάσθης* from *σκεδασ-* 'to scatter' (*σκεδασ-τό-ς ἐσκέδασται*). On the *σσ*-aorists *ἐκρέμασ(σ)α ἐκέρασ(σ)α ἐσκεδάσσω*, see § 842.

In Keltic, *-əs-* may be looked for in the *s*-preterite of the 1st and 2nd Conjugations, as O.Ir. *ro-charus* Mid.Cymr. *cereis* 'I loved'. For the Britannic dialects only *-ās(s)-* and not *-as(s)-* may be assumed. 3rd sing. O.Ir. *ro-char* for **-caras-t*, 2nd sing. depon. *-asser* for **-as-thēs + r* (Thurneysen, Idg. Forsch. I 463). Also found, pl. *ro-charsam -charsid -charsat* for **carassomo(s) *carassete *carassont(o)*. Thurneysen, who sends me this explanation of *ro-char*, throws out the question whether *as* did not come from forms in which *st* originally was: the 2nd pl. **caras-te* became **carasse*, this was enlarged to **carassete* by adding the usual ending of the 2nd pl., and then by analogy **carassomo(s)* etc. May we venture to suggest a parallel with the relation of Gr. *ἐκρεμάσ-θης* (see above) and *ἐκρέμασσα* (§ 842)?

1) Jackson believes that he has found an Avestic 2nd sing. of this kind in *frā-dahiš* Yt. 8. 2, from *√dā-* (Proceed. Am. Or. Soc., Oct. 1889, p. CLXV).

III. *īs-*stems.

§ 841. In Latin, *-is-* appears in the inflexion of the perfect stem. Indicative only *-is-tis -is-ti* and *-erunt*, if the last is for **-is-ont(i)* (§ 1023); Conjunctive (fut. perf.) *-erō -erimus* for **-i-s-ō *-is-i-mus*: Optative (conj. perf.) *-erim -erimus* for **-is-ī-*, and in the late-born pluperf. with *-eram* = **-is-ā-m*. *vīdis-tis*: cp. Skr. *vēdiṣ-* Gr. *eid-(o)-*; *iis-tis* for **ēis- *ēi-is-*: cp. Skr. *ayiṣ-* Gr. *ēi-(o)-*. *lūquis-tis*, *fūdis-tis vīcis-tis*. And doubtless *fūgis-tis rūpis-tis jūvis-tis* (*juv-* for **diugū-*, beside Lith. *džiaugiu'-s* 'I am glad') with *ū* = Idg. *ey*. *vertis-tis scandis-tis*. Also *scābis-tis cāvis-tis*, *fōdis-tis* and *lēgis-tis vēnis-tis* may come in here, the last two to be compared with Gr. *γῆρας* (§ 834 p. 371).

Remark. Since so many kinds of forms have contributed to the Latin perfect (§ 867), it is impossible to restore with any certainty the proper vowel grades of the root. As regards *ē*, for instance, in the system of *lēgī*; (1) this may have come from *lēgis-tis* as suggested, (2) *lēgimus* may follow the analogy of *sēdimus* for **se-zd-*, as Skr. *pṛimā* follows *sēdimā* (§ 471 p. 16), (3) *lēg-i vēn-i* may be non-thematic, like Goth. *qēm-um* Skr. *sāh-vās-* (loc. cit.), or (4) *lēgi-t* may = pr. Ital. **lēg-e-d*, and be a thematic preterite form related to *legi-t* as Gr. *μῆτε-ται* to *μῆτε-ται*, Skr. *sāha-ti* to *sahā-tē* (§ 480 Rem. p. 28, § 514 p. 81).

Phonetic law forbids our assuming that *-es-* has been weakened to *-is-* in *vīdis-tis* (*vīdis-sem* § 842); cp. *scelestu-s capessō* and the like. It is not a sufficient explanation to say that *-e-* became *-i-* because of *-imus*, or that the relation of *amāmus* : *amāssem* produced *vertissem* beside *vertimus* (Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. xvii 112). Nothing is left but to hark back to Idg. *-i-s-*.¹⁾ In § 834 p. 371 we compared *cini-s* Gr. *θῆμι-σ-*. Compare further *αἶψ-ι-σ-* in *ἐνάϊσ-το-ς ἥϊσ-(σ)α* from

1) I will here give a possible way of identifying Lat. *-is-* with Idg. *-es-* or *-əs-*; but I do not believe that any one will adopt it. **ste-ti-tis *ste-ti-fi* or *-bī* (Gr. *ἔ-στα-τε* Skr. *ta-sṭhi-tha*), **tu-tūdi-tis *tu-tūdi-fi* (Gr. *τε-τῶπα-τε* Skr. *tu-tōdi-tha*), **scidi-tis* (Skr. *ā-chida-ta*) become *stetistis stetistī*, *tutudistis tutūdīstī*, *scidistis* on the analogy of **vīdes-tis *vīdes-tī*; and then by reciprocal analogy, these became *vīdis-tis -ī*.

ákw 'I hear' for **áfis-ω* and in *áíσ-θέ-σθαι* beside Skr. *áv-a-ti* 'regards, favours,') *áf-i-σ-* in *áíσ-θω* 'I breathe out' beside *áio-ν* (doubtless for **áfis-ο-ν*) beside *ǎ(F)-η-μυ* 'I blow, breathe', variant stem *áf-εσ-* in *ǎσθμυ* (*áíσ-θω* : *ǎσ-θμυ* = Lat. *vīdis-* : Gr. *εἰδε(σ)-*). Further, *άλ-ίσκω-μαι* *ǎρ-ǎρ-ίσκω* beside *ǎρ-ί-σ-κω* (§ 673 p. 206). Lastly, Skr. *á-grah-i-ṣ-am*, where I hold *-i-* to be merely an ablaut variant of the *-i-* now under discussion. If, as we must assume, it was in proethnic Latin that *-is-* spread from the verbs to which it properly belongs to all others, then according to I § 33 p. 33, *-er-* in *vīderō* etc. must be derived in all instances from *-is-*. Thus e. g. *verterō* will be for **vertisō* (but *verterem* for **vertesē-m*).

vīdera-m shows the same *a*-suffix as *-bam eram* (§ 583 p. 124), and probably it is due to analogy, being made to complement *vīderō* like *eram* : *erō*. Observe that *dīxō dīxim* have no **dīxam*.

The endings of *vīdistis -istī vīderō vīderim vīderam vīdissem* were transferred both to forms like *totondī tetigī* and to those like *dīxī*, so that we have *totondistis totonderō* and *dīxistis dīxerō* etc. The former may be compared with Gr. *πεποιθέμ* (§ 836 p. 373), the latter with Skr. *áyasiṣam* (§ 839 p. 376). The efficient cause of these new formations may have been that in the Indicative many of the original forms of the 2nd sing. and pl. had become rather awkward, as 2nd sing. **totons(s)ī* 2nd pl. **totons(s)is* (or **totonstī* **totonstis* with *t* restored from *estis*) and 2nd sing. **dīx(s)* 2nd pl. **dīxtis*.

We proceed to mention the *īs*-aorists of Latin and Irish belonging to *īo*-present stems (Class XXVI):

In Latin, those verbs whose 2nd sing. indic. pres. ended in *-īs*, had the *ē*-conjunctive in *-īrem*, as *farcīrem* from *farcīō*. The only exception is *fierem* like *agerem*, § 837.2 p. 374. But from verbs like *capiō -īs* the conj. was *-ērem*, *caperem*; and it remain suncertain whether this be for **-is-ē-m* or **-es-ē-m*, cp. *capis-sō* and *capes-sō* § 842.

1) To assume a 'Root' *avis-* for *áiov* and a present **ǎfíσω* I hold to be wrong (Schulze, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 249 ff.).

It must be remembered, in considering Lat. *farcĭrem* and the like, that these went hand in hand with the original denominatives in *-i-ǵō*, as *fīniō*, whose *s*-aorist, *fīnĭrem*, is to be compared with Gr. ἐκόνισα O.C.Sl. *gostichŭ* (§ 813 p. 351). Hence the question presents itself — whether *farcĭrem* is really like Skr. *á-grahiṣ-am*, whether it was not rather produced simply by the analogy of the *ts*-formation. In this case it might be compared with O.C.Sl. *bichomŭ* (§ 727 p. 257), which was modelled upon *gostichomŭ*.

In the *s*-aorist of the *ǵo*-present (3rd Conjugation) in Irish, the 3rd sing. ended with **-i-s-t*, as *-lēic* for **leikŷis-t*. A short *i* is seen also in Mid.Cymr., which in this aorist had *-yss-*, e. g. *eistedyssant* 'they sat'. Compare § 840 on *ro-char* for **-caras-t*. The question which there had to be answered on behalf of *ro-charsam*, now crops up again for *-lēcsem*. Hand in hand with these *ǵo*-verbs went those in **-i-ǵō* and those in **-éǵō*, as 1st sing. *do-ro-dalius* from *-dālim* 'I divide', 1st pl. *ro-moit-sem* from *moidim* 'I extol'.

C. STEMS WITH *-s-s-*.

§ 842. As the *s*-suffix was in no sense a special aorist suffix, but was used in the parent language with other tenses of a certain number of verbs, it need not surprise us to see that verbal *s*-stems often make an aorist with a second *s*. Analogous formations with *-əs-* have been brought before us in § 839, the Sanskrit aorist series of which one is *ák-ṣiṣ-ur*.

Greek. Hom. ἔ-σπασ-σα Att. ἔσπασα from σπάω 'I pull' for **σπα-σω*, ἔ-σπασ-ται. ἔ-κλασ-σα from κλαίω 'I break off' for **κλα-σω*, κέ-κλασ-ται. ἰ-κρέμασ-(σ)α 'I hung' ἰ-κέρασ-(σ)α 'I mixed' ἑ-σκέδυσ-(σ)α 'I scattered' beside κριμασ-τό-ς κε-κέρασ-ται ἑ-σκέδασ-ται. (f)-ἱ-σ-(σ)α 'I clothed' beside 2nd sing. ἔσ-σαι. ἔ-σβ-εσ-(σ)α 'I quenched' beside σβ-εσ-τό-ς ἔσβισ-ται. ἐ-κόρεσ-(σ)α 'I satisfied' beside κε-κόρεσ-ται. ἀρ-έσ-(σ)ασθαι 'to come to an understanding'

beside ἀρεσ-τό-ς. ἰ-κάλεσ-(σ)α 'I called' ἄλ-εσ-(σ)α 'I ground' ἔμ-εσ-(σ)α 'I spewed' from the presents καλέω ἀλέω ἐμέω, perhaps for *καλεσω *ἀλεσω *ἐμεσω. εἶρυσ-(σ)α ἔρυσ-(σ)α 'I pulled' beside εἶρυσ-ται. Compare § 575 p. 117, § 656 p. 191, § 661 p. 196, § 836 p. 372 f., § 840 p. 377.

Remark. There is too little support for the theory that these Greek *an*-aorists stand in a direct historical connexion with the Sanskrit *siṣ*-aorist, — that originally the singular active had *-ses-* (*-ss-*) and the plural *-ss-*, and that Sanskrit kept only the singular form, Greek the form of the plural (W. Schulze, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxix 266 ff.).

Italic. With Lat. *vīsō* for **ueiō-sō*, *quaesō* for **quais-sō* (§ 662 p. 197), compare *petes-sō* O.Lat. *ad-petis-si-s*, *capes-sō* O.Lat. *capis-sa-m*, *laces-sō*, *faces-sō*. And to the same group as *faxō faxitur faxim* (§ 824 p. 362) belong *amās-sō amāssim*, *turbās-situr*, infin. *averruncās-sere*; *habēs-sō pro-hibēssim*, *licēssit*; *amb-īssim*; *-ss-* after a long vowel, which should be *-s-*, is due to the analogy of forms with *-ss-* following a short vowel, cp. *ēssem* instead of **ēsem* (*edō*) on the analogy of *ēssem* (from *sum*). With *petissis capessam* are associated forms like *vidis-se-m*, *ē*-conjunctives, whose analogy produced (1) *totondissem* and (2) *dixissem* etc. The forms with *-is-s-* have their nearest parallels in Gr. *ῥισ(σ)α* from *ῥι-σ-* (§ 841 p. 378 f.).

THE PERFECT.¹⁾

§ 843. The chief marks which keep the Idg. Perfect distinct from Present and Aorist are two. (1) Firstly some peculiar personal endings in the Indicative; as from √*uei*d-

1) On the Indo-Germanic Perfect in general. H. Osthoff, Zur Geschichte des Perfects im Idg. mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Griech. und Latein., Strassb. 1884. C. Pauli, Das praeteritum reduplicatum der idg. Sprachen und der deutsche Ablaut, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xii 50 ff. Pott, Verschiedene Bezeichnung des Perfects in einigen Sprachen und Lautsymbolik, Zeitschr. für Völkerpsych. xv 287 ff., xvi 117 ff.

'to know, see': 1st sing. Skr. *véd-a* Gr. *οἶδ-α* Goth. *váiit*, 2nd sing. *véttha oloða váist*, 3rd sing. *véd-a oīð-ε váit*. (2) Secondly, the participle active formed with the suffix *-yes-*, as Skr. *vid-vás-*

Aryan. Bartholomae, Die ai. *ē*-Formen im schwachen Perfect, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxvii 337 ff. *Idem*, Der 'Bindevocal' *i* im avestischen Perf., Ar. Forsch. ii 97 ff.

Greek and Latin. Ernault, Du parfait en grec et en latin, Paris 1886.

Greek. H. Malden, On Perfect Tenses in Greek, and especially the First Perfect Active, Trans. Phil. Soc., 1865, pp. 168 ff. Loebell, Quaestiones de perfecti Homerici forma et usu, Leipz. 1877. H. von der Pfordten, Zur Gesch. des griech. Perfectums, Munich 1882. J. Stender, Beiträge zur Gesch. des griech. Perfecta, 2 Theile, München-Gladbach 1883—84. R. Fritzsche, Über griech. Perfecta mit Präsensbedeutung, Sprachwiss. Abhandl. aus G. Curtius' Gramm. Gesellsch. pp. 43 ff. H. Uhle, Die Vocalisation und Aspiration des griech. starken Perf., *ibid.* pp. 59 ff. Mahlow, Einige altertümliche Perfectbildungen des Griech., Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxiv 293 ff. J. Schmidt, Die Entstehung der griech. aspirierten Perfecta, *ibid.* xxvii 309 ff. *Idem*, Noch einmal die griech. aspirierten Perfecta, *ibid.* xxviii 176 ff. Alex. Hoppe, Über das griech. zweite Perfect, Festprogr. des Erfurter Gymn., Erfurt 1870, pp. 34 ff. The Author, Der Ursprung des griech. schwachen Perfects, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxv 212 ff. F. Hartmann, Wieder einmal das *α*-Perfectum, *ibid.* xxviii 284 ff. K. F. Johansson, Über das griech. *α*-Perfect, in: Beitr. zur griech. Sprachk., Upsala 1890, pp. 33 ff. F. W. Walker, Greek Aorists and Perfects in *-α*, Class. Review v 446 ff.

Italic. A. Harkness, On the Formation of the Tenses for Completed Action in the Latin Finite Verb, Trans. Amer. Phil. Assoc. v 14 ff., vi 5 ff. Platzer, Die Lehre von den lat. Perfectis und Supinis, Neubrandenburg 1840. Lattmann, Das Gesetz der Perfect- und Supinbildung im Lateinischen, Zeitschr. f. d. Gymnasialw. N. F. ii (1868) pp. 94 ff. M. Kinke, Die Zeitwörter der latein. 3. Conjugation in ihren Perfectformen, Heiligenstadt 1843. Schleicher, Der Perfectstamm im Lateinischen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. viii 399 f. Fr. Müller, Über das lat. Perfectum, Sitzungsber. d. Wien. Akad. LXvi 225 ff. Corssen, Zur Bildung des Perfectums, in: Beitr. zur ital. Sprachk., pp. 503 ff. W. Deecke, De reduplicato linguae Latinae praeterito, Leipz. 1869. E. Frohwein, Die Perfectbildungen auf *vi* bei Cicero, ein Beitrag zum Sprachgebrauch C.'s und zugleich ein Supplement zu F. Neue's Formenlehre, Gera 1874. L. Havet, Les prétendus parfaits en *-āvi*, Mém. Soc. lingu. vi 39. W. Schulze, Das lat. *e*-Perfectum, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxviii 266 ff. G. Curtius, Über das lat. Perfect auf *vi* und *ui*, Ber. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. 1885 pp. 421 ff. P. Regnaud, Les parfaits composés en latin, Lyon 1882. L. Scheffler, De perfecti in *vi* exeuntis formis apud

Gr. εἰδ-ίς O.C.Sl. *sta-vü* from $\sqrt{sta-}$ 'stand' (II § 136 pp. 438 ff.).

Except in Armenian and Balto-Slavonic, the pr. Idg. Perfect remained in all branches of the language a large and comprehensive group. It was least changed in Aryan, Keltic, and Germanic. In Greek it was mixt up with a κ -formation, and in Italic with a whole series of non-perfect tense forms.

The proethnic perfect forms may be divided into two groups according to the stem.

poetas Latinos dactylicos occurrentibus, Marburg 1890. Th. Birt, Verbalformen vom Perfectstamme bei Claudian, Archiv f. lat. Lexikogr. iv 589 ff. H. Kern, Das osk. Perfect auf *-tte*, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxi 240 ff. Danielsson, Zum altital. *t*-Perfect, Pauli's Altital. Stud. iv 133 ff.

Keltic. Windisch, Das reduplicierte Perfectum im Irischen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxiii 201 ff.

Germanic. W. Scherer, Die reduplicierten Präterita, Zeitschr. f. österr. Gymnas. xxiv 295 ff., and Zeitschr. f. deutsch. Altert. xix 154 ff., 390 ff. Sievers, Die reduplicierten Präterita, Paul-Braune's Beitr. i 504 ff. Pokorny, Über die reduplicierten Praeterita der germ. Sprachen und ihre Umwandlung in ablautende, Landskron 1874. Holthausen, Die reduplicierenden Verba im German., Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxvii 618 ff. G. Burg-hauser, Die Bildung des germ. Perfectstammes vornehmlich vom Standpunkte der idg. Vocaleforschung. Prag 1887. Ljungstedt, Anmärkningar till det starka preteritum i germanska språk, Upsala 1887. R. E. Ottmann, Die reduplicierten Praeterita in den german. Sprachen, Alzey 1890. G. Holz, Die im Got. noch reduplicierten Perfecta, in: Urgerm. \tilde{z} und Verwandtes (Leipz. 1890) pp. 21 ff. H. Lichtenberger, De verbis quae in vetustissima Germanorum lingua reduplicatum praeteritum exhibeant, Nancy 1891. J. Grimm, Die ahd. Praeterita, Germania iii 147 ff. J. Hoffory, Die reduplicierten Praeterita im Altnord., Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxvii 593 ff. C. Pauli, Über die deutschen Verba praeteritopraesentia, Stettin 1863. Osthoff, Das praeteritopraesens *mag*, Paul-Braune's Beitr. xv 211 ff. Aufrecht, Eine altnord. Aoristform, Kuhn's Zeitschr. i 474 ff. Von Knoblauch, Die germ. Perfecte auf *r*, *ibid.* i 573 ff. Schweizer-Sidler, *r* im altd. Praeteritum, *ibid.* ii 400. Müllenhoff, Angebliche Aoriste oder Perfecta auf *r* im Altnord. und Hochd., Zeitschr. f. deutsch. Altert. xii 397 ff. Zarncke, Zu den reduplicierten Praeteriten, Paul-Braune's Beitr. xv 350 ff. J. von Fierlinger, Die 2. ps. sg. perf. starker Flexion im Westgerm., Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxvii 430. Works on the weak Germanic Preterite are given under § 907.

(1) Reduplicated Stem, with *o* in the root syllable of the 3rd sing. indic. act., if the root belonged to the *e*-series. E. g. **ge-gon-*, **ge-gn-* **ge-gn-* from \sqrt{gen} - 'gignere': Gr. $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omicron\nu\epsilon$ $\gamma\acute{\iota}\gamma\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu$, Skr. *ja-ján-a ja-jñ-úr*.

(2) Unreduplicated Stem. Sometimes the ablaut is the same as in (1), as **uoid-* **uid-* from \sqrt{ueid} -: Gr. $\omicron\iota\delta\epsilon$ $\iota\delta\mu\epsilon\nu$, Skr. *véd-a vid-má*. Sometimes different, as with *ē* in roots of the *e*-series; e. g. **mēd-* from \sqrt{med} - 'measure': O.Ir. *ro mīd-ar* Goth. *mēt-um*; **sēd-* from \sqrt{sed} - 'sit': Goth. *sēt-um* Lith. *sēd-ēs*; **sēgh-* from \sqrt{segh} - 'conquer, hold': Skr. *sāh-vās*.

In perfect stems like **ge-gon-* or **uoid-* the *o*-grade prevailed in the 2nd and 3rd sing. Indic. Active ($\omicron\iota\sigma\theta\alpha$ $\omicron\iota\delta\epsilon$), and, in the opinion of most scholars, the 1st sing. as well ($\omicron\iota\delta\alpha$); the *e*-grade in the Conjunctive ($\epsilon\iota\delta\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu$) Skr. *ta-tán-a-n*), and, according to some scholars, in the 1st sing. Indic. Active too ($\pi\acute{\epsilon}\varrho\epsilon\nu\gamma\alpha$); the weak grade in the plural and dual Active, and right through the Indicative Middle ($\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu$ $\epsilon\iota\chi\tau\omicron\nu$ $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\gamma\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu$ Skr. *ni-ny-úr ni-ny-ē*), and in the Optative (Skr. *va-vṛt-yā-t* Goth. *vaúrþ-ei-ma*). To *o* in **ge-gon-e* answers *ō* in **se-sō-* (Gr. $\acute{\alpha}\varphi\epsilon\omega\kappa\epsilon$ Goth. *sat-sō*) from \sqrt{se} - 'send forth, sow'.

Remark. Considering that the ending of the 1st sing. indic. act. was Idg. *-a*, while that of the 3rd sing. was Idg. *-e*, there is a difficulty in the difference between Skr. 1st sing. *ja-ján-a* and 3rd sing. *ja-ján-a*. I have identified *jajána* with $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omicron\nu\epsilon$ (I § 78 p. 69). De Saussure (Mém. sur le syst. prim. 72 f.) and Osthoff (Perfect, 61) equate *jajána* = Idg. **gegena*, on which view $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omicron\nu\epsilon$ would be due to levelling and should be **geyeva*; and as a matter of fact no difficulty worth mentioning faces this view. From the standpoint of those scholars who deny that Idg. *o* becomes Ar. *ā* in open syllables, no explanation of Skr. *jajána* has been found which is in the smallest degree satisfactory (see the last attempt in Bechtel, Die Hauptprobleme der idg. Lautlehre, 57, 165); cp. § 790 p. 322 on the *ā* of *bhāraya-ti*. It may be observed in passing that the means lately used by J. Schmidt to combat my theory of this Aryan *ā* are very little calculated to help in solving the point (see Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxi 472 footnote). A long list of authorities and ex cathedra statements will never decide the matter; this can only be done by constant and scrupulous examination of the facts. Perhaps the question may be helped to a conclusion by the study of Indo-Germanic accent which has lately been taken up.

§ 844. When the root ends in a consonant, some part at least, large or small, of the indicative forms in all the different languages have a short vowel before those personal endings which begin with a consonant.

Sanskrit. -i- in 2nd sing. act. *ds-i-tha ru-rôj-i-tha* (but *vêt-tha ta-tân-tha*), 1st pl. act. *pa-pt-i-má* (but *yu-yuj-má vid-má*), 2nd sing. indic. mid. *ûc-i-šē ja-jñ-i-šē* (but *da-dṛk-šē*), 3rd pl. mid. *ja-jñ-i-rē*, to which answers Avest. *vaoz-i-rem*, cp. Skr. partic. act. *pa-pt-i-vás-* (but *da-dṛś-vás- vid-vás-*).¹⁾ In Vedic this *i* is found only when the preceding syllable is long. In Avestic, -ama in *daiđy-ama* beside pass. *di-đae-iti* (§ 537 p. 97).

Greek shows -α- in the 1st and 2nd pl. *τε-τράφ-α-μεν τε-τράφ-α-τε* (but *ἴδ-μεν εἰλήλουθ-μεν ἴστε*). Compare partic. *πεντώς* for **πι-πτ-α-φώς*, answering to Skr. *pa-pt-i-vás-* (but *εἰδ-(f)ώς*), and the mid. *πέ-πτ-α-μαι* beside *πετ-ά-σαι*. On -ας beside -θα in the 2nd sing., see p. 386.

Latin. 1st pl. *tu-tud-i-mus sēd-i-mus*.

Old Irish. 1st pl. *ce-chn-ammar* 2nd pl. *ce-chn-aid*.

Gothic. 1st pl. *vit-um sēt-um skat-skáid-um* 2nd pl. *vit-u-þ sēt-u-þ skat-skáid-u-þ*.

It is hard to decide when or how this intermediate vowel was to be found in the various perfect schemes of the parent language (for the same scheme did not do duty for all perfects). Perhaps then, as in the Veda, the quantity of the preceding syllable had something to do with it.

What complicates the problem greatly is the suspicion that so many forms may have been changed by analogy. In Aryan, Greek, and Italic the question arises whether forms with the intermediate vowel were not influenced by forms from a root ending in a long *a*-vowel, as Skr. *ta-sthi-má* Gr. *ἔ-στα-μεν* Lat. *ste-ti-mus* (for *stetimus* cp. however § 869). In Greek, Italic, Keltic, and Germanic the 3rd pl. has an *nt*-suffix, Gr.

1) I do not here consider the *a* of the 2nd and 3rd dual active *viddihur viddtur*, because it may have been identical with that of the 2nd and 3rd pl. *vid-á* and 3rd sing. *véd-a* (§ 1088).

-αντι -ατι (mid. -αται), Umbr.-Osc. -ens, O.Ir. -atar and Goth. -un; and it is quite possible that the vowel of these endings passed on to other persons. In Greek, there was mutual attraction between the perfect and s-aorist, because one or two personal endings were the same, τέτροφ-α -ε having the same suffixes as ἐδείξ-α -ς (beyond doubt τέτροφ-ας follows ἐδείξ-ας, and in later Doric γέγον-αν follows ἐδείξ-αν); then which came first, τετράφ-α-μεν -ατε or ἐδείξ-α-μεν -ατε? In Italic, again, as early as the proethnic stage, the old perfect had got mixt up with thematic aorist. If, for instance, *i* was the thematic vowel in *fu-i-mus tetig-i-mus dix-i-mus* as well as with *fu-i-t tetig-i-t dix-i-t* (cp. pres. *ag-i-mus*), yet it is uncertain whether the -i- of Lat. -i-mus, when used with consonantal roots, was ever anything else but Idg. -o-. Even in Keltic the question meets us whether the plural forms had not the thematic vowel.

Since Avest. *daiḍy-ama* cannot be kept apart from optative forms like *jum-y-ama* (see § 1001), to assume an Idg. suffix -*yme* as variant of -*me* in the perfect seems almost inevitable; and therefore I am inclined to refer to this the Gr. -αμεν in τετράφ-α-μεν etc., and the Goth. -um in *skatiskaid-um* etc.; Lat. -imus and O.Ir. -ammar may also in some cases represent the same. But again the conjecture offers itself that the difference between Skr. *papt-i-má* and *yuyuj-má*, between Gr. τετρά-φαμεν and εἰλήλουθ-μεν, represents a difference of structure like that which exists in Skr. *rud-i-más* (Class IX §§ 572 ff.) and *uś-más* (Class I §§ 492 ff.). It may be that once **papt-amá* **sazd-amá* (like Avest. *daiḍy-ama*) and *tasthi-má* (= ἔστα-μεν) *dadhi-má* existed side by side, and that the former were transformed to match the latter and became *paptimá sēdimá*. But proved this cannot be, not even by the Vedic law of quantity. There is always the possibility that the parent language itself possessed perfect stems like **pe-ptə-* (and thus 1st pl. **pe-ptə-me*).

§ 845. The preterite connected with the Idg. perfect — pluperfect as it is called — which is only found with certainty

in Aryan and Greek, shows the same personal endings as other augmented preterites. Like the conjunctive and optative of the perfect, this cannot be distinguished from the corresponding forms of our Vth Present Class; see § 485 p. 39, § 555 p. 108.

In the same languages the pluperfect sometimes has thematic inflexion. These forms are to be compared with the corresponding forms of Present Class VI (§§ 561 ff.).

Proethnic Indo-Germanic.

§ 846. (A) Reduplicated Perfect.

With roots beginning in a consonant, the syllable of reduplication originally ended in *-e*, no matter what ablaut series the root might belong to. Examples: **ge-ġon-* **ge-ġn-* Gr. *γέ-γον-ε* O.Ir. *ro gēnar* (for **ge-ġn-*) Skr. *ja-jān-a* from √ *ġen-*, **se-stā-* **se-stā-* Gr. *ἔ-στα-μεν* Lat. *ste-ti-mus* Skr. *ta-sthāu* from √ *stā-*. But even then there were not lacking perfect forms with *ē* in the reduplicator, which one may call the Intensive Perfect: Gr. *ἐ-γή-γευ-μεν* Skr. *jā-gār-a* from √ *ger-*. See §§ 471, 472 pp. 15 and 17. The treatment of the initial root-consonants in the reduplicator has been already described, §§ 475 and 476, pp. 20 ff.

It cannot be proved for the parent language, that in roots beginning with a vowel, an *e* (or some other short vowel), serving for the reduplicator, contracted with the root-initial (as some have inferred from Lat. *ēd-ī* Goth. *fr-ēt* Skr. *ad-a* from √ *ed-*, Gr. *ἦχα* O.Icel. *ök* Skr. *aj-a* from √ *aġ-*). It is very likely indeed that all these forms belong to the unreduplicated perfect type. See § 848.

√ *der-* 'split, tear, flay', act. 3rd sing. **de-dór-e* 1st pl. **de-dġ-mé* mid. 1st sing. **de-dr-āġ* (conj. **de-dér-e-t(i)* opt. **de-dr-ġē-t* or **de-dr-iġē-t*): Skr. *dadāra* mid. *dadrē* partic. *da-dġ-vās-*, Gr. *διέδαρται* (Goth. *ga-tar*). √ *smer-* 'remember': Skr. *sa-smār-a*, Lat. adj. *memor* derived from a perf. **me-mor-t* (§ 476 p. 23). Skr. *kṣur-* Gr. *φθιτο-* 'to cause to run off or

disappear' (§ 812 p. 348): Skr. *ca-kṣār-a*, Gr. *ἀ-ἐφθαρε ἐ-φθαρ-ται*. Skr. *śa-śār-a* 'he broke up, crushed' pl. *śa-śr-ur* (gramm.) mid. *śa-śr-ē* (O.Ir. *do-ro-chair* 'cecidit'). ✓ *ger-* 'swallow': Skr. *ja-gār-a*, Gr. *βέ-βρω-ται* (*βρω-* = **gǵ-*). ✓ *per-* 'bring, bring forth, give a share' (Lith. *per-iù* 'I brood, incubate, hatch'): (Ir. *πέ-πω-ται*, Lat. *pe-per-i* for **pe-par-i* (*πω-* *par-* = **pǵ-*). ✓ *tel-* 'carry, bear': Gr. *τέ-τλα-μεν*, Lat. *te-tul-i*. ✓ *gen-* 'gignere': Skr. *ja-jān-a* *ja-jñ-úr* *ja-jñ-ē*, Gr. *γί-γον-ε* *γέ-γα-μεν*, O.Ir. mid. *ro gēnar* (*gēn-* for **gegn-*). ✓ *men-* 'think, mean, regard': Skr. 3rd dual mid. *ma-mn-ātē* (this may be from stem *mn-a-* as said in § 850), opt. *ma-man-yā-t*, Gr. *μέ-μον-ε* *μέ-μα-μεν*, Lat. *me-min-i* imper. *me-men-tō* (= Gr. *με-μά-τω*), O.Ir. mid. *do-mēnar* instead of pr. Kelt. **me-mn-* (Goth. *man mun-un*, Lith. part. *min-ēs*). ✓ *ghen-* 'strike': Skr. *ja-ghān-a* *ja-ghn-ē* conj. *ja-ghān-a-t* part. *ja-ghan-vās-* *ja-ghn-i-vas-*. Gr. *πέ-φα-ται*, O.Ir. 1st sing. *ro ge-gon*. ✓ *ten-* 'stretch': Skr. *ta-tān-a* *tu-tñ-ē* *tu-tan-ē* (*tñ-* = **tǵn-*) conj. *ta-tan-a-t*, Gr. *τέ-τα-ται*, O.Lat. *te-tin-i*. Skr. *kṣan-* Gr. *κτεν-* 'to wound, kill': Skr. *ca-kṣān-a* *ca-kṣān-ē* (gramm.), Gr. *ἀπ-έκτορε*. ✓ *gem-* 'go': Skr. *ja-gām-a* *ja-gm-úr* *ja-gm-ē* Avest. opt. *ja-γm-yā-þ* Skr. part. *ja-gan-vās-* (I § 199 Rem. 2 p. 168, § 225 p. 193), Gr. *βέ-βα-μεν* (Goth. *gam*, Lith. *gim-ēs* 'come into the world' partic.). ✓ *klej-* 'bend, incline': Skr. *śi-śrāy-a* *śi-śriy-ē*, Gr. *κέ-κλι-ται*. ✓ *lei-* 'linere': Skr. *li-ly-ur* *li-ly-ē*, O.Ir. 3rd sing. *ro li-l* 3rd pl. *ro le-l-dar*. ✓ *kley-* 'hear': Skr. *śu-śrāv-a* *śu-śruv-ē* conj. *śu-śrav-a-t* opt. *śu-śru-yā-t* *śu-śrū-yā-t*, Gr. imper. *κί-κλυ-θι* beside *κί-κλυκα* (see § 557 p. 109), O.Ir. 1st sing. *ro chuala* for **cōla* **cu-clov-a* Mid.Cymr. *ci-gleu*. ✓ *qiey-* 'to move, shift': Skr. *cu-cyuv-ē* Gr. *ἐ-οσι-ται*. ✓ *ghey-* 'pour': Skr. *ju-hāv-a* *ju-huv-ur* *ju-hv-ē* *ju-huv-ē*, Gr. *κέ-χυ-ται*. ✓ *pley-* 'to swim, float': Skr. *pu-pluv-ur* *pu-pluv-ē*, Gr. *κί-πλυ-ται*. ✓ *dhey-* 'move violently, shake, take hold': Skr. *du-dhāv-a* *du-dhuv-ē* opt. mid. *du-dhuc-i-ta*, Gr. *τέ-θν-ται*. ✓ *bhey-* 'become, be': Avest. *ba-vāv-a* 3rd pl. *ba-bv-ar* Skr. 3rd pl. *ba-bhāv-úr* opt. *ba-bhū-yā-t* partic. *ba-bhū-vās-* (*-āv-* instead of *-uy-* as in *á-bhūv-am* § 497 p. 56 f.; with *ba-bhāv-a* *ba-bhū-tha* compare *á-bhū-t*

Gr. *ἔ-φθ*, loc. cit., and fut. Avest. *bū-šyē-iti* Gr. *q-ḗ-σιν* § 748 p. 271), Gr. *πε-φύ-ασι* *πε-φν-ώς* (O.Ir. 3rd sing. *ro bōi*, Lith. *bū-vęs* O.C.Sl. *by-vũ*). ✓ *derk-* 'see': Skr. *da-dárs-a* *da-dṛś-úr* *da-dṛś-ē*, Gr. *δέ-δορκ-ε* (O.Ir. *ad-con-dairc*). ✓ *uerg-* 'work': Avest. 3rd sing. mid. *vā-ver^z-ōi*, Gr. *ἔ-οργ-ε*. ✓ *merd-* 'crush': Skr. *ma-mard-a* *ma-mṛd-ur* *ma-mṛd-ē*, Lat. *me-mord-i* *me-mord-i-mus* *momordī* *momordimus*. ✓ *ters-* 'be dry, athirst': Skr. *tā-tṛṣ-úr* part. mid. *tu-tṛṣ-ānā-s* (Goth. *ga-þars* *-þaúrs-un* opt. 1st pl. *-þaúrs-ei-ma*). ✓ *dhers-* 'be bold': Skr. *da-dhárṣ-a* *dā-dhṛṣ-ur* conj. *da-dhárṣ-a-t* (Goth. *ga-dars* *-daúrs-un*). ✓ *uert-* 'turn, give a certain direction or inclination to': Skr. *va-várt-a* *va-vṛt-úr* *va-vṛt-ē* *vā-várt-a* *vā-vṛt-úr* *vā-vṛt-ē* (Goth. *varþ* *vaúrþ-un*). *kl-ep-* 'to steal' (§ 797 Rem. p. 334): Gr. *κλέ-κλοφ-ε* part. Messen. *κλέ-κλεβ-ώς* mid. *κλέ-κλεπ-ται* (Goth. *hlaf*). ✓ *bhendh-* 'bind': Skr. *ba-bāndh-a* *ba-bandh-ur* (Goth. *band* *bund-un*). ✓ *deik-* 'show': Skr. *di-dés-a* *di-diś-ē*, Umbr. *de-rsic-ust* for **de-dic-* (I § 369 p. 279) fut. perf. 'dixerit' (Goth. *ga-taih* *-taih-un*). ✓ *bheid-* 'split': Skr. *bi-bhéd-a* *bi-bhid-úr* *bi-bhid-ē* (Goth. *bait* *bit-un*). ✓ *leig-* 'leave': Skr. *ri-réc-a* *ri-ric-ē* opt. *ri-ric-yā-t*, Gr. *λέ-λοιπ-ε* *λέ-λειπ-ται* (Goth. *láiho* *lathv-un* O.H.G. *lēh* *liu-un*). ✓ *seiq-* 'pour out, strain, filter': Skr. *si-šēc-a* *si-šic-ē* Ved. *si-sic-ur* *si-sic-ē* § 475 p. 20 (O.H.G. *sēh* *sig-un*). ✓ *geys-* 'taste, try, enjoy': Skr. *ju-jōṣ-a* *ju-juṣ-ur* *ju-juṣ-ē*, Gr. *γέ-γευ-μαι*, O.Ir. 3rd sing. *do-roigu* (Goth. *káus* *kus-un* O.H.G. *kōs* *kur-un* opt. 2nd pl. *kur-ī-t*). ✓ *bheydh-* 'wake, observe': Skr. *bu-bōdh-a* *bu-budh-ē* conj. *bu-bōdh-a-s*, Gr. *πέ-πυσται* (Goth. *ana-báuþ* *-bud-un*). ✓ *bheug-* 'to bend': Skr. *bu-bhōj-a* (gramm.), Gr. *πέ-φενγ-α* *πε-φνγ-μένο-ς* (Goth. *báug* *bug-un*). ✓ *jeug-* 'iungere': Skr. *yu-yōj-a* *yu-yuj-ma* *yu-yuj-ē*, Gr. *ἔ-ζευκ-ται*. ✓ *reud-* 'weep, lament': Skr. *ru-rōd-a* *ru-rud-ur* (O.H.G. *rōz* *ruzz-un*). ✓ *suep-* 'sleep': Skr. *su-śvāp-a* *su-śup-ur* (O.Icel. *svaf*). ✓ *uegh-* 'vehere': Skr. *u-vāh-a* *ūh-ur* (Goth. *ga-vag*, Lith. *vẽž-ęs* O.C.Sl. *vez-ũ*). ✓ *pet-* 'fly, shoot through the air, fall': Skr. *pa-pāt-a* *pa-pt-úr* (*pēt-ur*) part. *papt-i-vās-*, Gr. *πεντώς* doubtless for **πε-πτu-φώς*. ✓ *seil-* 'sit': Skr. *sa-sād-a* *sēd-ur*

for **sa-zd-*, Lat. *sēd-i* for **se-zd-?* (Goth. *sat*). ✓ *dhē-* 'set, place, lay': Skr. *da-dhāu da-dhā-tha da-dhi-mā da-dh-ūr da-dh-ē*, Gr. *τέ-θε-ται*, Lat. *crēdidī* (I § 507 Rem. p. 372), Gall. *de-de* 'dedit' or 'posuit' (O.Sax. *de-du-n* opt. *de-d-i?* § 886). ✓ *sē-* 'send forth, throw, sow': Gr. *εί-ται* for **ē-i-ται* Dor. *ἀφ-έω-ται* with *ω* from the active (*ἀφ-έωχα*), Goth. *sat-sō sat-sō-un*. ✓ *dō-* 'give': Skr. *da-dāu da-di-mā dad-ē*, Gr. 3rd pl. Boeot. *ἀπο-δεδοάνθι* mid. *δέ-δο-ται*, Lat. *de-d-i*. ✓ *pō-* 'drink': Skr. *pa-pāu pa-pi-mā pa-p-ē*, Gr. *πέ-πο-ται* (act. *πέ-πωχα*), Lat. *bibī* instead of **pe-p-i* (following *bi-bō*). ✓ *sta-* 'stand': Skr. *ta-sthaū ta-sthi-mā ta-sthē*, Gr. *ἑ-στα-μεν καθ-ίσταται*, Lat. *ste-t-i ste-ti-mus*. ✓ *skhaīt- skhaīd-* 'scindere' (§ 521 p. 85): Skr. *ci-chēd-a ci-chid-ē*, Lat. *sci-ciū-i*, Goth. *skai-skāiþ skai-skāiū-un*. ✓ *(s)taūd-* 'knock': Skr. *tu-tōd-a tu-tud-ūr*, Lat. *tu-tud-i tu-tūd-i*, Goth. *stai-stāut stai-stāut-un*. Ital. Kelt. *kan-* 'sing': Lat. *ce-cin-i* for **ce-can-i*, O.Ir. 1st sing. *ce-chan*. ✓ *day-* 'burn': Skr. *du-dāv-a* (gramm.), Gr. *δέ-δη(F)-ε* (*η* = pr. Gr. *α*) *δε-δαν-μένο-ς*. Skr. *śad-* Gr. *καδ-* 'to distinguish oneself': Skr. *śa-śad-ūr* mid. 1st pl. *śa-śad-mahē*, Gr. *κε-καδ-μένο-ς* (Pindar), Hom. *κέκασσαι κεκάσμεθα*. ✓ *pāk- pāg-* 'make firm': Gr. Dor. *πέ-παγ-ε*, Lat. *pe-pig-i* for **pe-pag-i*. ✓ *plag-* 'strike': Gr. Dor. *πέ-πλαγ-ε*, Goth. *fat-flōk*. Skr. *ja-hlad-ē* (gramm.) from *hlād-* 'to refresh, give life to', Gr. Dor. *κέ-χλαδ-ε* 'swells, becomes luxuriant'.

Skr. *an-āśa* 'he desired', *an-aś-ma an-aś-ūr an-aś-ē*, opt. *an-aś-yā-t*, O.Ir. *t-ān-aic* 'he came' 1st sing. *t-ān-ac* (-c = -nc-, I § 212 p. 178, § 513 p. 375), cp. aor. Gr. *ἐν-εγκ-εῖν*, § 470 p. 15. Variant Skr. *anāś-a* Gr. *κατήνοχα κατενήνοχα* (cp. *ποδ-ηνεκ-ής* 'reaching to the feet'). On Skr. *aś-a* see § 851; on Gr. *ἐν-ήνοχ-ε ἐν-ήνεγκ-ται*, § 858.

§ 847. Perfect forms from Extended Roots.

Root + suffix *-ā-*, *-ē-*, *-ō-* (§§ 578 ff. pp. 118 ff.). Skr. *ji-jyāu*, Gr. Ion. *βε-βίη-ται* (*βε-βίηκε*) from **g(i)j-ā-*, ✓ *gei-* 'compel, subdue'. Skr. *ma-mnāu* (gramm.), Gr. Dor. *μέ-μνā-ται* from *mn-ā*. ✓ *men-* 'think, mean'. Skr. *ja-glāu*, Gr. *βέ-βλη-ται* (*βέ-βληκε*) from *gl-ē*. ✓ *gel-* 'fall' (cp. § 587 p. 127). Skr. *va-vāu*,

Goth. *vat-vō* from *u-ē* ✓ *au-* 'blow'. Skr. *ja-jñāu*, Gr. *ἐ-γνο-σ-ται* with *σ* added later (*ἐ-γνωκε*), O.Ir. *ad-gēn* (§ 877) from *gn-ō* ✓ *gen-* 'know'. On the Sanskrit conjugation of these perfects, see § 850.

Root + *s*-suffix (§§ 655 ff. pp. 189 ff.). *ten-s-* 'pull, draw': Skr. 3rd pl. mid. *ta-tas-rē* (Goth. *at-þans -þuns-un*). *tuei-s-* 'shake': Skr. *ti-tviṣ-ē*, Gr. *σέ-σσις-ται*.

Root + *dh*-suffix (§§ 688 ff. pp. 218 ff.). *rē-dh-*: Skr. *ra-rādh-a ra-rādh-ūr* (pres. *rādh-nō-ti* 'finishes successfully, makes all right'), Goth. *ga-rairōþ -rairōdun* (pres. *ga-rēda* 'I consider, busy myself').

In the same way, the present *sk*-suffix is seen in Skr. *pa-prach-a pa-prach-ur* and Lat. *po posc-ī* for **poporcscī* from ✓ *prek-* 'ask'; beside these we have Umbr. *pepurkurent* 'rogaverint'. Mid.Ir. mid. *im-chom-arc-air*, Goth. *frah* (§ 670 p. 203). Probably perfect forms with *sk* are not so old as the parent language.

§ 848. (B) Unreduplicated Perfect.

(1) First comes a group in which the vowel gradation was the same as in the Reduplicated Perfect. No perfect of this kind can now be recognised in particular forms of Italic, Keltic, or Balto-Slavonic; and in Germanic, only with those roots which do not belong to the *e*-series.

Skr. *véd-a vid-má* Avest. Gath. *vaēd-ā*, Gr. *οἶδ-ε ἴδ-μεν* from ✓ *ueid-* 'know'.¹⁾ Skr. *īś-ē* (and *īṣ-ē*) Avest. *is-ē* 'has got something into one's power, has power over', Goth. *áiḥ* 'has' pl. *áiḡ-un* (cp. § 888). Skr. *sarpa* 'he crept' (*upa-sarpa*) beside *sa-sarpa*, *viś-i-vás-* beside *vi-véś-a vi-viś-ē* from *viś-* 'to enter', *ni-śidhur* beside *ni-śiśēdha* 'he warded off, forbade' -*śiśidhur*. Gr. Lesb. Ion. *οἶx-ε* 'is like' *οἶx-α-μεν* beside *οἶx-ε* for **Fε-Foux-ε*, Hom. *ἀμφι-(F)αχῶ* beside *λάχω* 'I cry out' for **Fι-Faxω* (§ 552 p. 107).

1) Skr. *vivéda* 'he found out' does not ask for consideration here, although it comes from the same root. It probably first arose when the root had become differentiated into two — *vid-* 'know' and *vid-* 'find' (pres. *vindā-ti vittē*).

(2) Next these I place a number of forms which perhaps had *e* for the root vowel in the parent language itself. (Gr. Hom. ἔρχ-αται ἔρχ-ατο from (F)έρω 'I shut up, shut off'.¹) (Gort. κατα-φελμένο-ς 'collected'²) from *φελ-νω Lesb. ἀπ-έλλω etc., see § 611 p. 150; parallel reduplicated stem Hom. ἐέλυεθα, Pind. plpf. ἐόλει. ἐπλ-τενυται ἐν ἐπιτυχίᾳ ἐστί (Ms. ἔστω) Hesych. beside ἐπι-τυγχάνω; but redupl. τέ-τευχ-ε. Hom. δέχ-αται from δέχομαι 'I receive'; but redupl. δε-δεκ-ται. Compare further Curtius, Verb II² 163 ff.; G. Meyer, Gr. Gr.² pp. 480 f. Skr. *yam-ur yam-átur* beside *ya-yām-a yēm-úr* from *yam-* 'cohibere'. *darś-i-vas-* beside *da-dārś-a da-dṛś-úr da-dṛś-i-vas-* from *darś-* 'to see'. *ōk-i-vās-* beside *u-uōc-a ūc-úr* from *uc-* (✓ευq-) 'to take pleasure in'. *skambh-ur skambh-áthur* beside *ca-skambh-a ca-skabh-áná-s* from *skambh-* 'to support'. *śas-ur śas-irē* beside *śa-śas-a śa-śas-ur* (instead of *śa-śas-ur) from *śas-* (*kens-*) 'to prophesy, praise'. *takṣ-ur takṣ-atur* beside *ta-tákṣ-a ta-takṣ-úr* from *takṣ-* 'to fashion'. *sah-vás-* (Rig-V., Pada text) beside *sā-sāh-a sēh-i-ma sa-sah-ē* from *sah-* 'to subdue' (cp. *sah-vás-* under 3). In forms like *darś-i-vas-*, the strong grade in the root may be explained as due to the analogy of the sing. indic. active, as in reduplicated forms like *śa-śas-ur*. But an argument for the formation of the whole group from a stem which is not really perfect to begin with is found in the partic. *vi-jān-úṣ-as* Rig-V. x 271, which must be derived from *jñā-* 'to know' and was modelled upon the present *jānā-ti* (§ 598 p. 141 f.), and in the perfects belonging to reduplicated present stems, such as *śid-atur* (from *śīd-a-ti*), *vivak-vás-* (from *vi-vak-ti*), *didās-i-tha* (from *dīdāsa-ti*), *nōnāv-a* (from *nō-nav-i-ti*), see § 850; compare *viś-i-vás-*, cited under (1), beside pres. *viś-á-ti* and *dhi-ṣē dhirē* beside aor. *ī-dhi-ta*, also Gr. ἄγ-ναι 'way, road' (sc. ὁδός) beside ἡγα ἡγμαι and pres. ἄγω.

1) Whether ἔρχατο is augmented or reduplicated is doubtful.

2) Wrongly read -φημένο-ς by Baunack.

Remark 1. Skr. *sa-sah-ē* (beside *sēh-*) may have been formed from the stem seen in *sah-vās-*, just as *sa-sāh-ē* was from that of *sāh-vās-* (see below). Again, there is no need to ascribe the re-formation *śa-śās-ur* instead of **śa-śās-ur* to the influence of the singular alone (*śa-śās-a*), cp. § 852. For Greek, too, we should have one more point in favour of the explanation of the secondary vocalism of the root in forms like *ī-ēl-uai* (instead of **fē-fūl-uai*), cp. § 859.

(3) Forms with *ē* in the root-syllable, from roots of the *e*-series ending in a single consonant; the connexion with present stems having similar vocalism is obvious (§ 480 Rem. p. 28 f., § 494 p. 28). O.Ir. mid. *ro mīd-ar* 'iudicavi', Goth. pl. *mēt-un* opt. 1st pl. *mēt-ei-ma* from *✓med-* 'measure', cp. Gr. pres. *μῆδ-ε-ται*. Goth. pl. *sēt-un*, Lith. partic. *sėd-ęs* from *✓sed-* 'sit' (cp. § 494 p. 54, § 859 on Gr. *ῥσ-ται*, whose initial is perhaps to be explained by supposing that **sēd-* was represented in (Greek), cp. Lith. pres. *sėd-mi*. Skr. *sah-vās-* from *✓segh-* 'to subdue', cp. *sāk-śva sāk-a-ti sādḥá-s* (= **sēgh + tō*); *dāś-vās- dāś-i-vās-* from *✓dek-* 'honour, prize' (*daśas-yá-ti* Lat. *dec-us*), cp. *dāś-ti* Gr. *δεκ-νύμετο*; *δεκ-αράναι* (§ 621 p. 158, § 639 p. 178); I regard *sa-sā-hē da-daś-i-ma* as new forms in place of **sah-ē *daś-i-ma*.

Since Latin *sēd-* in *sēd-ī sēd-i-mus* can be regularly derived from **se-zd-* (cp. *sīdō* for **si-zd-ō* I § 594 p. 450), it is reasonable to assume that *lēg-ī vēr-ī* are simply cast in the same mould by analogy: just as in Sanskrit *pēt-úr sēc-ē* and others must really be looked upon as coined on the analogy of *sēd- yēm-* (§ 852). On the other hand, *sēd-ī* can also be connected with Goth. *sēt-un* Lith. *sėd-ęs*, and *vēr-ī* with Goth. *qēm-un*; and this theory has the advantage that it becomes unnecessary to suppose that all *ē*-perfect forms from roots of the *e*-series with initial consonant are due to the analogy of the single form *sēd-ī*.¹⁾ However compare § 841 Rem., p. 378.

1) After what has been said on Umbr. *ander-sistu* in § 553 p. 107, the question would be at once decided if one such *ē*-perfect could be found in Umbrian or Samnitic. For Umbr.-Osc. *sēd-* is probably not derived from *sezil-*.

Furthermore, Idg. perfect forms of roots beginning with *e* and ending in a single consonant may also be brought under this *ē*-type. Gr. *ἐδ-ηδ-ιός* instead of **ἦδ-ως* (§ 858), Lat. *ēd-ī ēd-i-mus*, Goth. *fr-ēt -ēt-un*, Lith. *ēd-ēs* O.C.Sl. *ēd-ŭ jad-ŭ*, Skr. *ād-a ād-ur* from *✓ed-* 'eat'. Gr. 2nd sing. *ἦσ-θα* (came to be used for the imperf., see § 858), Skr. *ās-a ās-úr* from *✓es-* 'be'. Lith. *ėj-ēs* fem. *ėj-us-i* from *✓ei-* 'go'. That *ē* is due to a contraction of *e-e* cannot be made probable.

(4) Roots with initial *a*-vowel, and ending in a single consonant, seen to have made this perfect in all forms with *a* in the parent language: **aġ-e* 'egit' from *✓aġ-*: Skr. *aj-a* (gramm.), Gr. *ἦχ-ε ἦγ-μαι* (*η* for *α*), O.Icel. *ök* 3rd pl. *ök-o -u*; **an-e* from *✓an-* 'breathe': Skr. *ān-a* Goth. *ōn ōn-un*; Goth. *ōg* 'I fear' beside *agis* Gr. *ἄχος* (Lat. *ēg-ī co-ēpī* — Skr. *āp-a āp-úr-* — are Italic re-formates as much as *cēpī*, see § 870). Similarly with *ō-* the perf. **ōd-e* from *✓od-* 'smell': Gr. *ὄδ-ι-οδ-ε* instead of **ὠδ-ε* (§ 858), Lith. *ū'd-ēs*. *aġ- ōd-* from *aġ- od-* seem to be formed on the same principle as *ēd-* from *ed-*; and if there is no reduplication in *ēd-*, there was none in *aġ-* or *ōd-*. Then again, some forms which never had reduplication are no doubt to be found amongst the perfects of Germanic and Latin from roots with initial Consonant, as Goth. *skōf skōb-un* Lat. *scāb-ī scāb-i-mus* (*skōb-un* : *sēt-un* = *ōn-un* : *fr-ēt-un*).

Remark 2. In II § 136 p. 438 I have offered a conjecture on the origin of the originally unreduplicated perfect; namely, that the participle with the suffix *-ues-* never had any reduplication. When these *ues-* participles became associated with the Perfect system in the parent language, two results followed: (1) either the participle itself was reduplicated, or (2) the finite verb with which it went sometimes lost its own reduplication. That the perfect participle once stood independent of the reduplicated perfect type, such as Gr. *γέ-γον-α γέ-γον-μεν*, can be argued on the strength of the root-vocalism in Gr. *εἰδώς* *ἑρηνυσία* beside *οἶδε* *ἑρηνυε* etc. (II p. 439).¹⁾ Sanskrit shows *āh-* and *dāṣ-* as perfect stems only in *āh-vās-* and *dāṣ-vās-*. Again, it may be mentioned that in Balto-Slavonic, which only shows participles of the above type with the sole exception of indic. Slav.

1) The Conjunctive with similar root-vocalism (*εἰδ-ο-μεν* Skr. *ta-īdn-a-t*, § 843 p. 384), also did not belong originally to the proper perfect forms, being thematic.

sēd-ē, all these are unreduplicated; and they include the large group exemplified by Lith. *sēd-ēs vės-ēs* O.C.Sl. *vez-ū*. Lastly, it must be added that it is easy to explain the wide diffusion by analogy of stems like *sēd-* and *skāp-* in roots with initial consonant, displacing the older reduplicated forms, by supposing that they were taken up in order to get rid of a number of awkward and unnatural sound-groups which had developed amongst the weak forms in (plural and dual indic., etc.).'

Aryan.

§ 849. We begin with a few additional examples (cp. §§ 846—848).

✓ *ger-* 'make': Skr. *ca-kār-a ca-kṛ-mā ca-kṛ-ur* mid. *ca-kṛ-é ca-kṛ-ṣṣé* opt. (prec.) *ca-kṛ-iyā-s* part. *ca-kṛ-vās- ca-kṛ-úṣ-*, Avest. 3rd pl. act. *ca-xr-ar'*, O.Pers. 3rd sing. opt. *ca-xr-iyā*.
 ✓ *dher-* 'hold fast': Skr. *da-dhār-a da-dhār-a da-dhr-ē*, Avest. *da-dār-a da-dr-ē*.
 ✓ *yen-* 'win': Skr. *vā-vān-a va-van-mā* (cp. *han-mas* § 498 p. 58) *va-vn-é* conj. *vā-vān-a-s* part. *va-van-vās-*, Avest. Gath. *vaon-ar'* opt. *vaon-yā-ḥ* part. *va-van-vā vaon-uṣ-*.
 ✓ *ej-* 'go': Skr. *iy-āy-a iy-ē-tha iy-úr*.
 ✓ *bhāj-* 'fear': Skr. *bi-bhāy-a bi-bhy-ur* part. *bi-bhī-vās- bi-bhy-úṣ-*, Avest. part. *bi-wi-vā*.
 ✓ *kṣey-* 'hear': Avest. *su-sru-ma su-sruyē* i. e. *su-sruv-ē* (Bartholomae, Handb. § 90 p. 40), Skr. *śu-śrāv-a* etc., see § 846 p. 388.
 ✓ *tey-* 'be strong': Skr. *tū-tāv-a*, Avest. *tū-tav-a* 3rd sing. opt. (prec.) *tū-tu-yā*.
 Ar. *sarḥ-* 'to let go': Skr. *sa-sarj-a sa-sṛj-é sa-sṛj-māhē* part. mid. *sa-sṛj-ānu-s*, Avest. part. mid. *haṣher'z-āna-*.
 Skr. *vardh-* 'to grow': *va-vārdh-a vā-vṛdh-úr vā-vṛdh-é*.
 Skr. *kṣip-* 'to throw': *ci-kṣēp-a ci-kṣip-ur*.
 Skr. *vyadh-* 'to pierce': *vi-vyādh-a vi-vidh-ur vi-vyādh-ur vi-vidh-vās-*.
 ✓ *leyq-* 'shine': Skr. *ru-rōc-a ru-ruc-úr ru-ruk-vās-*.
 Avest. *rud-* 'to grow' (Skr. *rudh-*): 1st sing. **rū-raod-a* part. **rū-ruđ-uṣ-*.
 Skr. *yam-* 'cohibere': *ya-yām-a ya-yan-tha yēm-i-mā yēm-úr yēm-ē*; *yēm-* for **iā-īm-*.
 ✓ *iāg-* 'offer': Skr. *i-yāj-a yēj-é* and *īj-ē*; *yēj-* for **iā-īj-*.
 ✓ *ueq-* 'speak' (pr. Ar. weak stem **ua-yk- ua-uc-*): Skr. *va-vāc-a* and *u-vāc-a u-vak-tha āc-úr āc-é*, Avest. 3rd sing. *va-vac-a* Gath. *vaoc'-mā* mid. 3rd sing. *vaoc-ē* part. *vaok-uṣ-*.

✓ *uegh-* 'vehere' (pr. Ar. weak stem **ua-ušh-*): Skr. *va-rāh-a* and *u-vāh-a ūh-úr ūh-ē*, Avest. 3rd pl. mid. injunct. (used as plpf.) *vaoz-i-rem*. ✓ *teq-* 'run, fall headlong': Skr. *ta-tāk-a* (gramm.), Avest. part. *ta-ḥk-uš-*: cp. O.Ir. *ro tāich* 'fugit' pl. *ro tāch-atur*. ✓ *sed-* 'sit'. Skr. *sa-sād-a sa-sāt-tha sēd-i-ma sēd-úr* (*sēd-* for **sa-zd-*, I § 591 p. 447). Avest. opt. *ha-zd-yā-ḥ*. ✓ *seq-* 'be with, follow': Skr. *sa-śc-i-ma sa-śc-ur*. ✓ *dhē-* 'place' *dō-* 'give': Avest. 3rd sing. *da-ḍa* Gath. *da-da-pa* mid. *daiḍē*, Skr. *da-dhāu da-dāu* etc., see § 846 p. 390.

✓ *es-* 'be': Skr. *ās-a ās-úr*, Avest. *āh-a āh-ur*¹: cp. Gr. *ἴσ-θα*, § 848 p. 394.

§ 850. Perfect Forms derived from an Extended Root, or from a Present Stem with some characteristic attacht (Suffix or Determinative). Compare § 847.

From Roots + *-ā-*, *-ē-* or *-ō-*, only in Sanskrit. These Skr. perfects, of which *ji-jyāu ma-mnāu ja-glāu va-vāu ja-jñāu* are represented in the European languages (see *loc. cit.*), have the *ā* only in the strong stem; being in this unlike the Present, where *ā* runs through all the persons (e. g. *dr-ā-ti dr-ā-nti* §§ 578 ff. pp. 118 ff.). The reason why in their weak forms they followed Perfects with root gradation was that so many of the perfect endings began in a sonant. As we have *ja-jñ-ē* (beside *ja-jñāu*), *ya-y-ā ya-y-ur* (beside *ya-yāu ya-yā-tha*, *y-ā-* 'to go'), *da-dr-ur* (*dr-ā-* 'to run'), *ta-tr-ē* (*tr-ā-* 'to protect'), so also *ja-jñ-i-vās-* instead of **ja-jñā-vās-*, *ya-y-i-vās-* instead of **ya-yā-vās-*, *pa-pr-vās-* instead of **pa-prā-vās-* (beside *pa-prā pa-prāu pa-prā-tha*, *pr-ā-* 'to fill'). *ja-jñivās-* and *papr-vās-* belonged properly to the Indicatives **ja-jān-a* and *pa-pār-a* (gramm.); and it is possible that there has been contamination of the extended root (*ḡn-ē ḡn-ō-*, *pl-ē-*) and the unextended (*ḡen-*, *pel-*);¹ compare Gr. *τέ-τλα-μιν* and

1) Parallel to *paprāu*: *papāra* we have *papyē* (pres. *pyā-ya-tē*) and *pīpāya* (pres. *pāy-a-tē*); so that it is naturally doubtful with which of the two perfects Ved. *pipyē* is to be connected. The *i* in the reduplicator decides nothing, cp. *ji-jyāu*.

τε-τλ-η-ώς τέ-τλ-η-κα), πίμ-πλα-μεν and πίμ-πλ-η-μι (§ 594 p. 135. However, *yayivās-* at any rate is a new form, following some such analogy as *ta-sthi-vās-*.

Root + Nasal Infix or Nasal Suffixes (§§ 596 ff. pp. 136 ff.). Skr. *ta-stámbh-a ta-stabh-úr* (*stabh-* = **stmbh-*) and *ta-stambh-ur* (§ 852) conj. *ta-stámbh-a-t* beside *stambh-a-tē* 'makes itself firm, supports itself' from *✓stebh-*, *sa-saṅj-a* from *✓seg-* 'hang, affix', *da-dámbh-a* beside *da-dábh-a* from *dabh-* 'to hurt, deceive', see § 629 p. 167. *ju-ghūrṇ-a* beside *ghūrṇ-a-ti* 'wavers'. *ji-jinv-a* beside *ji-nva-ti* 'sets in motion, helps on', *pi-pinv-a* beside *pi-nva-ti* 'swells, makes fat'.

Root + *s*-suffix. Skr. *ta-ta-s-ré ti-tvi-ṣ-é* see § 847 p. 391. Ar. *dui-ṣ-* 'to hate' (§ 656 p. 190): Skr. *di-dvṣ-a di-dviṣ-ē* (gramm.), Avest. *dī-dvaēṣ-a di-dviṣ-ma*. Skr. *ba-bhāṣ-a* (gramm.) beside *bhāṣati* 'barks' for Idg. **bhel-se-ti* (the *ā* betrays this as a later re-formate): cp. O.H.G. *bal(l) ballun* (§ 657 p. 191). *da-dakṣ-ē* beside *dák-ṣa-tē* 'is able, is of value, is brave' (§ 659 p. 194). *mi-mikṣ-é* from *✓meik-* 'mix' (§ 669 p. 200).

With *sk*-suffix. Skr. *pa-prach-a* see p. 391. *mu-murch-a* beside *murcha-ti* 'curdles, congeals'. *ju-hurch-a* (gramm.) beside *hurcha-ti* 'slips, falls'. Compare too the thematic *an-archa-t* beside *ṛ-chá-ti ar-cha-ti* 'hits, attains', like *an-arṣ-a-t* § 854.

With *t*-suffix (§§ 679 ff. pp. 211 ff.). Skr. *ci-t-* 'to notice, recognise' (§ 680 p. 212): Skr. *ci-két-a ci-kit-ur ci-kit-ē ci-kit-vās-*, Avest. 3rd pl. Gath. *ci-koit-er-ṣ* (cp. § 852) part. *ci-kiṭ-wā*. Skr. *yu-t-* 'to join on to, strive' (§ 681 p. 213), weak stem **ia-it-*: Skr. *yēt-ē*, Avest. *ya-yat-u yaēp-ma* (Gath. *yōṭp-^oma*) part. *yaēt-uṣ-*. Skr. *na-nart-a na-nyt-ur* beside *nyt-t-ya-ti* 'dances'. *pu-sphōt-a* beside *sphuṭa-ti* 'bursts, splits' (beside *phāl-a-ti*, § 680 p. 211). *ci-cēṣt-a* beside *cēṣ-ṭa-ti* 'is in motion'.

With *dh*-suffix. Skr. *ra-rádḥ-a* see p. 391. *yu-yōdh-a* *yu-yudh-é* beside *yō-dha-ti* 'gets in motion' (§ 689 p. 219).

Skr. *ji-jī-va ji-jīv-ē* beside *jī-va-ti* 'lives' (§ 487 p. 41).

From a reduplicated Present is often formed a Perfect having no further reduplication besides what the present had. *sīd-atur* (beside *sa-sād-a sēd-úr*) from *sīd-a-ti* Idg. **si-zd-e-ti* from ✓ *sed-* 'sit', *nind-i-ma* from *nī-nd-a-ti* 'abuses, reviles', see § 550 p. 106. *vivak-vās-* from *vī-vak-ti* 'speaks'. *didās-i-tha* from *dī-dāsa-ti* desid. of *dā-dā-ti* 'gives'. *nōnāv-a nōnuv-ur* from *nō-nav-i-ti nō-nu-mas* intens. of *nāu-ti* 'praises', *davidhāv-a* beside part. *dāvi-dhv-at-* intens. of *dhū-nō-ti* 'shakes'.¹⁾ We may also if we choose place here *jāgār-a* (cp. Gr. ἐγρή-γερ-μαι) beside *jā-gar-ti* 'wakes, watches', since the present may be regarded as an intensive (§ 560 p. 109). *a* instead of *ā* in the reduplicating syllable is found elsewhere in Aryan too; and we have noticed in § 472 p. 17 that the spread of this *ā* in the reduplication is certainly not unconnected with the similarity in meaning of the Perfect-present and the Intensive. In later times another perfect *ja-jāgār-a* was made from *jāgar-ti*. That a perfect *bi-bhikṣ-ē* was formed for *bhikṣa-tē* (desid. of *bhāj-a-ti* 'divides, distributes, assigns', § 667 p. 200), and for *sajja-tē* 'hangs on to' (for **saz-j-a-*, § 562 p. 110) a perfect *sa-sajj-ur* Mahabh. (beside *sa-saj-ur sēj-ur* and *sa-sañj-a* p. 397), is not surprising in view of the complete obscuration of the reduplication in the present.

As regards the above named perfects without special perfect reduplication, compare § 848 p. 392.

Lastly, two more Skr. perfects shall be cited, which have arisen from a root which has been completely fused into unity with a prefix. *pi-pīd-ē* beside *pīd-aya-ti* 'presses' for **pi-zd-* (lit. 'to sit upon'), see § 795 p. 331; cp. Gr. *πενίεσται* from *πν-έζω*. *ni-niyōj-a* (Ait. Brāhm.) from *ni-yuj-* 'to fasten on'. So Gr. *ἡμφίεσται* from *ἄμφι-(f)εσ-* 'to clothe, draw on'. The same principle is exemplified in the Augment, see § 477 p. 25.

1) We should expect *davidhāv-a* by § 467 p. 13. The *i* seems to me to be more simply explained by supposing that the perfect is a comparatively late analogical form from *dāvidhv-* than by adopting Wackernagel's conjecture, *Dehnungsgesetz der gr. Compp.* p. 18.

§ 851. The syllable of reduplication had originally *a* = Idg. *e* with Roots beginning in a Consonant; the variant *a* = Idg. *ē* is also found (cp. § 850, p. 398).

This was changed in Aryan where a root had *i-* or *u-vocalism*.

(1) Of Roots with internal or final *i-* or *u-vowel* only three retained the *a* in the reduplicator: Skr. *ba-bhāv-a* Avest. *ba-vav-a*, Skr. *sa-sūv-a* (beside *su-śāv-a*), part. mid. *śa-śay-and-s* (beside indic. *śi-śy-ē*). In all others, *i* and *u* had taken the place of *a* in proethnic Aryan; as Skr. *di-dvṣ-ā* *di-dviṣ-ē* Avest. *dī-dvaṣ-ā* *di-dviṣ-ma*, Skr. *vi-vyadh-a* *vi-vidh-ur*, Skr. *ru-rōc-a* *ru-ruc-úr* Avest. **rū-raod-a* **rū-rud-uš-*, Skr. *su-ṣvāp-a* *su-ṣup-úr*. This tendency affected even roots with initial diphthong: hence Skr. *iy-āy-a* *īy-úr* i. e. **i-iy-ur* instead of pr. Ar. 3rd sing. **ai-a* 3rd pl. **ai-yr* (cp. Lith. part. fem. *ėj-us-i*) beside *ē-ti* 'goes'; Skr. *ūv-ur* i. e. **u-uv-ur* beside *u-tās* 'woven' *ō-tu-m*; Skr. *u-vōc-a* *ūc-úr* beside *uc-ya-ti* 'takes pleasure in' *ōkas* 'pleasure, satisfaction' (cp. the archaic adjectival participle without reduplication *ōk-i-vās-* § 848 p. 392).

One important factor in this developement we may conjecture to have been the influence of reduplicated presents with *i* and *u* in the reduplicator. If the stems of Skr. *dī-dhay-a* *dī-dhi-ma*, *dī-dāy-a* *dī-di-vās-*, *pī-pē-tha* *pī-pi-vās-*, *bī-bhay-a* are really and truly the same which are contained in the present forms *dī-dhy-ē* *ā-dī-dhē-t*, *dī-dy-ati* *dī-di-hī* *ā-dī-dē-t*, *pī-pi-hī* *pī-páy-a-t*, *bī-bhay-a-t* (§ 537 pp. 97 f.) — compare *jā-gār-a* : *jā-gar-ti*, *nō-nāv-a* : *nō-nav-i-ti* § 850 p. 398. — then we shall have to connect e. g. *bi-bhay-a* *bi-bhy-ur*, *iy-āy-a* *īy-úr*, *ju-hāv-a* *ju-huv-ur* *ju-hv-ē* directly with *bi-bhē-ti* *bī-bhy-ati*, *iy-ē-ti* (§ 537 p. 97), *ju-hō-ti* *jū-hv-ati*. Beginning then with perfects like these, the reduplication with *i* and *u* could easily spread to other perfects from *i-* and *u-*roots to which there was no corresponding reduplicated present.

(2) Roots beginning with *ī-* and *u-*, of the form of Ar. *īat-* 'join on, strive' and *yak- yac-* 'speak', still had *īa-* and *ya-* for reduplication right through the Perfect in proethnic Aryan: Skr. *yēt-ē* Avest. *ya-yat-a yaçp-ma*, Skr. *ya-yām-a yēm-úr*, Skr. *yēj-ē*, Skr. *va-vāc-a* Avest. *va-vac-a vaox-mā*, Skr. *va-vāh-a* Avest. *vaoz-i-rem*, Skr. *va-vām-a*; with the weak stems compare pres. Skr. *yēṣa-ti* = **īa-īṣ-a-ti* and aor. *á-vōca-t* Avest. *vaoca-p* = **ua-uc-a-* § 562 p. 110. These forms stood on the same level as those like Skr. *va-vart-a va-vṛt-ur vi-vēṣ-a vi-viṣ-úr* and with Gr. *ἰ-όλ-ε* (§ 848 p. 392) *ἰ-οργ-ε* (§ 846 p. 389) *ἰ-οικ-ε* (§ 848 p. 392) and Goth. *vai-vald*. Next, in Sanskrit, those verbs which had amongst their non-perfect forms some in which the root, being of the weak grade, began with *i-* or *u-*, substituted *i-* and *u-* for *ya-* and *va-* as the reduplicator; and thus we get *i-yāj-a ij-úr* (i. e. **i-ij-ur*) beside *ij-yā-te iṣ-tá-s* etc., *u-vāc-a ūc-úr* (i. e. **u-uc-ur*) beside *uc-yá-tē uk-tá-s* etc., on the analogy of *iy-āy-a iy-úr* beside *iy-ē i-tás* etc., *vi-vyādh-a vi-vidh-ur* beside *vidh-ya-ti viddha-s* etc., *su-ṣōḍp-a su-ṣup-úr* beside *sup-ya-tē sup-tá-s* etc.¹⁾ On the other hand, *ya-yām-a yēm-úr va-vas-ē* (from *vas-* 'to clothe'), and other such remained simply because none of their forms had such beginnings as *im-* or *uṣ-*. Only here and there did *u-* transgress these prescribed limits: as in *u-vām-a* (Satap.-Brāhm.) instead of *va-vām-a* from *vam-* 'vomere'.

With this Sanskrit development compare Lat. *sci-cit-ī* from *scindō* as contrasted with *ce-cid-ī* from *cadō*, § 868.

Remark. The reason why we have in Sanskrit *vaṛ-úr* and not **vōr-úr*, and *vam-úr* not **vōn-úr* (cp. Avest. *vaonuš-*), as might have been expected from *maghōn-*, the weak form of the stem *maghavan-* 'giver, offerer', was the analogical influence of forms whose ending began with a consonant, such as *va-vṛ-má* and *va-van-má va-van-vás-*, perhaps also that of bye-forms with a weak-grade root syllable which still remained

1) I hold accordingly that the favourite theory which sees pr. Idg. reduplications *i-* *u-* or *ī-* *u-* in *i-yāj-a u-vāc-a* is incorrect. Observe further, that the evidence offered by *i-yāj-a ij-ē* and the like for the view that the *✓ yaj-* began in Idg. with *ī-* and not with the spirant *j* is only indirect (I § 598 p. 453).

a syllable by itself (op. *ta-tan-ē* i. e. **-tān-ai* beside *ta-tn-ē*, *ti-stir-ē* i. e. **-stīr-ai*). Thus *va-vn-* in this way depended upon *va-van-*; and, by a contrary application of the principle, *yēm-i-mā yēm-i-vas-* instead of **ya-yan-ma *ya-yan-vas-* (op. *ja-gan-ma ja-gan-vās-* from *gam-* 'to go') depended upon *yēm-ur yēm-uš-* (op. *jagm-i-vas-* instead of *jagan-vas-* following *jagm-úš-*).

Whilst Roots beginning with an *a*-vowel had in Aryan *a-* through all forms of the Perfect, if they ended in a single consonant, as Skr. *ās-a* Avest. *ānh-a* (§ 848 p. 394, § 949 p. 396), they have *ān-* (or *an-*) for the reduplicating syllable if the root ends in a double consonant. Of these forms, the following were inherited from the parent language: Skr. *ān-āś-a* with the weak stem *ān-aś-* (*-aś-* = *-āś-*) in *ānaś-úr ānaś-yā-t* (pres. *aś-nō-ti* 'attains'): O.Ir. *t-ān-aic*, see § 846 p. 390; parallel Skr. *ānaś-a* Avest. Gath. plpf. *ēnāxšta* for **anāś-ta*, which are similar to Gr. *κατ-ήνοxa* (see *loc. cit.*), and Skr. *āś-a āś-atur*, which was formed for *aś-nō-ti* aor. *aś-yā-t aś-ē-ma* on the analogy of *ās-a ād-a*. Also *ān-añj-a ān-aj-ē* opt. Ved. *an-aj-yā-t* from *añj-* 'to anoint, smear' seems to have formed part of the parent stock.

Hence afterwards arose *ān-arc-a ān-rc-úr* from *arc-* 'to shine, praise', *ān-ṛdh-úr* from *ardh-* 'to thrive', *ān-ṛh-úr* from *arh-* 'to earn'.

§ 852. Form of the Root Syllable.

The pr. Aryan distinction between Skr. 1st sing. *ja-ján-a* with *ā*, and 3rd sing. *ja-jān-a* with *a* (§ 843 p. 384), was lost. Thus we have in later Sanskrit the 3rd sing. form used for the 1st as well as 3rd (still, *jajāna* was not dropt altogether), and in Avestic the 1st singular form was used for both (e. g. *va-vac-a* beside the regular *hi-šāy-a*).¹⁾

In imitation of such forms as *sa-sād-a : sēd-úr* (for **sa-zd-ur*) and *ya-yām-a : yēm-úr* (for **īa-īm-ur*), arose the Skr. forms *sēh-ur* (*sah-* 'to subdue'), *sēj-ur* (*saj-* 'to hang, fasten'), *pēc-úr* (*pac-* 'to cook'), *sēc-ē* (*sac-* 'to be with, accompany'), but also *sa-śc-ē*, *pēt-úr* (*pat-* 'to fly, fall', but also

1) The Avestic change was natural enough because *tataša* (Skr. *tatāka*) had got in amongst roots with single final consonant.

pa-pt-úr), *nēm-ur* (*nam-* 'to bow, bend'), *tēn-ē* (*tan-* 'to stretch', but also *ta-tñ-ē*). This type recommended itself because it avoided certain awkward sounds which had developed in some roots, as was the case in Germanic with the type *qēm-* (§ 893). *mēthur* beside *ma-mánth-a* (*manth-* 'to shake, knead'), and *bēdh-úr* beside *ba-bándh-a* (*bandh-* 'to bind'), arose because the weak roots *math-* and *badh-* in *mátha-ti badh-ná-ti* etc. (*-a* = *-y-*) were conceived as being parallel to roots like *sad-* or *yaj-*; which also explains *mamáth-a* beside *mamanth-a*, *mathišya-ti* beside *manthišya-ti* and the like. That a Perfect stem such as *sēd-* or *yēm-* was to the consciousness of the speaker nothing more than an ablaut-form of the unreduplicate root is shewn by forms with initial media aspirata like *bhēj-ur* (beside *ba-bhāj-a* from *bhaj-* 'to distribute'), and those which begin with a double consonant, as *trēs-ur* (beside *ta-trās-a* from *tras-* 'to tremble').

The strong singular stem seems often to have invaded forms proper to the weak stem. Skr. *tastambhur* (but also *tastabhúr*) following *tastámbha*, cp. § 850 p. 397. *babandhur* following *babándha*. *yuyōpimá* following *yuyōpa* from *yup-* 'to obstruct'. *vivēšur* (but also *vivišē*) following *vivēša* from *viš-* 'to enter'. *bibhēdur* (but *bibhidur* also) following *bibhēda* from *bhid-* 'to split'. *vavahatur* (but *ūhatur*) following *vavāha* from *vah-* 'vehere'. *nanāmirē* (but *nēm-ur*) following *nānāma*. *śāsās-ur* following *śāsāsa* (cp. aor. *á-śiṣ-a-t*) from *śas-* 'to order': cp. pres. 3rd pl. *śās-ati* beside opt. *śiṣ-ya-t*. *dadāvás-* (but *dadvás-dadivás-*) following *dadaú* from *da-* 'to give'. Avest. 3rd pl. *cikōiter's* (but *cikīpwā*) following **cikōita* from *cit-* 'to observe' (§ 850 p. 397). 2nd pl. *hanhana* following 3rd sing. **hanhana* from *han-* 'to give, earn'. But we may see, from what has been said in § 848 pp. 392 f. on *sa-sah-ē śa-śas-ur* and *sa-sah-ē da-daś-i-ma*, that it is possible to hold that the germ of these consists of unreduplicated forms with a strong root (such as Skr. **stambh-ur*) which received reduplication in Aryan.

In Skr. 1st and 3rd sing. *ta-sthāú da-dhaú pa-praú* etc., the origin of *-au* is obscure. Now and then we meet with variants

3rd sing. *pa-prā* and Avest. 3rd sing. *da-ḍa*.¹⁾ Some regard *-u* as a particle affixed to the perfect with final *-a*, as *pa-prā* + *u* = *pa-prāu*; and others compare *ta-sthāu* with *sthāv-ira-sthāv-arā-sthū-rā*, or *pa-prāu* with Lat. *plēv-i*, *ja-jñāu* with Lat. *nōv-i*. All these are thoroughly uncertain conjectures.

§ 853. As regards the *-i-* which precedes the personal ending in *-i-tha -i-ma -i-va -i-ṣē -i-mahē -i-vahē*, which is much commoner in the later language than it is in the Veda, the most essential facts have been pointed out in § 844, pages 385 f.

The same *i* is seen in the unreduplicated *iṣ-ē* (§ 848 p. 391): *iṣ-i-ṣē* (beside *iṣ-ṣē*) *iṣ-i-dhvē* like *ja-jñ-i-ṣē ja-jñ-i-dhvē*. After what was said in § 574 p. 115, it is not strange that beside *iṣ-ṣē* we find *iṣ-i-tē*. Compare however the pres. *ṣṛ-nv-i-ṣē* beside *ṣṛ-nv-i-rē* (like *iṣ-i-rē ja-jñ-i-rē*).

§ 854. The so-called Pluperfect, and Thematic Forms of the Perfect Stem (cp. § 555 p. 108, § 845 p. 387 f.).

Un-Thematic Pluperfect. Skr. 2nd and 3rd sing. *á-ja-gan* 3rd pl. *á-ja-gan-ta* (with strong stem like *gan-tá* beside *ga-tá*, § 498 p. 58) 3rd pl. mid. *á-ja-gm-iran* beside *ja-gám-a*. 1st sing. *ca-kar-am* beside *ca-kār-a*. Avest. 3rd pl. mid. *vaoz-irem* beside Skr. *va-vāh-a* (§ 849 p. 396). Gath. 2nd pl. mid. *vōiz-dūm* (with strong stem instead of weak) beside *vōista* = Skr. *vēttha*. Compare Gr. *ἐ-πέ-πιδ-μεν* beside *πέ-ποιθ-ε*, § 865. We find in Sanskrit also the 2nd and 3rd sing. with *-i-*, an *á-ja-grabh-i-t* beside 1st sing. *á-ja-grabh-am*, see § 577 p. 118.

Thematic Pluperfect. Skr. *á-ca-kr-a-t* beside *ca-kār-a*. *á-da-dṛh-a-nta* beside *da-darh-a* (gramm.) from *darh-* 'to make firm'. *an-arṣ-a-t* from *arṣ-* 'to stream'; an analogous form is *an-archa-t* (beside perf. *ār-a ar-ur*) from pres. *ṛ-chā-ti ar-cha-ti* 'hits, attains, seizes' (cp. § 850 p. 397). Avest. *ja-ym-a-p* beside Skr. *ja-gám-a*. *ta-taš-a-p* beside 1st sing. *ta-taš-a* =

1) On the assumed Avest. *dadō* = Skr. *dadhāu*, see Bartholomae, *Bess. Beitr.* ix 301.

Skr. *ta-tákš-a* from *takš-* 'to shape, form'. Compare Gr. *ἐ-μέ-μην-ο-ν* § 865.

The Thematic Imperative, as Skr. 2nd dual *mu-mōc-a-tam* 2nd pl. *mu-mōc-a-ta* (*muc-* 'to loose') 2nd sing. mid. *vā-vṛdh-ā-sva* (*vardh-* 'to grow'), stood beside the Unthematic *mu-muk-tam mu-mug-dhi*, as in Greek e. g. *κε-κράγ-ε-τε κε-χῆν-ε-τε* beside *κέ-κραγ-θι*; and they were related to the Thematic Conjunctive Skr. *mu-mōc-a-t(i)* Gr. *ἔθ-ο-μεν* as, in the *s*-aorist, Skr. 2nd sing. imper. *nē-ṣ-a* to the conj. *nē-ṣ-a-ti*, Gr. 2nd pl. imper. *ἄξ-ε-τε* to conj. (fut.) *ἄξ-ε-τε* (§ 833 p. 370).

The forms Skr. *tš-a-tē* Avest. *is-a-itē* beside *tš-ē is-ē* 'has brought into his power' doubtless first arose because the latter had ceased to be looked upon as belonging to the Perfect. Thus they are classed along with Presents like Skr. *han-a-ti* Avest. *janaiti* beside *hán-ti jainti* (§ 498 p. 58). Compare § 888 on Goth. *áihan áihands*.

Armenian.

§ 855. The old Perfect inflexion seems to be wholly lost. *gitem* 'I know' may have been transformed from **μοῖδ-a* in the same way as Lesb. *οἶδημι* from *οἶδα*; but it may also be regarded as a present of Class II *A* (§ 517 Rem. p. 82). For another even more uncertain trace of the Perfect in Armenian, see Meillet, *Mém. Soc. Ling.* vii 164.

Greek.

§ 856. We begin with a few examples in addition to those given in § 846.

ἐ-σπαρ-ται from *σπείρω* 'I sow'. *ἐ-ολ-ε ἐ-ελ-ται* from *εἰλω* 'I press' ✓ *φελ-* (§ 848 p. 392). *ἐ-στολ-ε* (gramm.) *ἐ-σταλ-ται* from *στέλλω* 'I place, ordain'. *δῆ-δρομ-ε* beside *ἐ-δραμ-ο-ν* 'I ran'. Hom. *δεῖδω* i. e. **δέδρω* 'I fear' for **δε-δφοκ-α*, *δεῖδια* i. e. **δέ-δφι-α*, *δεῖδιμεν* i. e. **δέ-δφι-μεν*, *δεῖδιότ-ες* i. e. **δέ-δφι-ότ-ες* (I § 166 p. 147), Att. *δέ-δι-μεν δέ-δι-θι δε-δι-ώς δι-δι-έναι*.

κρί-ται from κρίνω 'I separate, choose, decide' (§ 611 p. 150). πεί-πορδ-ε from πέρδομαι 'pedo'. πεί-φασ-ται from φράζω 'I give to understand, show', √ gherd-: Lith. part. *isz-gĩrd-ės* from *isz-girstù* 'I perceive' (§ 707 p. 236, § 686 pp. 216 f.). τέ-τροφ-ε τέ-τραφ-ε τέ-τραπ-ται from τρέπω 'I turn'. έ-ολπ-ε from έλπομαι 'I hope', *φελπ-*. πεί-πονθ-ε πεπαθ-ν̄α beside fut. πείσομαι for *πενθ+σ-, pres. πάσχω 'I suffer' (§ 673 p. 205). έ-οικ-ε 'is like' έ-ικ-τον ή-ικ-το έ-οιγ-μεν έ-οίκ-α-μεν εικ-ώς έ-οικ-ώς, √ *φεικ-*. πεί-ποιθ-ε έ-πέ-πιθ-μεν πε-ποίηθ-α-μεν πεί-πεισται from πείθω 'I persuade'. τε-τευχ-ώς τέ-τυκ-ται τε-τεύχ-αται from τεύχω 'I prepare'. κέ-χοθ-ε from χέζω 'caco'. τέ-τοκ-ε beside έ-τεκ-ο-ν 'I begat, bore'. έ-ρρωγ-ε έ-ρρηγ-ε̄ω from ρήγ-ν̄υ-μι 'I break', *φρηγ-*. λέ-ληκ-ε λε-ληκ-ώς (-η- for -α-) λε-λακ-ν̄α beside έ-λακ-ο-ν 'I spoke'. με-μηκ-ώς (-η- for -α-) με-μακ-ν̄α beside μακών 'bleating, crying'. λέ-λαμπ-ε from λάμπω 'I shine'.

δέ-δε-ται from δέ-δη-μι 'I bind'. The root-vowel *ε*, like that of τέ-θε-ται εί-ται (for *έ-ε-ται) and that of δέ-δο-ται, is instead of *α* = Idg. *ə*. Compare § 493 p. 53 on έ-θε-μεν ι-δο-μεν, and § 542 p. 102 on τί-θε-μεν ι-ε-μεν δι-δέν-των δί-δο-μεν.

Forms with so-called Attic Reduplication. Hom. εἰλήλουθα εἰλήλουθμεν Att. ἐλήλυθα ἐληλύθαμεν beside ἐλεύσομαι 'I will come' aor. ἤλυθον, ἔλενθ-. Ion. ἄρ-ηρ-ε ἄρηρώς ἄρ-αρ-ν̄ια beside ἤρ-αρ-ο-ν 'I joined'.

§ 857. Numerous Perfect forms based upon Roots extended in some way, and upon Presents of all sorts and kinds. Compare § 847 pp. 391 f.

(1) δέ-δρα-ται from δρα-α- 'to do'. κέ-κρα-ται from κρ-α- 'to mix'. τε-τλη-ώς from τλ-α- 'to bear'. κε-κμη-ώς from κμ-α- 'to weary'. τέ-τμη-ται from τμ-α- 'to cut'. τέ-τρη-ται from τρ-η- 'to wear away, pierce'. κέ-κλη-ται from κλ-η- 'to call'. κέ-χρη-ται from χρ-η- 'to lend, borrow'. τε-τιη-ώς τε-τίη-ται from τιη- 'to be still, overawed' Idg. *gʷi-ē*, see § 590 p. 132. κε-χαρη-ώς κε-χάρη-ται from χαιρω 'I rejoice'. κε-καφη-ώς 'breathing hard'. δε-δέη-ται from δέω Hom. Aeol. δεύ-ω 'I need'. νε-νέμη-ται

from νέμω 'I distribute'. βε-βούλη-ται from βούλομαι 'I wish' for *βολνο-μαι. τε-τύπτη-ται from τύπ-τω 'I strike'. Compare § 750. 1 p. 271, § 756. 4 pp. 275 f., § 822. 5 p. 360.

(2) Along with these go Perfects from later denominatives, as Hom. κε-κοτη-ώς, Boeot. gen. pl. *φε-φύκονομειόντων* (Att. *ὠκονομηκόντων*, cp. § 866), τε-τίμη-ται (-η = -α-), πε-φίλη-ται, με-μίσθω-ται, κε-κόνι-ται, δε-δάκρυ-ται. Compare § 756. 5 p. 276, § 773 pp. 290 f., § 813 p. 351, § 822. 6 p. 360.

(3) δε-δίδαχ-ε δε-δίδακ-ται δε-δίδαγ-μαι beside δι-δάσκω 'I teach' (§ 678 p. 210), cp. aor. ἐ-δίδαξα.

(4) πέ-φην-ε (Dor. πέ-φᾶν-ε) πέ-φαν-ται from φαίνω 'I make appear, show' for *φα-νκ-ω. κέ-χην-ε (Dor. κέ-χᾶν-ε) from χαίνω 'I gape' for *χα-νκ-ω. ἔ-ξαν-ται ἔξαμμαι from ξαίνω 'I scratch, comb'. On the forms πέφασμαι ἔξασμαι (= ἔξαμμαι), see § 862. προ-βέβουλε beside βούλομαι (see under 1). Compare § 822. 2 p. 359.

(5) Nasal Infix. κέ-κλυγ-ε, also κέ-κληγ-ε, beside κλαγγάνω and κλάζω (for *κλαγγ-ω) 'I make a sound, cry out'. The verb χανδάνω 'I have room for' (√ *ghed-*, § 631 p. 168) perhaps had both κέ-χανδ-ε and κέ-χονδ-ε (like λέλογχε from λαγχάνω) for its perfect; see Mekler, Beitr. zur Bildung des griech. Verbums, 60 f.; Wackernagel, Berl. Phil. Wochenschr. 1891, col. 1475 f. Aeol. part. πε-φύγγων (Att. πε-φρευγ-ώς) from φνγγάνω 'I flee'. ἔ-σφιγκ-ται 1st sing. ἔσφιγμαι (-γμ- for -*ngm-*, I § 492 p. 363) from σφίγγω 'I tie'. Compare § 822. 3 p. 359.

(6) ἔ-σπα-σ-ται, κέ-κλα-σ-ται, κε-κέρασ-ται, ἐ-σκέδασ-ται; ἔ-σβ-εσ-ται, κε-κόρεσ-ται; ἔ-ξυ-σ-ται, εἴρυσ-ται. See § 661 p. 196 § 842 pp. 380 f.

(7) Syrac. πέποσχε instead of πέπονθε from πάσχω (§ 673 p. 205). Compare Skr. *papracha* Lat. *porosci* from √ *prek-*.

(8) κατα-πέπυθα καταρρύηκα Hesych., beside πύθω 'I make to rot'. βέ-βριθ-ε from βριθ-ω 'I weigh down'. Compare § 694 p. 223. πέ-φλοιδ-ε beside ἔ-φλιδ-εν διέρρεεν. δια-κεχλιδώς and δια-κεχλιδώς beside χλῖω 'I am weakly'. 3rd pl. ἐ-ρράδ-αται from ράινω 'I sprinkle' for *σρ-ανω (§ 621 p. 159). Compare § 695 p. 224.

(9) Hom. *πεφνζότες* from **φύζω* for **φνγ-ιω* (§ 707 p. 236).

(10) Perfects of later Denominatives whose verbal stem ended in a Consonant. *κη-κήρῶ-ε κη-κήρῶ-ται κη-κήρῶγ-μαι* from *κηρῶσω* 'I announce, proclaim' for **κᾱρῶκ-ιω*. *πε-φύλαχ-ε πε-φύλαχ-ται πε-φύλαχ-μαι* from *φυλάσσω* 'I watch' for **φνλακ-ιω*. *ἤλπισται* from *ἐλπίζω* 'I hope' for **φελπιδ-ιω*. *λέ-λησται* from *ληΐζομαι* 'I get booty' for **λᾱφιδ-ιο-μαι*. *τε-τέλεσ-ται* from *τελέω* 'I finish' for **τελεσ-ιω*. *ἡγγέλ-ται* from *ἀγγέλλω* 'I announce'. *λε-λόβμαν-ται* from *λῶμαίνομαι* 'I treat shamefully, insult, torture'. Compare § 756. 3 p. 275, § 757 p. 276 f., § 768 p. 282 f., § 822. 4 p. 359 f.

§ 858. The Reduplication with *ε* in roots with initial consonant has been more faithfully kept in Greek than in any other language. The vitality of this type can be best seen in its use with denominative forms like *πι-φύλακται δε-δυστύχηκε*, *τε-θαλασσοκράτηκε*, Boeot. *φε-φεκονορμειόντων*.

Remark. On the analogy of compounds like *ιμ-πεποίηκε* were made others such as *εν-δεδήμηκε απο-δεδήμηκε* instead of **ενδημηκε *ηποδημηκε* from *εν-δημο-ς απο-δημο-ς*. The group was further enlarged by *θεο-πεποίηκε ειδο-πεποιήται ιππο-τετρώφηκε* and many other like them.

On the treatment of the initial consonant or consonants of the reduplicator, see §§ 475 f. pp. 20 ff.

Verbs with initial vowel were treated in two ways, as in Sanskrit:

(1) By lengthening the initial vowel. 2nd sing. *ἦσ-θα* from *✓es-* 'to be' (cp. Skr. *ds-i-tha*), which form came afterwards to be used as imperfect because *ἦα ἦμεν ἦσθε ἦστων* belonged to both; *ἦρικε* from *ἐρίζω* 'I strive'. *ἦχ-ε ἦγ-μαι* (*η* = *α*) from *ᾄγω* 'I lead': Skr. *āj-a* O.Icel. *ðk-* (here comes *ἄν-ωγ-ε* from *ἄν-άγω* according to Danielsson, Nord. tidskr. f. filol., ny række, vii 138 ff.); *ἦσκη-ται* from *ἀσκέω* 'I practice'; *ἦρχ-ε ἦρχ-μαι* from *ἄρχω* 'I begin'; *ἱμφίεσ-ται* from *ἀμφι-έσ-σαι* 'to draw on, clothe'. *ὄγκω-ται* from *ὀγκέω* 'I grow big, swell up'. This perfect formation has been treated in

§ 848 p. 393 f.; it is very doubtful whether it ever had any reduplication.

(2) By the "Attic Reduplication", which corresponds to the structure of Skr. *an-áś-a* (§ 851 p. 401). This flourished considerably at the expense of the last named (1). *ἐδ-ηδώς*: Skr. *ád-a*; *ᾔρ-ωρ-ε*: Skr. *ár-a*; *ᾔδ-ωδ-ε*: Lith. *ũ'd-žs*. Att. *ὀμ-ώμο-ται* (and *ὀμ-ώμο-σ-ται*) from *ὀμ-νῶ-μι* 'I swear'. Hesiod has *ἐρ-ήρισται* from *ἐρίζω* 'I strive'; but *ἤριξε* above. Perhaps Hom. *ἐρησθα* 'eras' and *ἐην ἤην*, as contrasted with *ἦσθε ἦεν ἦν* (§ 502 p. 65 f.), was based upon a form **έσ-ησ-*; cp. § 583 p. 124, and the Author, Gr. Gr.² p. 164, Bartholomae, Stud. z. idg. Spr. II 118 f. Ion. *ἀν-αρ-αίρη-ται* and *ἀν-αιρ-έρη-ται* from *ἀν-αιρέω* 'I raise up on high'; but *ἀν-ήρη-ται*. Hom. *ὀρ-ωρέχ-αται* from *ὀρέγω* 'I stretch out', but *ὠρεγ-μαι*, from *✓reg-* (O.Ir. perf. *re-raig* 'porrexit'). On the analogy of *ἐλ-ήλυθ-ε*: *ἐλυθεῖν*, the form *ἐν-εγκ-εῖν* 'to bring', which already had the Attic reduplication (cp. Skr. *an-áś-a*), formed a perfect *ἐν-ήνεγκ-ται*, which next called into being the act. *ἐν-ήνοχε* beside *κατ-ήνοχε* (§ 846 p. 390); *ἐν-* in *ἐν-ήνεγκ-ται* and *ἐν-ήνοχε* must then be the preposition *ἐν*, which I see in the aorist *ἐν-εικα* (§ 504 p. 68); if so, *ἐν-ήνεγκ-ται* must be compared directly with Skr. *an-áś-a*. Ion. *ὀρ-ώρηκ-ε* (Herodas) beside *ἐόρᾳκε* *ἐώρᾳκε* from *ὀράω* 'I see' for **φορᾶ-*, late Attic *ἐλ-ηλιγ-μμένο-ς* beside *εἴλικ-ται* from *ἐλίσσω* 'I wind' for **φελικ-*.

§ 859. The original differences of root-gradation in the group of Perfect forms transmitted from the parent language were very largely wiped out by analogy.

First, the vowel-grade of the indic. active invaded other forms; as *γεγόν-α-μεν* *γεγον-ώς*, *ἐφθόρ-α-μεν* *ἐφθορ-ώς*, *πεπόνθ-α-μεν*, *τετρώφ-α-μεν*, *ἔοιγ-μεν* *εόικ-α-μεν*, *πεποίθ-α-μεν* conj. Hom. *πεποιθ-ο-μεν* Att. *πεποίθ-ω-μεν*, *εἰλήλουθ-μεν* *εἰληλουθ-ώς*, *ἐρρώγ-α-μεν*, *ύφ-έω-ται*.

Next, the weak form sometimes became the type; as *δέδι-α*, *τέτραφ-α*, *ἐλήλυθ-α*.

Thirdly, *ε* is often found where it originally was not, as

πέφενυ-ε πεφενύ-α-μεν, πέ-πλεχ-ι, λέ-λιγ-ι; particularly often in the Middle, as πέπλεχ-ται πέπεισ-ται. The original place of this ablaut-grade was in the perfect Conjunctive, sometimes in the Participle active (II § 136 p. 438 f.), and also, according to the hypothesis of De Saussure and Osthoff, the 1st sing. Indic. active (§ 843 Rem. p. 384). Again, ἐ-ιλ-ται and like forms may be based upon the unreduplicated (κατα-)φελμένο-ς; see § 848. 2 with Rem. 1, pages 392 and 393. Lastly, non-perfect verbal forms with ε may have had a hand in it; thus φεύγω may have influenced πέφενυι, or πείθομαι πέπισται.

Sometimes the change which took place was that weak perfect forms with α from roots of the *e*-series caused the production of other forms on the analogy of α-roots. Thus μέμηλε (Dor. μέμᾱλε) took the place of *μέμολε (from μέλει 'it is a care to'), because forms with με-μαλ- (cp. Skr. *tī-stir-* from *√ster-* 'sternere') were associated with such others as τι-θαλ-νῖα beside τέθηλε (Dor. τέθᾱλε). Similar considerations account for μέμηνι (*√μεν-* 'think') and διεδηχώς δέδηγμαι (*√denk-* 'bite') by analogy with με-μαν- = **me-mṇ-* and δι-δουκ- = **de-dḡk-* (cp. Skr. *dadaś-vās-* beside *dadaś-a*). But undoubtedly with both these perfects other non-perfect forms, such as μαίνομαι ἐμάνην and δάκνω ἔδακον, helped to change them over to the new vowel-series.

The *ē*-grade seen in O.Ir. *mīd-ar* Goth. *sēl-um* Lith. *sēd-ēs* etc. (§ 848. 3 p. 393), has been conjectured for Gr. ἥσται 'sits', whose aspirate is odd as contrasted with Skr. *ās-tē*. It is quite possible that, in Greek, middle forms of **sēd-* were confused with the verb **ēs-*. Compare pres. Lith. *sēd-mi* § 494 p. 54.

§ 860. On the -α- of τέτροφ-α-ς -α-μεν -α-τε, on Dor. γέγον-αν and part. πεπτώς, see § 844 pp. 385 f.

The 3rd pl. ἐστᾱσι 'they stand' is contracted for *ἐ-στά-ασι, which had taken the place of a previous *ἔστασι. So also Ep. γεγάασι μεμᾱάσι βεβᾱάσι Att. βεβᾱσι. See § 1021. 4.

§ 861. Aspirated Perfects like δέδειχε (*√δεικ-*) πί-πλεχε (πλεκ-) κεκήρυχε (κηρυκ-) τέτροφε τετράφαται (τρει-) κέκλωφε

(κλεπ-) ἤχε (ἀγ-) λέλειχε (λεγ-) ὀρωρέχεται (ὀρεγ-) τέτριψε τετρίφεται (τριβ-) have borrowed the aspirate, and put it in place of media or tenuis, from perfect stems which properly ended in an aspirate, such as γέγραφε γεγράφεται and τετινέχεται. The cause of this change was that in some perfect forms and in forms outside the perfect, these phonetic differences disappeared, and the aspirate was no longer distinguished from the tenuis or media. Thus τέτραμμαι τέτραψαι etc. and ἔτρεψα τρέψω looked exactly like γέγραμμαι γέγραψαι etc. and ἔγραψα γράψω; hence the analogy of γεγράφαμεν gives rise to τετράφαμεν instead of *τετραπαμεν. Compare Osthoff, Perf. 284 ff., 614 ff.; Curtius, Zur Kritik der neuesten Sprachforschung, 58 ff.

§ 862. Perfects from verbal stems in *s* generally show in the middle the endings -σμαι -σμεθα -σμενος, as ἔξεσμαι ἔξωσμαι ἤκουσμαι σέσεισμαι ἔσβεσμαι τετέλεσμαι ἔσπασμαι κεκέρασμαι, thus traversing the law laid down in vol. I 565 § p. 422, by which we should expect forms without *σ*, and with a lengthening of the preceding vowel when this was short. There are some of these regular forms, as ἔξωμαι (√ *jōs-*) γέγενυμαι (√ *ǵeus-*) ἐφ-ευμένος (√ *eus-*). But the other set are a re-formation on the model of those with -στ-, as ἔξιςμαι instead of *ἔξειμαι following ἔξεται, ἔξωμαι following ἔξωται. On the contrary, ἔξωμαι and γέγνυμαι suggested ἔξωται instead of ἔξωσται, ἐγγέγνυτο instead of *ἐγγεγε(υσ)-ατο.

Similarly, in the Middle Voice of Perfects from Verbal-stems in *θ* and *δ*, the *σ* of -σται spread into the forms in -μαι -μεθα -μενος, as λέλασμαι following λέλασται (act. λέληθε), πέπυσμαι following πέπυσται (pres. πείθωμαι) πέπεισμαι following πέπεισται (pres. πείθω), κεκάσμεθα following κέκασται (καθ-), πέφρασμαι following πέφασται (aor. πέφραδον). Forms like Hom. κεκορυθμένος πεφραδμένος Pind. κεκαδμένος are regular. Similarly, Att. ἴσμεν (Hom. ἴδ-μεν) may be regarded as a re-formate following ἴσται; but it may also follow the pret. ἦσμεν i. e. *ἦ-ῥιτ-σ-μεν just as ἴσσαι follows ἴσαν ἦσαν (§ 863 p. 411).

The agreement of forms like *σεῖσω ἔσεισα* (for **σεισ-σω* **ε-σεισ-σα*) *ἐρείσω ἤρεισα* (for **ἐρειδ+σω* **ῆρειδ+σα*) with such forms as *τεί-σω ἔ-τει-σα* (✓*τει-*) had this result, that the endings *-σαι -σμαι* etc. spread from *σέσεισαι -σμαι ἐρήρισται -σμαι* to the Perfect of verbal stems which ended in a vowel: *τέτει-σαι -σμαι, κέκλαν-σαι* instead of *κέκλανται, ἐγνώ-σαι, κεκέλευ-σαι*. The same cause gave rise to *ἀπο-τειστέος ἐτίσθην, κλαυστό-ς* instead of *κλαντός, ἐγνώσθην* etc. Or the *σ* of these forms from verb stems with final vowel may have originated from the 2nd sing. mid. in *-σ-θης*, as *ἐγνώσθης* (= *ἀγῆασθῆς*) *ἐμνήσθης* (Wackernagel, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxx 312, Henry, Précis de gramm. comp.³ § 102); cp. § 589 p. 129 f., § 820 p. 357, § 836 p. 373, § 840 p. 377.

Lastly, we must place here forms from *ν*-stems such as *πέφασμαι* beside *πέφαν-ται* (*φαίνω* 'I show'), *σεσήμασμαι* beside *σεσήμαν-ται* (*σημαίνω* 'I make a signal'); but we also find *ἐξαμμαι* for **ἐ-ξαν-μαι* (*ξαίνω* 'I scratch, comb'), *ῥσχυνμαι* for **ῥσχυν-μαι* (*ωσχύνω* 'I disgrace'), and others. We may conjecture that first **πεφαν-σθε* **σεσᾶμαν-σθε* became regularly **πεφασθε* **σεσᾶμασθε*, and then, since these looked like *ἐσπασθε κεκέρασθε*, the forms *πέφασμαι σεσήμασμαι* were made to match *ἐσπασμαι κεκέρασμαι*; on the other hand, *πέφανται* produced the form *πέφανθε*.

§ 863. The 3rd pl. of *οἶδε ἴδμεν* was in Homer *ἴσασσι* (Att. *ἴσασσι* Dor. *ἴσαντι* by vol. I § 563.2 p. 419), an ad-formate of the *s*-aorist **ἴσαν ἴσαν*, augmented *ἦσαν* (§ 812 p. 349, § 821 p. 358). The formation of *ἴσασσι* was due to *ἴστε ἴστον* beside *ἦστε ἦστον*. Compare § 862, on Att. *ἴσμεν*.

ἴσαντι, associated with *ἴσταντι* 'they place', caused the Doric dialect to make the further forms *ἴσᾱμι ἴσαμεν ἰσάμεναι* etc. following *ἴσταμι* and the rest.

In Heracleian, this *σ* went on to the middle of the perfect: *γεγράψαται*. Then, on the strength of the relation of *γεγράψαται* to *ἐγράψαντο*, we get **μεμισθώσεται* beside *ἐμισθώσαντο* — the conj. *μεμισθώσονται* is found.

§ 864. There can be no doubt that the κ -perfect, as *ἔστηκε*, existed in all its important features as early as proethnic Greek, although it only became a large group in Greek itself. As to the origin of the formation very diverse theories have been set forth; they are collected and criticised by Johansson, *Beitr. zur gr. Sprachkunde*, pp. 56 ff. (compare Per Persson, *Wurzelerw.*, 209 f.).

Remark. The explanation which has most in its favour is the following. κ is called a Root-Determinative, which came from the parent language into Greek in a few verbs; and then it became a fertile perfect suffix in pr. Greek just as s became a fertile aorist suffix in the original language. It was not confined to the perfect any more than s was confined to the aorist: we have for instance aor. *ἔθηκε* as well as perf. *τέθηκε*, aor. *ἔδωκα δώκω* as well as perf. *δίδωκα*, *δίδω* as well as *διδάσκω*, *διδ(φ)άσσομαι* for **δε-δφι-χο-μαι* as well as *δεδ(φ)οικα*.

The favourite sphere of the κ -formation lay from the proethnic period of Greek in stems with e -, o - and a -vowels, as *τέ-θη-κε* *έ-ω-κε* *δέ-δω-κε* *έ-στᾱ-κε*, *βέ-βλ-η-κε* *έ-γν-ω-κε* *δέ-δρ-ᾱ-κε*. Forms like **τε-θη* **έ-ω* (Avest. *da-ḍa*) without $-a$ and $-t$ in the 1st and 3rd sing. may have seemed too unnatural and unlike the rest of the system; this may have brought in some κ -form, which afterwards spread rapidly by analogy.

Beside the above named perfect forms with the root-suffixes $-ā$ - and $-ē$ - $-ō$ -, were formed others, such as *κεχάρηκε* *γεγάμηκε* *ἠθέληκε* *δεδείπνηκε* *μεμίσθικε* *τετίμακε* *δεδάκρυκε*. Compare *κεχαρηώς* *κεκοτηώς* *νενέμηται* *πεφίληται* etc., § 857. 1 and 2, p. 405 f.

Again, the relation of *ἔστηκα* to *στήσω* *ἔστησα*, of *δέδρακα* to *δράσω* *ἔδρασα*, produced perfects like *πέπεικα* beside *πείσω* *ἔπεισα* (*πείθω* 'I advise'), *πέφρακα* beside *φράσω* *ἔφρασα* (*φράζω* 'I give to understand, show' for **φραδ-ω*), *γεγύμνακα* beside *γυμνάσω* *ἐγύμνασα* (*γυμνάζω* 'I exercise'), *ἤρμωκα* beside *ἀρμόσω* *ἤρμοσα* (*ἀρμόζω* 'I fit, join'), *ἔσπεικα* beside *σπείσω* *ἔσπεισα* for **σπεπ-ω* (*σπένδω* 'I pour'), *ἔσπακα* beside *σπάσω* *ἔσπασα* (*σπάω* 'I pull' for **σπα-ω*).

By analogy of the perfect middle (cp. *δέδραται* : *δέδρακα*) arose e. g. Phoc. *τέθηκα* (instead of *τέθηκε*) following *τέθεται*,

Att. *εἶκα* (**ἔεκα*) following *εἶται* (**ἔεται*), *δέδεκα* following *δέδεσθαι*, *ἔφθαρα* following *ἔφθαρται*, *κέκλικα* following *κέκλιται*, *ἤγγελα* following *ἤγγελλται*. Vice versa, mid Dor. *ἀφ-έωται* follows *ἔωκα* (§ 859 p. 408).

Following *εἶκα εἶται*, the forms *τέθηκα* *τέθεμαι* were changed in late Attic to *τέθεικα* *τέθειται*.

Following *ἔστᾱκα* : *ἔσταμεν* we get *γέγᾱκα* (Pind.) beside *γέγυμεν* (**ḡe-ḡy-*); vice versa *ἠρίσταμεν* (Comedy) beside *ἠρίστηκα* (*ἀριστιάω* 'I breakfast').

§ 865. For the Pluperfect Greek, like Sanskrit, at first had two formations, thematic and unthematic (cp. § 555 p. 108, § 845 p. 387, § 854 p. 403).

(1) The Unthematic type is found in the Active only for Plural and Dual, e. g. *ἐπέ-πιθ-μεν* *γε-γά-την* *ἔ-στα-μεν*; the 3rd pl. ends in *-σαν*, e. g. *ἔ-στα-σαν* *μέ-μα-σαν* *ἐδείδισαν* i. e. **ἔ-δέ-δφι-σαν* (§ 1021. 2). Far oftener, and found in all three numbers, this occurs in the Middle; as *τε-τύγ-μην* *ἐ-τέ-ταχ-το* *βε-βλή-ατο* *κε-χόλω-σο*. Compare Skr. 1st and 3rd sing. *á-ja-gan*.

(2) Thematic Forms are e. g. *ἐ-μέ-μηκ-ο-ν* (but *με-μηκ-ώς*), *ἐ-πέ-πληγ-ο-ν* (but *πέ-πληγ-α*), *ἄν-ωγ-ο-ν* (but *ἄν-ωγα*), *δεῖδιε* i. e. **δέ-δφι-ε* (but perf. *δέ-δι-μεν*); with *κ*, *ἐ-πέ-φῶκ-ο-ν* (but *πί-φῶ-κα*). Compare Skr. *á-ca-kr-a-ti*. Sometimes it is doubtful whether a form comes here or in the VIth Present Class (§ 563 p. 111); as *λε-λάκ-ο-ντο* (cp. *λέληκα* *λελακῦα* and *ἔ-λακ-ο-ν*).

(3) To these formations are added all which are based upon an original *s*-aorist. (a) On the one hand, the forms *ῆσται* and *ἴσαν* *ῆσαν* (*ῆσμεν* *ῆσθε*); (b) on the other, those in which the Aorist ending was affixed to the Perfect stem, as *πε-ποίη-εα* *πε-ποίη-ειν* *ἐ-πε-ποίη-ειν* beside *πέ-ποίη-α*, and *ἐ-στήκ-ειν* beside *ἔ-στηκ-α*. See § 821 p. 357 f., § 836 pp. 372 ff.

§ 866. Like the thematic pluperfect *ἐ-μέ-μηκ-ο-ν* etc., mentioned in § 865. 2, the thematic imperative *κε-κράγ-ε-τε* and so forth belong to the parent speech; cp. Skr. *mu-mṛc-a-ta*, § 844 p. 404.

But thematic forms occur more or less in all other formations of the Greek perfect system. Indicative Hom.

μέ-μβλ-ε-ται 'it is dear' beside μέλ-ει (which may also belong to Present Class VI, § 563 p. 111), ὀρ-ώρ-ε-ται 'is aroused' beside ὀρ-ωρ-α, ἀν-ώγω beside ἄν-ωγα, Syrac. ὀλώλ-ω beside Att. ὀλ-ωλ-α. And again, ἤκω 'I am here' may have taken the place of a perfect *ἤκα; the last essay to explain the etymology of this verb is by Johansson, Beitr. gr. Sprachk., 62 f., who would connect it with a root ḱ-ē- 'to go'. Conj. Hom. ἀρ-ήρ-η Att. βε-βλήκ-η beside Hom. εἶδ-ο-μεν. Opt. Att. βε-βλήκ-ο-ι beside ἐ-στα-ῖ-μεν. Inf. Rhod. γηγόνειν, in Pindar κεχλάδειν. Part. Lesb. πεπληρώκων, Hom. (Aeol.) κεκλήγοντες, Boeot. τετεῦκονομείωντων.

Italic.

§ 867. The "Perfect" of Latin and Umbro-Samnitic is a mixture of elements very widely different. Ten distinct types contribute to make it up.

(1) Genuine Reduplicated Perfects like Lat. *tu-tud-ī* = Skr. *tu-tud-ē*, *de-d-ī* = Skr. *da-d-ē* (§ 1044). In § 846 we have compared with perfect forms of other Idg. languages these others: *peperī*, *tetulī*, *meminī* *mementō*, *tetinī*, *memordī* *momordī*, *credidī*, *bibī*, *stetī*, *scicidī*, *cecinī*, *pepigī*; to which add Umbr. *dersicust*.

(2) Probable Unreduplicated Perfect forms. First *lēg-ī* *vēn-ī* and the like, with possibly *ēd-ī*, cp. § 848.3 p. 393. Next *scand-ī*, *vort-ī* *vert-ī* Umbr. *co-vortus* 'converterit', *scab-ī*, *ōd-ī*, cp. § 848.1, 2 and 4, pp. 391, 392, 394.

(3) Forms of the *s*-Aorist, both thematic and non-thematic, as *dīx-ī* *dīx-i-t* *dīx-i-mus*, cp. Gr. *ἔ-δειξ-α* Skr. *á-dikṣ-a-t*. See § 823 p. 360 f.

(4) Forms of the non-thematic *is*-Aorist, as *vīdis-tis* (*vīdis-tis*) *vīder-ō* *vīder-i-m*, cp. Skr. *á-vēdiṣ-am* Gr. *ἤδεα*. See § 841 pp. 378 ff.

(5) Thematic Aorists of Class II. Lat. *fu-i-t* *fu-i-mus*, Osc. *fuid* 'fuerit': Skr. *á-bhuv-a-t*. Lat. *scid-i-t*: Skr. *á-chid-a-t*. *fid-i-t*: Skr. *á-bhid-a-t*. *ex-uit* for *-uy-e-t (Class II B) or

**-ex-e-t* (Class II *A*). Osc. *dic-ust* 'dixerit' beside **dic-e-d* 'dixit': Skr. imperf. *á-diś-a-t*. Osc. *kúm-bēned* 'convēnit' *ce-bnust* 'huc venerit'¹): Skr. *á-gam-a-t* Avest. *γm-a-ḥ*, √ *gem-*. From Osc. *pert-emust* 'peremerit' the ind. **ēme-d* is to be inferred. Osc. *ana-saked* or *ana-zaked* 'consecravit' (Bréal and Duvau, *Mém. Soc. ling.*, vi 51, 227) beside Lat. *sanciō*. Pelign. *afded* 'abiit' for **af-je-d* (Thurneysen, *Rhein. Mus.* XLIII 348), cp. Gr. opt. *ī-o-i*. So also Lat. *vort-i-t vort-i-mus* (cp. 2) may be connected with Skr. *á-vrt-a-t*. See § 483 p. 32, § 523 pp. 86 ff., § 528 p. 91.

(6) Possibly amongst forms like *lēg-i-t lēg-i-mus* (√ *leg-*) were some like Gr. *ἐ-μῆδ-ε-το* (√ *med-*) Skr. *á-sāh-a-t* (√ *segh-*). See § 841 Rem. p. 378.

(7) Probably reduplicated thematic aorists of Class VI. *te-tig-i-t te-tig-i-mus*: Gr. *τε-ταγ-ών*. *pe-pig-i-t*: Gr. *πε-παγ-ο-λη-ν* beside *πέ-πηγ-α*. *ce-cid-i-t*: *κε-καθ-εῖν* 'to hurt, despoil' *κε-κάθ-ο-ντο* beside *ἐκεκλήθει* 'ὑπεκχωρήκει' (pres. *κῆδω*). *pe-pul-i-t*: *πε-παλ-ών*. *pe-per-i-t* for **pe-par-e-t*: *πε-πορ-εῖν* 'δοῦναι' beside *ἔ-πορ-ο-ν* 'I gave, brought', cp. 1st sing. *pe-per-ī* and *πί-πω-ται* § 846 p. 388. *de-d-i-t* Osc. *de-d-e-d* Umbr. *ře-ř-e* pr. Ital. **de-d-e-t*:²) Skr. imperf. *á-da-d-a-t* (§ 562 p. 110 f.). Compare § 564 p. 111.

To these must be added (8) the Latin perfect in *-vī* and *-uī*, (9) the Umbr.-Samn. perfect with *f*, and (10) the *t*-perfect of Oscan, Pelignian, and Volscian; see §§ 873 ff.

This fusion of the forms of Aorist and Perfect implies that the Idg. Perfect had become a historic tense as early as proethnic Italic.

1) Conway (*Amer. Journ. Phil.* XI 308) defends the old view of *cebnust* as a reduplicated form.

2) The Umbr.-Osc. ending *-e-d* is odd as compared with forms like *fust*, where the short vowel of the last syllable is syncoated (I § 633 p. 474). Whether the law of syncoation allowed certain exceptions in the case of a final dental (say, depending on what the preceding syllable was, or the accent), or whether *-e-* in this *-e-d* is due to some analogy, I do not here discuss.

Of the endings of the perfect indicative, these belonged to the perfect in Idg.: Lat. *-ī* in the 1st sing. = Skr. *-ē*; *-tī* which fused with the aorist element *-is-* made the 2nd sing. (: Skr. *-tha* § 988.3); and *-imus* in *tutud-imus vĕn-imus* may be equated with Skr. *-i-ma*, Avest. *-ama* Gr. *-αμεν* Goth. *-um* (*ste-ti-mus* = Gr. *ἑσταμεν* Skr. *ta-sthi-má?*). To the *is*-aorist belongs Lat. 2nd pl. *-is-tis*, also *-is-tī* in 2nd sing. (see above), and possibly *-ērunt* in the 3rd plural. To the thematic aorist belong Lat. 3rd sing. *-i-t*, earlier *-e-d* (*vhevhaked*), whose agreement with Umbr.-Samn. *-e-d* is most important (the *-e* of the 3rd sing. perf. Idg. must doubtless have given place to *-e-d* = Idg. *-e-t* completely in pr. Italic), and partly *-i-mus* in the 1st plural. The 3rd pl. Umbr.-Samn. *-ens* and Lat. *-ērunt* are ambiguous.

The precise way by which this fusion of different endings came about is not clear; nor will it be made clear so long as the 3rd singular and 3rd plural are the only endings we know in Umbro-Samnitic dialects (as to Osc. *manafum*, see § 874). Thus much only seems certain, that as early as proethnic Italic some thematic forms had joined on to the old perfect system; cp. Lat. *de-d-i-t* Osc. *de-d-e-d* beside Lat. *de-d-ī*, *pe-pig-i-t* beside *pe-pig-ī*.

Beside *-e-d* = Idg. *-e-t*, Latin has also *-īd* *-īt*, on inscriptions *-eit*, as *fuueit redieit*. Since *interieisti* also occurs on inscriptions, the simplest explanation is that the *ī* came from the 1st sing. which had *-ī*.

Remark. Bartholomae (Stud. idg. Spr., II 195) derives *fuit* from Idg. **bhuy-i-t* or **bhuy-ej-t*, which seems to me very far-fetched. I identify *fuit* with Skr. *á-bhuv-a-t* (Osc. conj. *fuid* for **bhuy-ē-t* § 872), and I regard *fui* (Ennius has *fūimus*) as a re-formate like *plūi* (cp. Osthoff, Perf. 254 f.).

§ 868. The Idg. *e* of the reduplicating syllable seems to have been kept without change in proethnic Italic. Compare O.Lat. *vhe-vhaked* 'fecit' Osc. *fe-facid* 'fecerit', Lat. *de-dī* Osc. *de-ded* Umbr. *re-ře*, Lat. *me-mordī pe-pugī ste-tī*, Umbr. *de-rsicust* 'dixerit' *pe-purkurent* 'poposcerint, rogaverint'.

But Latin, if the vowel of the syllable which followed the reduplicator was the same as that of its present stem, assimilated this *e* to it; as *mo-mordī* : *mordeō*, *cu-currī* : *currō*, *pu-pugī* : *pungō*, *sci-cidī* : *scindō*, *di-dicī* : *discō*, *sti-tī* : *sistō*; whilst in Old Latin we still find the regular forms *me-mordī* *pe-pugī* etc. (see above). Compare Skr. *u-vāc-a* instead of *va-vāc-a* following *uc-yā-te uktā-s* and the like, § 851 p. 400. However, *e* remained if the vowel of the next syllable, and the present vowel, were of the *e*-kind; as *pendī* : *pendō* *pendeō*, *pe-pēdī* : *pēdō*; and the same if it differed from the present vowel, as *ce-cinī* : *canō*, *ce-cidī* : *cadō*, *pepulī* : *pellō*, *pe-perī* : *pariō*, *ste-tī* : *stō stās* etc.

In compounds four syllables long (in the 1st and 3rd singular), the reduplicator underwent syncope in proethnic Latin, as a consequence of the accentuation then given to the first member; as *reppulī rettulī reccidī* for **ré-pepulī *ré-tetulī *ré-cecidī*, *dēcidī attigī incurrī* for **dē-cecidī *āt-tetigī *in-cecurrī* (I § 633 p. 474).

That both reduplicated and unreduplicated forms occurred in pr. Italic within the perfect system of the same verb is shewn by O.Lat. *phē-phakēd* Osc. *fe-facust* as compared with Lat. *fēcī* Umbr. *fakust*. Compare further Lat. *sci-cidī* and *scidī*, *te-tulī* and *tulī*, Umbr. *de-rsicust* and Osc. *dicust*, Lat. *ce-cinī* and Umbr. *pro-canurent*. Thus we have no right to assume that Lat. *tulī* was abstracted from compounds in which the reduplicator had suffered syncope, as in *rettulī attulī*. When a form has only survived in compounds, as *-culī* (*per-culī*), it is impossible to say whether it never was reduplicated or whether syncope has hidden the reduplication.

This loss of reduplication in Latin compounds helped to link reduplicated and unreduplicated forms all the closer.

Beside Lat. *abs-condidī* (from *abs-condō*) the form *abs-condī* sprang up on the analogy of *scandī* : *scandō*, since *condō* in this word joined with *abs* had ceased to be regarded as a compound; cp. *abscōnsum* beside *absconditum*. On the contrary, *condidī* :

condō, *crēdidī* : *crēdō* and the like gave rise to perf. *dēscendī* beside *dēscendī*.

As regards verbs with initial vowel, such forms as Skr. *an-āś-a* (§ 851 p. 401) and Gr. *ᾠ-ωρ-α* (§ 858 p. 408) were foreign to Italic. Lat. *ēd-ī ēm-ī* (from *ed-ō em-ō*), as well as *sēd-ī vēn-ī*, *ēg-ī co-ēpī coepī* (from *ag-ō ap-iō*), as well as *cēp-ī pēg-ī*, *ōd-ī (od-iō)*, as well as *fōd-ī*, may be regarded as forms which never had any reduplication at all. See § 848 p. 393 f., § 870.

§ 869. Of the old Ablaut in the Root Syllable of the Perfect little trace is left.

The reason for the variants *tutūdī* and *tutudī* is doubtless a difference of ablaut, such as we see in Skr. *tu-tūd-a tu-tud-ūr* (cp. also Goth. *stat-stāt*); then *tu-tūd-* will come from **tū-taud-*, as *in-clūdō* for **in-claudō*.

The *o*-grade of the sing. indic. appears in *spopondī totondī*, which had run into one verbal system with the *éjo*-presents *spondeō tondeō* (§ 802 p. 338). *spopond-imus* instead of **sperpend-* like Gr. *πεπόνθ-αμεν* instead of *πε-παθ-* (part. *πεπαθῖα*). *momord-* in *momordī momordimus* (pres. *mordeō* like *spondeō*) may be both Idg. **me-mord-* and **me-mŕd-* (Skr. *ma-mard-a ma-mŕd-ur*). Similarly, we have *cu-currī* from *currō* for **corsō *kŕsō* (§ 662 p. 197). Umbr. *pepurkurent* from *✓prek-* may like *de-rsic-ust* contain the weak stem (**pe-pŕk-*), although persklum *persnimu*, which have changed the position of *r* (§ 674 p. 207), suggest some doubt.

Strong and Weak forms may be found, again, in *meminī tetinī pepulī tetulī* (*memin-i-mus tetul-i-mus*: Gr. *μέμα-μεν τέτλα-μεν*, as Skr. *jagm-i-ma : jagan-ma* Gr. *βέβα-μεν*, and as Skr. *jagm-i-vás- : jagan-vás-*); only the weak form in *pepigī* for **pepagī* (but Gr. *πέπηγε*) *tetigī cecidī*. But it is doubtful how far we are to look for the origin of these perfects in old reduplicated aorists (§ 867. 7 p. 415).

Doubtless it is the weak stem in Osc. *fefacust* beside Lat. *fēcī* from *✓dhē-*. The *a* of Lat. *vēvhaked* is difficult.

Remark. If it is short, this seems to prove that at the time of the Manios inscription (attributed to the 6th century B. C.) the weakening of **pēpagi* to **pēpigī* and the like (I § 680 p. 547) had not yet been completed. But hear what Bücheler says (Rhein. Mus. XLII 317): "After the second *h* the carver first put *i*, which he afterwards erased, though not so completely but that the intent is clear". Again, p. 318: "The quantity of the *a* is not known. What we know of the reduplicated perfects which are preserved in Latin, makes it likely that the *a* was short. Possibly this is the reason of the *i* which was first engraved (*cano cecini, infactus inficetus*)". If this *i* is rightly so explained, and if the *a* put in on second thoughts was short, it must be a reversion to the old type on the analogy of *faciō* etc. (as with *in-factus*); but such a reversion in the perfect is hardly credible. If *ā* was meant, it must be assumed that **fēfāk-* was made in connexion with **fēfak-* **fēfik-* on the analogy of some such form as **pēpāy-* (beside weak **pēpāg-* **pēpig-*). — We may now refer to Buck, Der Vocalismus der osk. Spr., 26 f.

The weak stem (regular) in Lat. *de-d-ī* = Skr. *da-d-ē* (cp. *tu-tud-ī* = Skr. *tu-tud-ē*) and in Umbr. *te-ř-ust* 'dederit' = Skr. *da-d-úš-* (cp. *de-rsic-ust* = Skr. *dī-dīš-úš-*), also Lat. *ste-t-ī* = Skr. *ta-sth-ē*. The form **de-d-e-d*, common to all Italic dialects, and Lat. *ste-t-i-t*, correspond exactly to the present forms Vestin. *dī-d-e-t* 'dat' Lat. *sī-st-ō* Umbr. *sestu* § 543 p. 103, § 553 p. 107. Uncertain it is whether Lat. *sistimus* is **sī-sta-mos* answering to Gr. ἵσταμεν, and it is equally uncertain whether *ste-ti-mus de-di-mus* are **ste-ta-mos* **de-da-mos* precisely like Skr. *ta-sthi-má* Gr. ἵσταμεν Skr. *da-di-má*.

§ 870. A word of explanation is needed on those reduplicated perfects which have *ē* where the present has an *a*-sound. Lat. *fēct* (beside *phēphaked*): *faciō*, *capī* : *capiō* (cp. Goth. *hōf*), *jēcī* : *jaciō*, *pēgī* (beside *pēpigī* Gr. Dor. *πίνᾱγε*): *pangō*, *frēgī* : *frangō*; Osc. conj. *hipid* 'habuerit' fut. perf. *hipust* 'habuerit': *hāfiest* 'habebit', *sipus* 'sciens': Lat. *sapiō* (cp. O.H.G. *int-suab*). With initial vowel Lat. *ēgī* : *agō* (cp. O.Icel. *ōk*), *co-ēpī* *coepī* : *capiō*. *ē* is certainly original in *fēct*,¹⁾ compare Gr. ἔθηκα (§ 864 Rem. p. 412), and doubtless

1) Bronisch sees *fēk-* in Umbr. *feito fetu feetu fetu* 'facito' = **fēke-tōd*. Another explanation, but less probable, is offered by Conway, Amer. Journ. Phil. xi 307, Class. Rev. v 300.

in *frēgī*, compare Goth. *brēkum* from $\sqrt{bhreg-}$ (on *frangō* see § 632 p. 168), and perhaps *jēcī* (Johansson, Beitr. gr. Spr. 61). Beginning with these forms, *ē* spread to those which originally had *a*; in the causing of which not only the present with *a*, but also the *to*-participle had some effect, *captu-s* for example being like *factu-s*; the reason why *scabī* (= Goth. *skōf*) remained, from *scabō*, whilst **cāpī* (= Goth. *hōf*) changed to *cēpī*, was perhaps the lack of any participle **scaptu-s*. It was natural, too, to make *pēgī* like *frēgī*, simply because the verbs had opposite meanings.

§ 871. Perfect from Present stems with stem-characteristic. Compare § 847 p. 390 f.

Lat. *po-poscī* from *poscō* for **por(c)-scō*, cp. Skr. *papracha*. *fe-fellī* for **fe-fallī* from *fallō* for **fal-nō* (§ 608 p. 149). *tetend-ī* from *tendō*, $\sqrt{ten-}$ (§ 564 p. 111, § 696 p. 225).

Lat. *pre-hendī* from *-hendō* from $\sqrt{ghed-}$, *lambī* from *lambō* beside O.H.G. *laffu*, *pandī* from *pandō* beside *pateō* (§ 632 p. 168 f.). *cūdī* from *cū-dō* (§ 696 p. 225). Osc. *com-parascuster* 'consultus erit' beside Lat. *-pescō* for **perc-scō* or **parc-scō* (§ 674 p. 207). Umbr. *eiscurent* 'poposcerint, arcesierint' beside pres. Skr. *ichā-ti* etc. (§ 670 p. 203). If Bugge's explanation of the Osc. fut. perf. *fifikus* as 'feceris' is right (Altital. Stud. 31), we must allow Oscan a present stem **fi-fēk(o-)*, showing the same reduplication as Gr. *τί-θη-μι*, and to be compared with Vestin. *di-d-e-t* 'dat' Lat. *si-stō* etc. (§ 553 p. 107); cp. Skr. part. *vivak-vās-* from pres. *vī-vak-ti* (§ 850 p. 398).

minuī sternuī (pres. *mi-nuō ster-nuō* § 649 p. 185) keep the present stem in the perfect; this being due to imitation of *ex-uī : ex-uō*, *pluī : pluō* and the like. The same is true of perf. *statuī* from the denominative *statuō*.

§ 872. The Moods of the Idg. perfect, and its preterite the Pluperfect, died out in Latin owing to the influx of sigmatic aorist forms into the perfect system. Still, *momentō* = Gr. *μεμάρτω* remains, because *meminī* was used as a perfect present.

Umbro-Samnitic has an *ē*-conjunctive (§ 926 c). Osc. *fefacid* 'fecerit' *hipid* 'habuerit' *fuid* 'fuerit', Umbr. *stīti-steteiens* 'stiterint'. From the *f*-Perfect Osc. *sakrafir* 'sacraverint', Umbr. *pihāfei* = **pihāfer* 'piaverint', from the *t*-Perfect, Osc. *trībarakattins* 'aedificaverint'. This Conjunctive may be derived from either conj. of the Idg. perfect (cp. Gr. *πρόνθ-η* Skr. *paprc-ā-si*) or conj. of the thematic aorist (Osc. *fuid* = Skr. *bhuv-ā-t*).

In the same area, the Idg. *ues*-participle held its own. Osc. *sipus* 'sapiens' probably like nom. sing. Skr. *vidūṣ* Avest. *vidūs* (II § 136 p. 439 f., III § 193 p. 73). From this form was built up the future perfect (cp. W. Schulze, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxviii 272 f., the Author, Ber. sächs. Ges. Wiss., 1890, pp. 223 ff.), by combining it with injunctives, used for future, of the stem *s-o-* (from *es-* 'esse'). 2nd sing. *-us* = **us-ses*, 3rd sing. *-ust* = **us-set* (**us-sed*): Umbr. *kuvurtus* 'converteris' *dersicust* 'dixerit', Osc. *fefacust* 'fecerit'. Osc. *fust* 'fuerit' (beside *fust* 'erit') for **fu-ust* from conj. *fuid*. If this **fu-ust* **fast* existed in Umbrian too, this explains the form *amprefuus* 'circumieris' (beside *apr-etū* 'circumito')¹⁾, which will be due to analogy of it. On the analogy of the Ist future, where *-zent* is the ending of the 3rd pl., — as Osc. *censazet* 'censebunt' Umbr. *furent* 'erunt', — arose the plurals Osc. *trībarakattuset* 'aedificaverint' Umbr. *pepurkurent* 'poposcerint'. But we also find Umbr. *covortuso* 'conversum erit, converterint' for **covortus so(r)*, *benuso* 'ventum erit, venerint' for **benus so(r)*.

§ 873. The *us*-formation mentioned in the last section was used with other preterite participles besides those described.

1) The *u* is doubtless long in Osc. *trībarakattuset* too; if it had been short, we should expect **trībarakattiuset* (I § 49 p. 41). I assume the same analogy here. — G. Bronisch, in his new work on the Osc. *i-* and *e-*vowels, regards the nominative ending *-us* as earlier **-ōs* for **-ūs*, and supports his view by *amprefuus* and *trībarakattuset*.

Umbr. *en-telust* 'intenderit' a-pelust 'impenderit' derived from **tend-lo-* **pend-lo-* (Lat. *pendulu-s* 'hanging'). Compare the Slavonic part. pret. act. with *-lo-*, as *nes-lŭ* from *nes-ti* 'to carry' (II § 76 p. 212).

Umbr. *sesust* 'sederit' from **sesso-s* 'seated, sitting' (Skr. *sattā-s*). So too the Osc. *t*-preterite, which we must follow Danielsson in connecting with the *to*-participles, is derived from the fut. perf. in *-t-us-*. First arose forms like *trībarakattuset* from partic. *trībarakato-*. On the analogy of **aamanafust* to ind. *aamanaffed* etc. arose such Indicatives as *prufatted* 'probavit' and Conjunctives like *trībarakattins*. The same new formation is seen in Pelign. *coisatens* 'curaverunt' and in Volsk. *sistatiens* 'statuerunt' = **sistatens*. The frequent spelling with double *t* in Oscan is the same in principle as *ff* in the *f*-perfect; it is possible that it is entirely due to the analogy of the *f*-perfect, which was the model for the whole *t*-perfect system (§ 874).

Remark. In Umbr.-Oscan, as we shall see in § 874, the *ā*-denominatives can make a strong perfect. It may therefore be held that as the perfect *pruffed* was made for the present stem *profā-* 'probare', so the perfect *prufatted* was made for **profātā-* '*probatare'. But I prefer the explanation given above, so long as no forms are found from a stem **profātā* or anything like it.

An origin similar to that of these future perfects must be postulated for Umbr. *combifiansiust* beside *combifiatu* 'nuntiatio', *purdinsiust* 'porrexerit' beside *pur-ditom* 'porrectum', which presuppose noun-stems **combifiankio-* **purdinkio-* (see Johansson, Beitr. z. gr. Sprachk., 84 ff., 147 ff.).

§ 874. We pause a moment here to explain the origin of the *f*-perfect in this Umbro-Samnitic. Examples are: indic. Osc. *aamanaffed* 'mandavit' *aikdafed* '*aequidavit', Osc. *manafum*, which may be 1st sing. ('mandavi') or 1st pl. ('mandavimus'), it is uncertain which; conj. Umbr. *pihafei(r)* 'piaverint' Osc. *sakrafir* 'sacraverint'; fut. perf. Umbr. *ateřafust* *andirsafust* 'circumtulert' *ambrefurent* 'circumierint'.

This formation belongs to the Italic imperfect compounded with **bhy-ā-m* 'I was' (Lat. *amā-bam* Osc. *fu-fans* 'erant') and

the Latin future compounded with **bhū-ō* 'I shall be' (*amā-bō*), found also in Keltic (§ 899); the Umbr.-Samn. *-fed* is indic. aor. = Idg. **bhū-e-t* (Avest. *bva-ḥ*), cp. Lat. *fuit* Osc. conj. *fuid*, to be connected with Skr. *á-bhuv-a-t* (§ 867.5 p. 414). If Osc. *mana-fum* is 1st sing., its second part must be = Idg. **bhū-o-m*. In the *ff* of Oscan, as *aamanaffed*, we should perhaps recognise another effect of the *u* which once followed *f*. But it is possible to explain the sharpening of the consonant if we take as our starting point *f* (for *fu*); see Danielsson, Pauli's Altit. Stud. iv 139 ff. For the Umbr.-Samn. conjunctive stem *-fē-* = **fu-ē-* may be equated with O.C.Sl. *bě* (§ 578 p. 119, § 587 p. 128).

The attraction of these forms into the Perfect called up a future perfect with *-us-*. Umbr. *ampr-e-fuus* shows that the *u* was long; and this may be explained as due to the analogy of the fut. perf. **fast* = Osc. *fust* for **fu-ust* (§ 872 p. 420 f.).

No complete explanation has been given for the forms Umbr. *portust* 'portaverit' beside *portatu* 'portato', Osc. *upsed* 'operatus est' 3rd pl. *uupsens* *ουνσις* beside *úpsannam* 'operandam', *prúffed* 'probavit' *prúftú-set* 'probata sunt' beside *prúfatted* 'probavit', *urust* 'oraverit'. They look as though formed after the fashion of primary *a*-verbs with strong perfect. Umbro-Samnitic perhaps had, as Latin had, primary *a*-verbs with strong perfect (cp. *juvare javi* § 583 p. 124); and thus the *a*-denominatives may have followed their inflexion in some particulars, as in late Latin we meet forms like part. *probitus* or imper. *probutō* from *probare* (see Georges, Lex. Lat. Wortf., 556).

§ 875. We now return to Latin, in order to finish with the perfect in *-vī* and *-uī*, as *i-vī sci-vī sē-vī plē-vī nō-vī flā-vī finī-vī amā-vī* and *genuī texuī crepuī monuī saluī*.

Of the attempts hitherto made to explain these, which are summarised by Stolz, Lat. Gr.² 370 f., and more fully by Per Persson, Wurzelersw. 210 (Ernault, Du Parfait, 63 and 92 f. should also be consulted), the simplest and most credible is the

following. The analogy of *mō-tu-s* (Umbr. *comoho-ta* abl. 'com-mota') *jū-tu-s* : *mōv-i jūv-i*, and the like, suggested (1) *plēvī nōvī amāvī* beside *plētū-s nōtū-s amātū-s* etc., to which were added *sēvī tōvī* etc.; and (2) e. g. **gene-ūi* beside **gene-to-s* (*genitus*), which became *genuī*.¹) Between *genuī* and *flāvī*, then, there would be the same relation as between Gr. *ὁμώμωκα* and *δέδωκα*.

The reason why *mōvī jūvī* had this influence, in spite of their present *moveō juvō*, is the specially close connexion between the *to*-participle and the perfect active; *mōtus sum* being the passive of *mōvī*. The Gr. *τέθηκα δέδωκα* etc., it will be remembered, caused the *x*-type of perfect to spread (as *βέβληκα ἔγνωνκα*), in spite of their connexion with the aorist *ἔθηκα ἔδωκα*, which themselves were not fertile.

Remark. We must assume that *nōv-i* goes along with Skr. *ja-jñāu*, *nāu-i* with Skr. *snāu-ti*, and *nēv-i* with Goth. *enēv-um*. The old part. perf. active has also been brought in evidence, and *sēvistis* derived from **sē-ves stes*, *sēvimus* from **sēves smos* (though **sēves-smos* could regularly only become **sēvemus*); and others have connected *genuī* with *in-genuo-s*, *sīri* with *dē-sivāre*, and so forth.

The forms in *-vī* and *-ui*, like all perfect forms not based upon the *is*-aorist, were attracted to take the endings of this tense in the other persons: *nōvistī nōvistis genuistī genuistis nōverō genuerō nōverim genuerim nōveram genueram nōvissem genuissem*.

A few original *s*-perfects were transformed to match *genuī*: *pēxui nēxui* instead of *pēxī nēxī* (§ 823 p. 361) from *pectō nectō* (§ 683 p. 214 f.), *messui* instead of **messī* from *metō*.

Keltic.

§ 876. Outside of Irish, few survivals remain of the Idg. perfect. Gall. *dede* 'dedit' or 'posuit', Mid.Cymr. *ciglef* 'audiui' = O.Ir. *ro chuala*.

1) Beside *pōnō* for **po-s(i)nō* stood *po-sīvī* and since *po-situ-s* was incorrectly analysed *pos-iu-s*, there arose the other Perfect form *posuī*. See Osthoff, Perf., 261 and 611 f.

Of Irish examples, we have already cited, and compared with perfect forms from other Idg. languages in § 846, the following: *do-ro-chair* 'cecidit, periit', *ro gēnar* 'natus sum', *do-mēnar* 'putavi', *ro gegon* 'interfecit', *ro lil* 'adhaesit' 3rd pl. *ro leldar*, *ro chuala* 'audivi', *ro bōi* 'fuit', *ad-con-dairc* 'conspexit', *do-roigu* 'elegit', *ro cechan* 'cecini'; in § 847 *im-chom-arc-air* 'interrogavit', in § 849 *ro tāich* 'fugit' 3rd pl. *ro tāchatar*.

To these examples a few more may be added which show the reduplication either retained, or changed only in accordance with the phonetic rules. *ro reraig* 'porrexit' for **rə-rōg-e*, pres. *rigim*, √ *reg-*: cp. O.Icel. *rak*. *ro memaid* 'he broke' (intr.) 3rd pl. *ro me-md-atur*, pres. *maidim*. *ro de-daig* 'oppressit' 3rd pl. *ro de-dg-atar*, pres. *for-dengat* 'opprimunt'. *fris-racacha* 'speravi', pres. *ad-chiu* 'I see'. *ro selaig* 'he struck down' i. e. *se-slaig*, pres. *sligim*: cp. Goth. *slōh* § 888. *ro cechladatar*, 'suffoderunt', pres. *-cladar* 'he is buried'. *ro sescaind* 'he sprang', pres. Mid.Ir. *scinnim*: Skr. *ca-skānd-a* 'he sprang'; on the vocalism of this root see § 520 p. 84. *ro sescaing* 'he leapt out', pres. Mid.Ir. *scingim*. Mid.Ir. *ro leblaing* 'he leapt' instead of **lelaing* beside pres. *lingim* O.Ir. *lengaim* (R. Schmidt, Idg. Forsch. i 48 f.). *ro cechaing* 'he stepped', pres. *cengaim*.

The perfects *fo nenaig* 'he cleansed' and *ro senaich* 'it dropped, trickled' beside pres. *nigim* √ *neig-* and *snigid* √ *sneigh-*, may be derived from **nenoige* **sesnoige*, as nothing certain is known of the treatment of *oi* in internal syllables. But perhaps they are modelled after perfects like *reraig*, cp. Goth. *baþ* from *bidja* § 722 p. 253.

Mid.Ir. *ro-fiu* 'he slept', not from √ *suep-*, but, as Thurneysen holds, from √ *ues-* (Skr. *vas-* 'to pass the night' perf. *u-vās-a*), therefore for **ue-uo(s)-e*, which became first **fi-ui*, 3rd pl. *-feotar* for **ue-uo(s)-atar*; cp. *feiss* 'sleep'. Observe the analogical *e* of the reduplicator, for by I § 66 p. 54 f. **ueuos-* must have become **uouos-*.

§ 877. Perfects based upon presents with stem-characteristic (cp. § 847). *in-roigrann* 'I pursued' beside

in-grennim from $\sqrt{ghredh-}$ (§ 628 p. 165). *do-sefainn* 'pepuliť' 3rd pl. *do-sefnatar*, if the present *sennim* § 613 p. 151 is rightly derived from $\sqrt{syem-n\bar{o}}$. *ro nenasc* 'I bound, promised' beside *nascim* from $\sqrt{nedh-}$ (§ 675 p. 208).

ad-gēn 'cognovi' 3rd sing. *-geuin* 1st pl. *-gēnammar* 3rd pl. *-gēnatar* comes from the Idg. perfect $\sqrt{ge-gn-\bar{o}}$ (Skr. *jajñāu* Gr. *ἐγνώκα ἐγνώσμαι*, also perhaps Goth. $\sqrt{kat-kn\bar{o}}$, see p. 128 footnote 1), from $\sqrt{gen-}$. The plural may be derived at once from this ground-form. The 1st and 3rd sing., which point to $\sqrt{ge-gn-a}$ and $\sqrt{ge-gn-e}$, are later re-formates. Compare in Sanskrit the forms *jajñimá jajñivds-* beside *jajñāu* etc. (§ 850 p. 396).

§ 878. The syllable of reduplication usually has the vowel *e* quite clear; e. g. *ro ge-gon ge-guin* like Gr. *πέ-φαται*, *ro ce-chan ce-chuin* like Lat. *ce-cinī*.

By dissimilation, the initial consonant of the unaccented reduplicating syllable was dropt after *ro*, after which the *e*-vowel of this syllable was contracted with *ro* into the genuine diphthong *oi* (I p. 483 footnote 1). Of the examples already given *do-roigu* for $\sqrt{ró-gegu}$, and *in-roigrann*, come in here. Others are *for-roichan* beside *ro cechan*, *fo-roiblang* beside *ro leblang*, *arob-roinasc* beside *ro nenasc*, *fo-roichlaid* beside *ro cechladatar*.

By a process of re-formation which cannot now be traced exactly we have *u* in the reduplicator of *ro chuala*, for $\sqrt{cu-cloy-a}$; the Mid.Cymr. *ci-glef* (3rd sing. *ci-gleu*) gives no help in determining the age of Ir. *cu-*, because its *ci-* admits of more than one explanation. In Irish, *i* seems also to have been used in reduplicating *i*-roots: *ro lil* 'adhaesit' pres. *lenim* $\sqrt{lei-}$, *ro giuil* 'adhaesit' pres. *glenim* $\sqrt{glei-}$, *do-rad-chiuir* 'redemit' 1st sing. *-chēr* pres. *crenim* $\sqrt{grei-}$ (§ 598 p. 142, § 604 p. 145). The last attempts to deal with this difficult group of perfect forms are those of Thurneysen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxi 89, and R. Schmidt, Idg. Forsch. i 62 f.¹⁾ The forms which must be

1) Thurneysen informs me that he does not back his explanation against R. Schmidt's, which he recognises as being right in all essentials.

postulated as those which just preceded these show the personal ending affixed immediately to the root-final consonant: 3rd sing. **li-l-e* **gi-gl-e* **ki-kr-e*, 1st sing. **ki-kr-a* (-*chēr*) 3rd pl. **li-l-ontor* (*leldar*). And again the perfect of *renim* 'I sell' (for **pr-na-mi* from $\sqrt{\text{per-}}$, § 598 p. 141) shows this perfect formation, 3rd sing. *ro rir* = **pi-pr-e* (this first becomes **ir*, instead of which we get *rir* by § 476 p. 23), whilst what one would expect is **reir* = **pe-pr-e* (with strong stem **pe-por-e*). R. Schmidt conjectures that this **pe-pr-e* and **li-lo(i)-e* etc., the present formation being the same for both, became **pi-pre* and **li-le* by mutual analogy. Is it not better to suppose that -*rir* is based upon a reduplicated preterite **pi-pr-e-t*, in Class IV? In Thurneysen's opinion the Conjunctive of this present class is represented in futures like *do-bēr* (§ 565 p. 112), and we shall see anon (in § 879) that some of the Keltic perfects probably come from a thematic preterite (aorist or imperfect). -*ciuir* too may be derived from **qi-qr-e-t*, as the "root" *qrei-*, it may be conjectured, is possibly an extension of *qer-* 'make'.¹⁾ If this be the origin of -*rir* (and -*ciuir*), the difficulty of -*lil* and the rest at once vanishes.

t-ānac 'I came' 3rd sing. *t-ānaic* beside Skr. *anāśa*, also to be compared with Gr. *ἐν-ήνεγν-ται*, if *ἐν-* is the preposition and not a reduplicator. See § 846 p. 390, § 858 p. 408.

§ 879. Beside the reduplicated forms appear unreduplicated not a few. To those already cited, *do-ro-chair*, *ro bōi*, *ad-con-dāirc*, *im-chom-arc-air*, *ro tāich*, we may add 3rd sing. *ro scāich* beside *scuchim* 'I yield', *ro gāid* beside *gudim* 'I beg', 1st sing. *fo-ro-damar* for -*damar* beside *fo-daim* 'patitur', 3rd sing. *du-fu-tharcair* 'wishes'.

There is no proof that these forms have lost a reduplicating syllable in Keltic itself. Like *ro-mādar* (§ 848. 3 p. 393), they

1) See Per Persson, *Wurzelerweiterung* p. 108 (where Ir. *taid-chur* 'redemptio' must be struck out; as I learn from Thurneysen, the word rather means 'return').

are forms which never had reduplication; *-dairc* may be compared with Skr. *darś-i-vas-* (§ 848. 2 p. 392).

Unfortunately there is nothing to decide whether in the plural of the Irish perfect, in such forms as *ro cechnammar cechnaid cechnatar*, the vowel preceding the personal ending was the thematic vowel, or Idg. *a* (= pr. Kelt. *a*); in the 1st plural another question offers, whether *a* does not come from the initial sonant of the personal ending (*-mm-*). If, as is most probable, these are thematic, there may have been thematic preterites amongst the above unreduplicated forms, and *-dairc*, for instance, may be identical with Gr. *ἔδραξε*, *bōi* with Skr. *ābhavat*; *do-cer* 'cecidit' too, beside *do-ro-chair*, gives the impression of such a preterite. Compare the aorist forms which have obtained a footing in the Latin Perfect, e. g. *scidit* = Skr. *āchidat* (§ 867. 5 p. 414). In § 878 p. 427. I conjectured that *-rir* was a reduplicated thematic aorist. In the 3rd singular, the original endings **-e* (perf.) and **-e-t* (thematic pret.) must have run together in Irish; so in the 1st plural with *-a-m-* (Skr. *-i-ma*), *-mm-* (Goth. *-um*), and *-o-m-*; and this may have brought about the commingling of the different tenses.

§ 880. Of the Idg. vowel gradation in the Root Syllable little now remains. Within the indic. active, the differences of gradation between singular and plural were all levelled away in Old Irish; e. g. 3rd sing. *ro geguin* 'vulneravit, trucidavit' for **gegon-e* (Skr. *jaghān-a*) 2nd pl. *ro gegnaid* for **gegon-* (Skr. *jaghñ-ā*). But the original middle shows in some forms the weak stem proper to it; e. g. *ro gēnar* 'natus sum' for **ge-gn-*, like Skr. *ja-jñ-ē*.

The vocalism of some forms is exceptional: *ro tāich* beside *techim* 'I flee', *ro rāith* beside *rethim* 'I run', cp. *ro scaich* beside *scuchim*, *ro gāid* beside *gudim*. Except *ro mīdar*, all unreduplicated preterites with roots having a single initial consonant show *-ā-*.

§ 881. One thing yet remains to say of the personal endings. The 1st and 3rd plural have a deponent formation (-*ammar* and -*atar*).

Germanic.

§ 882. I first give once again the forms cited in § 846, and compared with perfects from other languages. Goth. *ga-tar* 'he tore up, destroyed' -*tērūn*, O.H.G. *zar zārūn*. Goth. *man* 'remembers, wishes' *munun*, O.Icel. *man muno*. Goth. *gam* 'came' *gēmūn*, O.H.G. *quam quāmun*. Goth. *ga-þars* 'dried up' -*þaursun*. Goth. *ga-dars* 'dares' -*daursun*, O.H.G. *gi-tar-turrun*. Goth. *varþ* 'became' *vaúrþun*, O.H.G. *ward wurtun*. Goth. *hlaf* 'stole' *hlēfun*. Goth. *band* 'bound' *bundun*, O.H.G. *bant buntun*. Goth. *gataih* 'showed, recounted' -*tathun*, O.H.G. *zēh zigun*. Goth. *bait* 'bit' *bitun*, O.H.G. *beiz bigzun*. Goth. *laihþ* 'lent' *laihoun*, O.H.G. *leh lioun*. O.H.G. *sēh* 'strained, filtered' *sigun*. Goth. *kāus* 'tried, chose' *kusun*, O.H.G. *kōs kurun*. Goth. *ana-báuþ* 'bade, commanded' -*budun*, O.H.G. *bōt butun*. Goth. *bāug* 'bent' *bugun*, O.H.G. *boug bugun*. O.H.G. *rōz* 'wept' *ruzzun*. O.Icel. *svaf* 'slept' *svǫfo*. Goth. *gavag* 'moved' -*vēgun*, O.H.G. *wag wāgun*. Goth. *sat* 'sat' *sētun*, O.H.G. *saz sāzun*. Goth. *sai-sō* 'sowed' *sai-sōun*. Goth. *skat-skáiþ* 'separated, parted' *skat-skáidun*. Goth. *stai-staut* 'pushed, knocked' *stai-stautun*.

The Idg. difference in accent of singular and plural (cf. Skr. *vēda* : *vidmá*, *cakāra* : *cakṛmá*) has left its traces in the final consonants of the root in O.H.G. *ward* : *wurtun*, *zēh* : *zigun*, *kōs* : *kurun* and the like (I § 530 p. 386 f., § 580 p. 434).

Whether the ending of the 1st pl. indic. -*um* represents Idg. -*ṃme*, or is due to the analogy of 3rd pl. -*un* and was originally Idg. -*me* or -*a-me*, is doubtful; see § 844 p. 385 f.

Besides the indic. perf., the Optative is seen in Germanic; e. g. 1st pl. Goth. *vit-ei-ma* O.H.G. *wizz-t-mēs*, Goth. *skatskaid-*

-*ei-ma*. Then there is one isolated Conjunctive form, used as an imperative, Goth. *ōgs* 'fear thou' (beside indic. *ōg* 'he fears'), and a few substantives based upon the Participle, as Goth. *bēr-us-jōs* 'parents' and A.S. *ēzesa ēzsa* O.Sax. *ēcso* 'owner' (II § 136 p. 445, Johansson Beitr. zur griech. Sprachkunde, 134).

The Germanic Perfect falls into two divisions, (I) Reduplicated and (II) Unreduplicated.

§ 883. (I) The reduplicating syllable of the Idg. reduplicated perfect is kept clear and true in Gothic; but this only by roots which as far as Germanic is concerned do not belong to the *e*-series.¹⁾

All Gothic reduplicating syllables have *ai*, which is regular for *i* = Idg. *e* before *h* and *r*; e. g. *hai-hait* *rai-rōþ* (I § 67 p. 58). Beginning with those cases where it was regular, *ai* spread to the rest by analogy; hence *skai-skaiþ*; which regularly would be **ski-skaiþ*. As regards Johansson's view that Goth. *ai* is to be read as a long vowel, see Addendum to page 17.

The fact that the analogy of *ai* really did so act is clear from the new forms *ai-duk* (= O.Icel. *jök* § 885) beside *auka* 'I increase', and *af-aiðik* beside *af-ðika* 'I deny, refuse' (§ 473 p. 19).

The root syllable of these reduplicated forms is always the same in the plural as in the singular; the strong grade of the singular has become general. *skai-skaiþ* *skai-skaidun*: Skr. *ci-chēda ci-chidur*, √ *skhajit- skhajid-*. *stai-staut* *stai-stautun*: Skr. *tu-tōda tu-tudūr*, √ (s) *taud-*. *fai-flōk* 'he lamented' *fai-flōkun*: Gr. Dor. *πέ-πλāγε*, pres. *flōka* Class II *A* in contrast with Lith. *plakù* Class II *B*, √ *plāq- plāg-* (§ 534 p. 96). *sai-sō* 'sowed' *sai-sōun*: Gr. Dor. *ἀφείωκα*, pres. *saia* for **sē-īō*, cp. Gr. *ῖ-η-μι*, √ *sē- sō-*; *saisōun*, like *lailōun* 'they abused',

1) "As far as Germanic is concerned", because the analogy of these attracted into the same group some others which in the parent language did have *e*-vocalism; for instance, Goth. *vaiwald* beside *valda* 'I rule' for **valdhō* from √ *vel-*.

also shows itself not to be in its original form by the ending *-un*, taken over from the stems which had initial consonant. *lat-lōt* 'let' *lai-lōtun*, pres. *lēta*, √ *lēd-* (§ 521 p. 85).

§ 884. This Gothic reduplicated Perfect was also formed from extended roots, or from presents with some stem-characteristic (cp. §§ 847, 889, 891).

vai-vō 'blew': Skr. *va-vāu* from *u-ē* 'to blow', pres. *vaia* = *uē-iō* (§ 587 p. 128, § 735 p. 262).

fat-fah 'grasped' *fat-fahun* (cp. O.H.G. *fiang fiangun* § 885) beside pres. *faha* (O.H.G. *fāhu*) for **fawəχō*, probably a nasal present from √ *pak-* (§ 632 p. 168, § 634 p. 171).

fat-falp 'folded' *fat-falpun* beside pres. *falpa* ground-form **pġ-tō* (§ 680 p. 213); *hat-hald* 'tended, pastured' beside pres. *halda* ground-form **kġ-tō* (§ 585 p. 215). *vai-vald* 'he ruled' *vai-valdun* beside pres. *valda* ground-form **uġ-dhō* (§ 689 p. 219); *ga-rairōþ* 'considered' *-rairōþun* beside pres. *ga-rēda* ground-form **rē-dhō* (§ 689 p. 220). *sat-salt* 'he salted' beside pres. *sal-ta* = Lat. *sallō* for **sal-dō* (§ 690 p. 221).

§ 885. In West Germanic and Norse there are only a few distinct traces of the reduplicated type. The most important forms for our purpose are the following.

First some Anglo-Saxon forms, as *reo-rd* = Goth. *rat-rōþ*, (*leo-rt* = *lat-lōt*), *leo-lc* 'he leapt' = *lat-lāik* with long vowel lost in the final syllable, as it is in *hwylc* 'which?' *swylc* 'such' = Goth. *hvileiks* *svaleiks*.

More uncertain are some forms which Bopp regarded as reduplicated. O.H.G. Alemann. 3rd pl. ind. *pleruzzun* 3rd sing. opt. *ca-pleruzzi* beside pres. *bluozu* 'I offer', 3rd sing. ind. *ki-skrerot* beside pres. *scrōtu* 'I cut' (= Goth. **skrāuda*), 3rd sing. ind. *steroz* beside pres. *stōzu* 'I knock, push'. According to Holz (Urgermanisches geschlossenes *ē*, p. 28) **ske-skrōd-* became **skre-skrōd-* **skre-rōd-*, **be-blōt-* became **ble-blōt-* **ble-lōt-* **blerōt-*; this, he says, produced a perfect type with *r*, whence **sterōt-* instead of **ste-stōt-*. A different view is taken by Zarncke, P.-B. Beitr. xv 350 ff.; but his is more dubious even than that of Holz.

O. Icel. *sera* 'I sowed' for **se-zō* = Goth. *sai-sō*; *sera* is inflected as a weak preterite in the singular (as is Goth. 2nd sing. *saisōst* perhaps from **saisōs*); in the plural, *serom*. O. Icel. *jök* 'I increased' (pl. *jökom*) for **eauka* = Goth. *ai-duk* (§ 883 p. 430).

In these dialects we usually find, parallel to the Gothic reduplicated perfect, forms whose structure is apparently different; on which works have been brought out of late by Ljungstedt, Ottmann and Holz, whose titles are given in the footnote to page 383.¹⁾ The facts about O.H.G. are as follows:

(1) Verbs with *ou* or *ō* = Goth. *du* in the present, and verbs with present *uo* = Goth. *ō*, have, instead of the Gothic dissyllabic reduplicated stem, a monosyllabic stem with *eo*, whence *io ia ie*. *leof liof liaf lief* 'I ran' *leofun liofun* from pres. *loufu*: Goth. *hat-hlāup hat-hlāupun*. *stioz* 'I pushed, knocked' *stiozun* from pres. *stōzu*: Goth. *stat-stāt stai-stātun*. (*h*)*riof* 'I called' (*h*)*riofun* from *hruofu*.

(2) The others, instead of the Gothic dissyllabic reduplicated stem, show a monosyllabic stem with *ē*, which becomes *ea ia ie* (I § 75 Rem. 2 p. 65):

(a) *hiaz* 'I was called' *hiazun* from pres. *heizu*: Goth. *hat-hait hat-haitun*. *sciad* 'separated' from *sceidu*: Goth. *skai-skaiþ*.

(b) *fiald* 'folded' *fialdun* from pres. *faldu*: Goth. *fat-falþ fat-falþun*. *hialt* 'held' from *haltu*: Goth. *hat-hald*. *wialt* 'rules' from *waltu*: Goth. *vai-vald*. *sialz* 'salted' from *salzu*: Goth. *sai-salt*. *fiang* 'seized' *fiangun* from *fāhu*: Goth. *fat-fāh fat-fāhun*; the difference between the Gothic and Old High German, *h* : *g*, is explained by remembering that in accordance with the old difference in accent, the singular came to have *h* and the plural *g* (cp. § 882 p. 429). *fial* 'fell' from *fallu* for **fal-nō*, *wial* 'bubbled, boiled'

1) On Holz' attempt, see Holthausen, *Anzeig. deutsch. Altert.*, 1891, p. 187; and Sievers, *Paul-Braune-Sievers Beitr.*, xvi 252 ff. Ljungstedt's work is not accessible to me; his views are only known to me by reviews and citations.

wialun from *wallu* for **yal-nō*, see § 614 p. 151; *l* for *ll* because a long vowel precedes. *spian* 'I stretched' *spianun* from *spa-nnu*, see § 654 p. 188; *n* for *nn* has the same reason. *iar* 'ploughed' *iarun* (part. *gi-aran*) from *er-iu* 'I plough' (the perf. of Goth. *arja* is not found), see § 723 p. 253.

(c) *liaz* 'I let' *liazun* from *lazu*: Goth. *lai-lōt lai-lōtun*. *riat* 'I advised' from *rātu*: Goth. *rat-rōþ*. *sliaf* 'slept' from *slāfu* contrasted with Goth. *sai-zlēp sai-slēp* pres. *slēpa*.

Remark. *sāu* 'I sow' passed over to the weak conjugation; hence pret. *sāta* (part. *gi-sait*), not like Goth. *sai-sō*. See Braune, Ahd. Gr.² § 351 Anm. 3 p. 249, § 359 Anm. 3 p. 254.

There can hardly be a shadow of doubt that some at least of these perfect formations, which are repeated to a great extent in the other West Germanic dialects and in Norse, have come from reduplicated forms such as we see in Gothic. But how this happened has not yet been clearly made out. The *eo*-preterite has been best explained, if explained by the word. It is probable that the type of this group arose from verbs which began with *au-*: 1st sing. **é-auka* (Goth. *aiđuk*) became **éōka* **eoka* (O. Icel. *jōk*); then on the analogy of **eoka* beside pres. **aukō* was formed beside **hlaupō* the perf. **hleopa* 'I run' (O.H.G. *leof* O. Icel. *hljōp*), and so forth.

Ljungstedt regards this whole perfect class as being composed partly of Idg. reduplicated perfects, and partly of aorists and imperfects; for instance, he calls O. Icel. *kom* 'I came' (beside *kvam* Goth. *gam*) an original aorist.

§ 886. Perhaps the West-Germ. preterite of *√ dhē-* 'to place, do' is a reduplicated perfect: O.H.G. indic. 1st and 3rd sing. *teta* (2nd sing. *tāti*) pl. *tatum tātut tātun* opt. 1st and 3rd sing. *tāti*; O.Sax. 1st and 3rd sing. *deda* 2nd sing. *dedōs* pl. *dedun* and *dādun* opt. *dedi* and *dādi*; A.S. *dyde dydes(t)* etc. like *nerede*, but pl. also *dædon*.

It is not clear whether this preterite is to be connected with the Idg. perfect (Skr. *dadhāu*), or the Idg. imperfect (Skr. *ádadhāt* Gr. *ἔτιθῆναι*, see § 539 p. 99, § 545 p. 103), or both. In any case, however, there can be no comparing of the

1st and 3rd sing. O.H.G. *teta* O. Sax. *deda* and the Skr. middle form *dadhē*.

The *y* of A.S. *dyde* is difficult. Sievers deduces an opt. **du-d-ī* (Paul-Braune-Sievers' Beitr., xvi 236). This would bring us to a weak preterite from a stem *du-*, as to which consult Wilmanns, Zeitschr. für d. Alt., xxxiii 425.

**dēd-* in the weak forms seems to be connected with *-dēdum* in the Gothic weak preterite. To explain how it got there, the following theory is less strained than others. We may suppose that Germanic once had a present answering to the Skr. *dā-dh-a-ti* Lith. *de-d-ù* (§ 540 p. 101, § 561 p. 110); then *tatum* was an ad-formate of *gabum* etc. The suggestions of Johansson (Kuhn's Ztschr. xxx 550) and Holz (as cited, 44) are unsatisfactory.

Remark. Collitz (Am. Journ. Phil. ix 51) and Johansson (as cited, p. 549) see in Goth. *iddja* 'I went' a 1st sing. perf. mid. = Skr. **īy-é* (cp. act. 3rd pl. *īy-úr*). But there never was any pr. Idg. perfect stem *īy-*, which fact alone wrecks the hypothesis; Skr. *īy-úr* is an Aryan formation; see § 851 p. 399. On *iddja*, see § 478 p. 26, § 587 p. 128, § 592 p. 133.

§ 887. (II) We now turn to the Second chief class of Germanic Perfects, those which show no reduplication in any Germanic dialect. This class falls into two sections; (A) those which have no vowel variation within their own perfect system, as Goth. *skōf skōbun* opt. 1st pl. *skōbeima*; and (B) those which have, as Goth. *man munun muneima, gam gēmun gēmeima*.

A part of these forms, what are called the Preterite-Presents, kept hold of the proethnic function of the perfect to express the present perfect, and did not become a historic tense; as Goth. *ōg* 'I fear' *áiħ* 'I have' *váiit* 'I know' *man* 'I think'. In this they are like Lat. *meminī* and *ōdī*. As they were isolated in use, so they were exceptional in form. (1) In the Indicative, roots of the *e*-series, ending in a single consonant, lacked the *ē*-form; cp. Goth. *man munun* or *skal skulun* as contrasted with *gam* 'I came' *gēmun*, *stal* 'I stole' *stēlun*. (2) The present meaning demanded an infinitive and participle. The place of these was filled by thematic forms of present Class II, which in verbs that retained ablaut were taken from Class II B, e. g. *áiħan áiħands*

beside *áiħ* 'I have', *vitán vitands* beside *vdít*. Of the forms taken from Class II *B*, some few had come down from pre-Germanic times; as *vitán munan skulan ga-daúršan* (§ 532 p. 93 f.). The adj. *un-agands* 'fearless' is related to *ōg* 'I fear' as *us-anands* 'exhaling' to *us-ōn* 'I exhaled'. (3) A past tense was needed for them. For this the 'Weak Preterite' was used, as Goth. *vissa* O.H.G. *wissa wessa* beside *vāit weiz*, Goth. *ga-daúrsta* O.H.G. *gi-torsta* beside *ga-dars gi-tar*. If, as has been assumed, O.H.G. *wiss-um -ut -un* belong to the *s*-aorist, they must be related to *weiz* just as *ἤσμεν ἤστε ἤσαν ἴσαν* to *οἶδα* (§ 821 p. 358, § 827 p. 365, § 863 p. 411).

With the Preterite-Presents based upon the Idg. Perfect were associated a variety of Present stems:

Three or four *neþ*-classes: Goth. *kun-nu-m* O.H.G. *un-nu-m* O.Sax. **dur-nu-m*, to which were added, by analogy of the Perfect singular, the forms *kann an darn*; see § 646 p. 183 f.

Then Goth. O.H.G. *mag* 'I can, am able' pl. *magun* is probably a transformation of a present of Class II *B* **mazō* = O.C.Sl. *moga* 'I can' (§ 523 p. 87); it belongs to the root of Gr. *μῆχος μῆχαρι* Dor. *μᾶχαρά*, and must have been an orig. perfect **mōg* **mōgun*. Its transformation into a present is easily understood from its meaning. Beside *magan magands* were formed *mag magun* following *áiħ áigun* beside *áihan áihands*, and *ga-mōt -mōtun* beside *-mōtan -mōtands*.¹⁾ The form *muþ-*, found in West-Germ. beside *maþ-*, e. g. O.H.G. *mugun* beside *magun*, is due to later re-formation, as Osthoff shows (P.-B. Beitr. xv 213 ff.).

Remark. Osthoff (*op. cit.* pp. 217 f.) holds *mag* to be a genuine perfect, and assumes that **mōg magun* levelled out the strong stem. This view is contradicted by *ōg ōgun* (beside *un-agands*) *áiħ áigun* (beside Skr. *īṣ-*) *skōf skōbun* (beside *skaban*) and so forth, which all show levelling in favour of the singular stem.

1) Similarly, in the Rhine-Frankish dialect of Mod.H.G. the identity of inflexion in *ich brauch(e) wir brauche(n)* inf. *brauche(n)* pret. *braucht(e)* and *ich muss wir müsse(n)* inf. *musse(n)* pret. *musst(e)* led to the coining of a 3rd sing. *er bräuch*, instead of *er braucht*, parallel to *er muss*.

§ 888. Group II A. The unreduplicated perfects which had no gradation, with the single exception of *mag* (for which see above), show *ai* or *ō* in the root.

ai only in Goth. *áiħ* 'has' pl. *áigun* (by levelling also *áig* and *áihun*) O.H.G. pl. *eigun* (from the participial stem **aiǵ-us-* comes A.S. *ēgesa ēgsa* O.Sax. *ēcso*, see § 882 p. 430): Skr. mid *īś-ē*, see § 848 p. 391. As this Sanskrit form shews, Germanic has levelled in favour of the singular vocalism, *áigun* instead of **iǵun* or **igun*. That *áiħ* has no reduplication (as *af-aiáiħ* *stai-skáiþ* etc. have, §§ 883 ff.) shows that this was lacking in pre-Germanic times, and makes the immediate connexion with the Aryan verb certain. Inf. *áihan* part. *áihands* are Germanic re-formates (cp. the thematic Skr. *īś-a-tē* Avest. *is-a-itē*, § 854 p. 404).

All other examples have *ō*, which is the vowel of the singular. These perfects, if we look at Germanic alone, all belong to roots of an *a-* or *o-*series. Goth. *skōf* 'scraped' *skōbun* O.H.G. *scuob scuobun* O.Icel. *skōf skōfo* from pres. *skaba scabu skef*: Lat. *scābi* from *scabō*. Goth. *hōf* 'raised' *hōfun* (instead of **hōbun*) O.H.G. *huob* (instead of **huof*) *huobun* from pres. *hafja heff(i)u*: Lat. *capiō*. O.H.G. *int-suab* 'I marked' -*suabun* from pres. *int-seff(i)u*: Lat. *sapiō*. Goth. *skōþ* 'I hurt' *skōþun* from pres. *skapja*: cp. Gr. *ἀ-σκηθής* 'scatheless' (*η* = *α*). Goth. *us-ōn* 'exhaled' -*ōnun* from pres. *us-ana*: Skr. *āna*, cp. Gr. *ἄνεμο-ς* 'wind' *ἠνεμόεις* 'windy' (*η* for *α*). O. Icel. *ōk* 'drove' *ōko* beside pres. *ek*: Gr. *ἦχε ἦγμαi* (*η* for *α*) Skr. *āja*. O.H.G. *buoh* 'baked' *buohhun* from pres. *bahhu* (Class II B) beside *backu* (for **bak-nō* Class XIII § 614 p. 152): Gr. *πέφωγμαi* pres. *φώγω* (Class II A). Pret.-pres. Goth. *ōg* 'fears' *ōgun* (2nd sing. conj. *ōgs* § 882 p. 430) beside *un-agands* 'fearless': O.Ir. -*agur* 'fear' may also have been originally perfect.

A certain number of perfects of this group come from roots of the *e-*series. Goth. *fōr* 'drove' *fōrun* O.H.G. *fuor fuorun* from *fara faru*, ✓ *per-* Gr. *περάω* 'I pass through'. Goth. *mōl* 'I ground' O.H.G. *muol* from *mala malu*, ✓ *mel-* O.Ir. *melim*

O.C.Sl. *melja* beside Armen. *malem* Lat. *molō* Cymr. *malaf* (§ 523 p. 86). Goth. *grōf* 'dug' O.H.G. *gruob* from *graba grabu*, √ *ghrebh-* O.C.Sl. *grebaq.* Goth. *slōh* 'struck' *slōhun* (instead of **slōgun*) O.H.G. *sluoh* (also *sluog*) *sluogun* from *slaha slahu*, √ *slek- sleg-* O.Ir. *sligim.* O.H.G. *gi-wuog* 'mentioned' from *gi-wahann(i)u* (§ 623 p. 161), √ *ueq-* Gr. *ῥπος* 'word'. In most, if not all, of the Verbs of this sort, the first step must have been for the present to get an *a*, and the next to form a perfect with *o* on the analogy of *skōf skōbun* from *skaba*. See § 509, page 75. There is no need to suppose that *fōr* and *mōl* were formed thus in connexion with some present, if we suppose that they date from a period when this whole class of perfects still had the weak stem in the plural of the indicative, and so forth. At such a period, **far-* and **mal-* = **pf-* and **mĭ-* may have been the weak perfect stem. If so, then the sing. *fōr* and *mōl* were formed beside them just as in Greek *μέμᾱλε* took the place of **μεμολε* on the analogy of forms with *με-μαλ-* (§ 859 p. 409); a step further, and we have *fōrun* and *mōlun* following the singular.

§ 889. Some perfects of this class are based upon an extended root or a present stem which already has some characteristic (cp. §§ 847, 884, 891). O.H.G. *spuon* 'I enticed' from *spanu* (§ 614 p. 152); Mod.H.G. *būk* instead of Mid.H.G. *buoch* O.H.G. *buoh* following *backe* O.H.G. *backu* for **bak-nō* (§ 888 p. 436). Goth. *vōhs* O.H.G. *wuohs* 'I grew' from *vah-s-ja wahsu* (§ 657 p. 192). O.H.G. *wuosc* 'I washed' from *wascu* probably for **uat-skō* (§ 676 p. 209). Goth. *stōþ* O.H.G. *-stuot stuont* 'stood' from *sta-nda sta-ntu* 'I stand' (§ 634 p. 172, § 685 p. 216). O.H.G. *luod* from *(h)la-du* A.S. *hla-de* 'I load' (§ 689 p. 220).

§ 890. Group II *B*. Perfects which ever since proethnic Germanic have had vowel gradation in their root, but no reduplication, were formed from roots of the *e*-series. We divide them into two classes, (1) those in which the ablaut of the preterite present agrees with that in other tenses, (2) those

in which it does not. Most of the following examples have come down from the parent language, as we have seen above.

(1) Goth. *bait* 'I bit' *bitum* opt. 1st pl. *biteima* O.H.G. *beiz* *bizzun* *bizzim* O.Icel. *beit* *bito* *bitem*. Pret.-pres. Goth. *vait* 'I know' *vitum* O.H.G. *weiz* *wizzun* O.Icel. *veit* *vito*. Goth. *-bairp* 'offered' *-budun* O.H.G. *bōt* *butum* O.Icel. *baud* *buðo*. Pret.-pres. Goth. *dāug* 'valet' O.H.G. *toug* *tugun*.

Goth. *band* 'I bound' *bundun* O.H.G. *bant* *buntun* O.Icel. *batt* *bundo*. Goth. *varp* 'I became' *waürpun* O.H.G. *ward* *wurtun* O.Icel. *varð* *urðo* '). Pret.-pres. Goth. *ga-dars* 'dares' *-dairsun* O.H.G. *gi-tar* *-turrun*.

(2 a) Perfects with Preterite meaning. Goth. *bar* 'carried' *bērun* O.H.G. *bar* *bārun* O.Icel. *bar* *bǫro* (*bāru*). Goth. *gam* 'came' *gēmum* O.H.G. *quam* *quāmun* O.Icel. *kvam* *kvǫmo* (*kvāmu*). Goth. *sat* 'I sat' *sētun* O.H.G. *saz* *sāzun* O.Icel. *sat* *sǫto* (*sātu*). Goth. *brak* 'I broke' *brēkun* O.H.G. *brah* *brāhhun*. Goth. *frah* 'asked' *frēhum* O.Icel. *frā* *frǫgo* (*frāgu*). There are reformatives following this class; one is Goth. *baþ* 'I bade' *bēdun* O.H.G. *bat* *bātun* from pres. *biðja* *bitt(ō)u*, ✓ *bhejdh-* (§ 722 p. 253).

(b) Preterite-presents. Goth. *skal* 'shall' *skulun* O.H.G. *scal* *sculun* O.Icel. *skal* *skolo*. Goth. *man* 'thinks' *munun* O.Icel. *man* *muno*. Goth. *ga-nah* 'is enough' **-nauhun* O.H.G. *gi-nah* A.S. pl. *ge-nuzon* (probably akin to O.C.Sl. *nesq* 'I carry', ✓ *nek-*).

§ 891. Numerous perfects of this class are made from roots already extended, or from characterised present stems (cp. §§ 847, 884, 889).

With *n*-suffix (§ 614 p. 151 f.). O.H.G. *spurnun* 'they trod, kicked' (sing. **sparn*) A.S. *spearn* *spurnon* from *spur-nu*. O.Sax. *fragn* 'I asked' *frugnon* A.S. *frægn* *frugnon* (cp. 1st sing. *ga-fregin* in the Prayer of Wessobrunnen) from *frig-nu* *friz-*

1) Of the same sort is Goth. *þrask* 'I threshed' *þruskun* O.H.G. *draak* *druskun*, which probably contains the present suffix *-sko-*. Cp. § 676 p. 209, and § 891.

-ne Goth. *frath-na*. Goth. *skáin* 'appeared' *skinun* O.H.G. *scēin* *scinun* from *skei-na* *scī-nu*; so too O.H.G. *swein* 'disappeared' from *swē-nu* etc. O.H.G. *qual(l)* 'welled up' *quullun* from *quillu* for **quel-nō*; so also *hal(l)* 'sounded, rang out' *hullun* from *hillu* for **hel-nō*, and other like forms.

With Nasal Infix (§ 634 pp. 170 ff.). Goth. *sagg* 'sank' *suggun* O.H.G. *sank* *sunkun* from *sigga* *sinku*, √ *seig-* *seig-*. Goth. *stagg* 'struck, knocked' *stuggun* from *stigga*, √ *steig-*. O.H.G. *chlamb* 'climbed' *chlumbun* from *chlimbu*, from *glei-p-*. O.H.G. *sprang* 'sprang' *sprungun* from *springu*, √ *spergh-*. O.H.G. *scrant* 'burst' *scruntun* from *scrintu*, *sger-dh-*. — Goth. *fanþ* 'found' *funþun* O.H.G. *fand* *funtun* from *finþa* *findu*, as I conjecture from √ *pet-*. — Goth. *vand* 'turned' *vundun* O.H.G. *want* *wuntun* from *vinda* *wintu*, from *uei-t-*. The Goth. *þeiha* O.H.G. *dihu* 'I thrive', for **þerəχð*, which is connected with Lith. *tenkù* inf. *tėk-ti* (√ *teq-*), had originally a perf. **þarəχ* **þurəχun*, which is now represented only by A.S. *ðunzon* (cp. part. *ȝe-ðunzen* O.Sax. *gi-thungan*); the regular phonetic change of the present led to the formation of the perf. forms Goth. *þáih* O.H.G. *dēh* following *stáig* beside *steiga* etc. (I § 67 Rem. 2 p. 57).

From Present stems in *-nnō* for *-ny-ō* and in *-innō* for *-eny-ō* (§ 654 pp. 187 f.). Goth. *du-gann* 'began' *-gunnun* O.H.G. *bi-gan* *-gunnun* from *du-ginna* *bi-ginnu* = Skr. *hī-nva-ti*. Goth. *rann* 'ran' *runnun* O.H.G. *ran* *runnun* from *rinna* *rinnu* = Skr. *ri-nvāmi* Idg. **ri-ny-ō* or = Idg. **r-eny-ō*. O.H.G. *tran* 'I separated myself' *trunnun* beside *trinnu* = Idg. **dr-eny-ō*.

Root with *s*-extension (§ 664 p. 197). Goth. *-þans* 'I pulled' *-þunsun* O.H.G. *dans* *dunsun* from *þin-sa* *din-su*, √ *ten-*. O.H.G. *bal(l)* 'barked' *bullun* from *billu* = **bhel-sō*. Goth. *fra-láus* 'I lost' *-lusun* O.H.G. *vir-lōs* *-lurun* from *-liu-sa* *-liu-su* 'I lose'.

From the *sk*-Present O.H.G. *ir-lisku* 'I quench', the perf. *ir-lask* **-luskun* (§ 676 p. 208).

Root with *t*-extension (§ 685 p. 215 f.). O.H.G. *flaht*

'plaited' *fluhtun* from *flīh-tu*; *faht* 'fought' *fuhtun* from *fiht-tu*). Goth. *ga-vaþ* 'bound' -*vēdun* O.H.G. *wat wātun* from *ga-vida witu*, ground-form doubtless **wi-tō*. Compare the perf. Goth. *vand*, which belongs to a *t*-present with nasal infix, p. 439.

Root with *dh*-extension (§ 698 p. 225). O.H.G. *bratt(t)* 'I swung, jerked' *bruttun* A.S. *bræzd bruzdon* from *brittu brez-de*. Also with internal nasal O.H.G. *scrant* from *sqer-dh-*, p. 439.

Root with *d*-extension (§ 699 p. 225 f.). Goth. *gaut* 'poured' *gutun* O.H.G. *gōz guzzun* from *giu-ta giu-zu*. O.H.G. *flōz* 'flowed' *fluzzun* from *flīu-zu*. Goth. *svalt* 'was burnt up' *svultun* O.H.G. *swalz swulzun* from *swil-ta swil-zu*.

§ 892. Levelling between perfect singular and plural as we see it in Mod.H.G. *biss* 'I bit' following *bissen*, *quoll* 'welled up' following *quollen*, *banden* following *band* 'I bound', which is also seen here and there in Middle H.G., is comparatively rare in the old Germanic dialects; examples are A.S. *nōm nōmon* contrasted with O.H.G. *nam nāmun*²), O.Icel. *ōf* *ōfo* instead of *vaf* *ōfo* = O.H.G. *wab wābun* (O.Icel. *vefa* O.H.G. *weban* 'to weave').

§ 893. We now have to examine in Group II (A) and (B) those forms which lack the reduplicating syllable.

The following perfects were always unreduplicated.

(1) Weak forms like Goth. *sētun mētun qēmun*; see § 848. 3 p. 393. The reason why they drove out of the field forms of the same type as Skr. *pa-pt-ūr sēdūr* = **sa-zd-ur*, was that in course of phonetic change the unity of the tense-system had been considerably destroyed; thus the reduplicated 3rd pl. of the Goth. *mitan* must needs become **mintun* (sing. *mat*), from Goth. *saihvān* the form must be **sisk(y)un* (sing. *sahv*), from Goth. *qīpan* it must be **qaihtun* (sing. *qap*), from O.H.G. *jesan*

1) Mid.H.G. pl. *vlāhten vāhten*, and even in O.H.G. *brāstun*, beside an earlier form *brustun* from *bristu* 'I break'. For the change in the perf. plural see Osthoff, Perf. 119.

2) *nōmon* is regular, and drew the singular under the influence of *fōr fōron*.

it must be **jīrun* (sing. *jas*), and from O.H.G. *lesen* it would be **lillun* (sing. *las*). Thus the same difficulty had to be met here as was met in Sanskrit by the spread of the type *sēd-yēm-* (§ 852 p. 401).

(2) The pret.-pres. Goth. *đih* and probably also *váið* which answers to Skr. *vēda* and Gr. *oidε*, see § 848 p. 391, § 888 p. 436.

Further, the following may be regarded as perfect forms originally unreduplicate:

(3) Goth. *fr-ēt -ētun* O.H.G. *az* O.Icel. *at*, and

(4) O.Icel. *ök öko*, Goth. *ōn* and *ōg*; see § 848. 3 and 4, pp. 393 f.

As regards the Preterite-Presents in particular, we must remember that the 3rd pl. Goth. *munun* and *ga-dauðsan* were in all probability injunctive, as we may regard *vitun* (§ 508 p. 74 f.). The two former may not have been associated in one tense with *man* and *ga-dars* until the reduplication was quite lost in the singular.

If, again, we remember that among forms like *skōf* (Lat. *scabi*) there may very well be some which were unreduplicate when they became part of the Germanic stock, it cannot seem strange that Germanic has lost its reduplication to such a great extent. Such forms as the perfect of *hāitan* or *valdan* were exempted from the change, and kept their reduplication, simply because their present and perfect had the same root-vowels, and without the reduplication there would be no sufficient difference between them.

As in the Italic perfect system we find preterite forms of our Present Class II *B* (e. g. Lat. *fid-i-t*, § 867. 5 p. 414), so we do in West Germanic. From this group we cite the 2nd sing. like O.H.G. *bizzi* A.S. *bite* 'thou didst bite' (Skr. *á-bhid-a-s* Lat. *fid-i-t*), O.H.G. *zigi* A.S. *tize* 'thou didst draw' (Skr. *á-diś-a-s*), see § 532 p. 928; further perhaps those like O.H.G. *māzi* A.S. *māte* 'thou measuredst' (Gr. *ἐ-μῆδ-ε-ο*), see § 514 p. 81. Such forms as these were at first quite rare. In proethnic W.Germ. they had become identical with the 2nd sing.

optative, whose ending *-īz became -ī, e. g. A.S. *bite* opt. for **bitīz*. And by analogy of these forms, which legitimately had both optative and indicative meanings, a large number of others, which originally were optative only and nothing more, took the indicative meaning too. An example is O.H.G. *fiangi* A.S. *fenze*. But in O.H.G. and O.Sax. the 2nd sing. opt. and indic. were differentiated afresh, -ī being restricted to the indicative, and in the optative the ending -īs (-īst), used since proethnic Germanic beside *-īz, being made proper ending: O.H.G. indic. *bizzi* opt. *bizzīs(t)*, but A.S. *bite* opt. and indic. both. The reason why the old forms in -t (-þ) preserved in Gothic and Norse, such as Goth. *bāist* 'didst bite' *gaft* 'gavest', were driven out of the West Germanic speech, is doubtless chiefly this, — that the stem-final consonant which preceded the personal ending was so often changed, the form thus becoming isolated (cp. Gr. *πέποιθα* etc. with -ας instead of -θα).

This West-Germ. 2nd sing. pret. seems to belong entirely to unreduplicated present stems. (It seems impossible to prove that any old reduplicated forms like Lat. *te-tig-i-t* Gr. *τε-τάθ-ο-ντο* are included amongst O.H.G. *fiangi hiagi* and that type.) But since they were absorbed into the Perfect system in West-Germanic, not before, we have no right to assume that they have at all aided in the tendency to drop the reduplicating syllable.

By analogy of the thematic present we have O.H.G. Alemann. *eigamēs*, *wāramēs* (cp. *piramēs* instead of *pirum*).

Balto-Slavonic.

§ 894. The inroads into the Idg. Perfect system here took a direction opposite to their course in Keltic and Germanic. The Participle survived, while the Finite Verb disappeared.

One vestige of this has been left in Slavonic; the O.C.Sl. *věd-ě* 'I know', answering to Skr. *vēda* Gr. *oīda* Goth. *vāit*, with the middle ending, which here as in Lat. (*tutud-ī*) drove

out the active. This perfect was transformed into a present, giving *věmī* 'I know' 3rd sing. *věstū*; the 2nd pl. *věste* opt. 1st pl. *vědimū* imper. *věšdī* (which keep *ě* instead of *ī* by levelling out all but the strong stem) may be real perfect forms; if so their present inflexion is due to the attraction of the other forms into the present system.

The Participial forms are all unreduplicated. Examples are Lith. *kiŗt-ęs* (pres. *kertū* 'I cut, strike'), O.C.Sl. *čŗitū* (pres. *čŗitq* 'I cut'): Skr. *ca-kŗt-vās-*. Lith. *dėg-ęs* (*degū* 'I burn') O.C.Sl. *žegū* (*žegq* 'I burn'): Skr. *dēh-i-vās- dēh-ūš-*. Lith. *dā-vęs* (*dūdu* 'I give') O.C.Sl. *da-vū* (*damī*): Skr. *da-di-vās-da-dā-vās-*. Pruss. *signā-uns* beside *signā-t* 'to bless', O.C.Sl. *žēlē-vū* beside *žēlē-ti* 'to wish', which must be compared with Gr. *κκνωρωίς*. See II § 136 pp. 445 f. Along with O.Ir. *mīdar* Goth. *sēitun* go Lith. participles like *sēd-ęs* (from *sēdu* 'I sit, take my place'). Again, with Lat. *ēdī* Goth. *fr-ēt* goes the part. Lith. *ēd-ęs* O.C.Sl. *jad-ū*, and with Lith. fem. *ēd-us-i* may be compared *ēj-us-i* as being the regular descendant of Idg. **ēj-us-i*.

How the first-named participles, *kiŗtęs čŗitū* and the like, lost their reduplication, cannot be made out; the losses which the Perfect System of this group of languages had undergone before the historical period begins are too great to admit of this being done. But anyhow the reason was not regular phonetic change, any more than it was in Germanic.

The agreement of the initial syllable in Lith. *ēj-ęs kiŗt-ęs* etc. and the connected present stems *ēj-o kiŗt-o* (§ 586 p. 126 f.) caused the coining beside *dē-jo stó-jo* of the part. *dējęs stójęs*. Just so the agreement between *mīr-ęs gīm-ęs* etc. and *mīr-ē gīm-ē* (§ 593 p. 133) caused the coining beside *ēm-ē* of the partic. *ēm-ęs* instead of **īm-ęs* (Pruss. *immus-* O.C.Sl. *imū*). Vice versâ, by analogy of participles similar to *sēd-ęs*, as *vēm-ęs* (from *vemiū* 'I vomit') *gēr-ęs* (from *geriū* 'I drink') were formed the preterites *vémē gērē* with *ē* in the root syllable.

PERIPHRASTIC FORMATIONS.

§ 895. We may notice here a number of periphrastic formations which were more or less intimately connected with the Verbal System. Some of them undoubtedly existed in the parent language, though at that time not one had become fused into a single word.

In the historical period, these syntactical groups, which for convenience we shall call phrases, are sometimes found in the shape of single words, as Lat. *ferē-bam* O.C.Sl. *nesē-achū*; sometimes they seem to be changing from phrase to word before our very eyes, as Skr. *datāsmi* instead of *datā asmi*; ¹⁾ sometimes they were still phrases, as Lat. *factus sum*, O.H.G. *ward ginoman*. Where the position of the auxiliary is not fixed as regards the verbal noun, coming either before or after it, the phrase could not fuse into one word.

The use of a Participle for the predicate, particularly the part. pret. middle or passive, with or without the auxiliary *es-* or a synonym of it, is a usage which occurs all over the Indo-Germanic area; examples of this are Skr. *iṣṭā dēvātāḥ* 'honoured are the gods' *iṣṭā dēvātā āsan* 'honoured were the gods' (see Delbrück, Altind. Synt. 392 ff.; Spiegel, Altpers. Keilinschr. ² § 68 p. 189). This predicative use of the participle was found in the parent language, especially when it was wished to lay stress on the duration of an action more than could be done by the simple forms of the finite verb. In several languages periphrases of this kind were permanent parts of some tense, where they were combined with simple forms, as Att. *γεγραμμένοι εἰσὶ* instead of *γεγράφασθαι*, Lat. *actus est* (cp. Gr. *ἦνται*), Goth. *gemēlīp ist* 'ἔγραπται'.

§ 896. Sanskrit.

Beginning with the Brahmanas, we find a periphrastic future, consisting of a nomen agentis with the suffix *-ter-* (as *datār-*

1) Compare Ital. *canterò* Fr. *chanterai* for Lat. *cantāre habeo*, Serv. *ubiū* ('I will kill') = O.C.Sl. *ubiti chošq*, Pol. *działalem -aleś* etc. 'I have built') = *działaję jeśm.* — *jeś* etc.

'dator') and the verb 'to be', but only in the 1st and 2nd persons. There is a difference in usage between this and the *śjō*-future (§ 752 p. 273 f.), the latter being used only for something about to take place at a certain particular point of future time, without any reference to the intention or hope of the speaker. On the analogy of *datāsmi* instead of *datā asmi* we have 1st pl. *datāsmas* instead of *datārah smas* etc. (cp. Lat. *potis sumus*, not **potēs sumus*), a certain token that the phrase has become a word. Middle forms are found as well, e. g. *datāsmahē*. Compare II § 122 p. 385.

Again, it is not until the historical period that we see a productive type arising out of the Periphrastic Perfect, the union of a case ending in *-ām* with *cakāra*, *āsa*, or *babhūva*, as *vidā cakāra* 'I knew', *gamayā cakāra* 'I caused to go'. The outspread of this type was due to a lack which it supplied; for there was need of a historic preterite to perfects which had a present meaning, as *vēda* 'I know' *bibhāya* 'fears'. Such a preterite was also wanted by Causals and Denominatives, which originally had no simple perfect. Lastly, they were most desirable where present and perfect were not clearly distinguished in form, as in *as-* 'to sit'. Following *vidām āsām* and the like, forms like *gamayām* and *bibhayām* were derived from the present stem (pres. *gamā-ya-ti bi-bhē-ti*).

Remark. Since in such formations *cakāra* is almost exclusively used in the older language, and *babhūva* never, Delbrück (Altind. Synt. 426 f.) infers that *-ām* is the ending of the acc. sing. of an abstract noun in *-ā* (cp. *bhidā* 'split'). The accusative must have crystallised, much as the infinitive did, before *āsa* and *babhūva* could be used with it. But there is such a striking parallel in Lat. *āre faciō* and *āre fiō* (Deeoke, *Facere* und *fieri* in ihrer Composition mit andern Verbis, Strassburg 1873), *ārē-bam*, *flā-bam*, *amā-bam* and O.C.Sl. *nesē-achū dēla-achū*, that we can hardly separate the *-ām* of Sanskrit from the cases in *-ē* or *-ā* preserved in these forms. *-ē* and *-ā* must surely be instrumental; be it observed that the forms in *-ē* can often be connected with *o*-stems (cp. III § 275 p. 176), and often with *ē*-stems like Lat. *quīē-s* Gr. *χεῖ ὀμο-κλῆ* (§ 578 p. 120), e. g. *plē-* in *plē-bam*. It may be that *vidām* when used with *cakāra* is accusative; but when used with *as-* or *bhū-* it may be instrumental. That *vidām* might be instr. is shown by O.C.Sl. *raķa* (III § 276 p. 179) and Skr. *pratarām* (Hirt, Idg. Forsch. I 20) and the like. Compare too the 3rd sing. imper mid. *vidām* § 968. 2.

§ 897. Armenian has several periphrastic formations; as the part. aor. (active or passive) in *-eal* coupled with *em* 'I am', e. g. *gereal ē* 'cepit, captus est' *gereal ēr* 'ceperat, captus erat' from *gerel* 'capere, to take prisoner'.

§ 898. Greek. Here we find as far back as we can go variants *γέγραπται* and *γεγραμμένος ἔστι* with little or no difference in meaning; and in Attic, beginning about 400 B. C., the periphrastic form became obligatory, and that in *-αται* and *-ατο* dropt out of use altogether: *γεγραμμένοι εἰσὶ* and *ἦσαν*. In the other tenses and moods *-αται* and *-ατο* had dropt in Attic long before, giving place to *-νται* and *-ντο*.

A future perfect, to express what will be completed in the future and will have enduring effects, could be formed only in the Middle and only from a few verbs; e. g. *λελείψεται βεβλήσεται* (§ 756. 6 p. 276). For the Active, and for such verbs as could not form this tense, a participle + *ἔσται* had to be used; as *κατακτονῶς ἔσται* 'he will have killed, he will be a murderer', *τετελεσμένον ἔσται* 'it will be accomplished'.

The periphrasis of the perfect by using *ἔχω* with a participle, as *κρύπτῃς ἔχω* 'I keep hidden' (Lat. *abditum habeo*), gained currency largely because certain verbs were without the simple perfect form; e. g. *ἐρασθεῖς ἔχω* (Plato) from *ἐράω* 'I love', *στήσας ἔχω* (Soph.) from *ἵστημι* 'I place' (because *ἕστηκα* is intransitive).

Desideratives in *-σίω* at first used only the participle active, as *ὀψείων* 'wishing to see'. This form, as Wackernagel makes very probable, comes from *ὀψει λύν* 'going out for to see' (Kuhn's *Zeitschr.*, xxviii 141 ff.); similarly *ξυμβασιών* 'wishing to make a bargain' from *ξύμβασις*, *ἀπαλλαξιών* 'wishing to get rid of' from *ἀπάλλαξις*. When the phrase had become a single word, the Attic added Indicative, Conjunctive, and the other parts of the conjugation. Compare Lat. *eō* with the supine, as *datum eō* (the same in Umbrian, *aseriato eest* 'observatum ibit'), from which type of sentences sprang the so-called fut. inf. passive *datum iri* (Kühner, *Ausf. Gr. der lat. Spr.*, II 534 f.).

§ 899. Italic and Keltic. In both we see the present of *bhe-* 'to become' joined with a preceding infinitival word to express the future. Lat. *arē-bō vidē-bō albē-bō, cubā-bō flā-bō plantā-bō*, (O.Lat.) *scī-bō audī-bō, ī-bō da-bō*, Falisc. *carē-fō pipā-fō*. O.Ir. *no charub* 'I will love' for **-bhū-ō*, elsewhere stem **-bhū-a-*, as in 3rd sing. *-carfa carfid*; *dolēciub* 'I will relinquish' *-lēicfea lēicfid*.

The Umbr.-Samn. Perfects like Osc. *aa-mana-ffed* 'mandavit' contain the Idg. thematic aorist **(e-)bhū-e-t*, see § 874 p. 422 f. The pret. of Class X **(e-)bhū-a-m* (§ 583 p. 123 f.) from the time of pr. Ital. made Imperfects, e. g. Lat. *arē-bam vidē-bam albē-bam plē-bam nē-bam dīcē-bam* (in O.Lat. also a future like *dīcē-bō*), *capiē-bam farcīē-bam finīē-bam, cubā-bam flā-bam plantā-bam*, (O.Lat.) *scī-bam fīnī-bam, ī-bam da-bam*, Osc. *fu-fans* 'erant'.

There is unquestionably some connexion between the first word in Latin phrases like *arē faciō* and the case-forms in *-ē* and *-a* (instr. sing.) in the first part of the O.C.Sl. imperfect, *vidē-achū dēla-achū*; there is probably a connexion with such a form as Skr. *viddm* in *vidā carati*. See § 896 Rem., § 903. Following the lead of Lat. *plantā-bō*, we may derive O.Ir. *no charub* from **cara-bō* (*carfid* from **carā-bāt(i)*, etc.). But there is no proof that *a* was long; and as the *s*-aorist *ro-char* comes from **carās-t* (§ 840 p. 377), it is possible that **carā-bō* was the pr. Keltic form. Still, that the first member was originally a nomen actionis need not be doubted whichever theory we adhere to.

§ 900. In Italic the Idg. perf. mid. passive gave place to a periphrasis with *sum* and the *to*-participle: Lat. *ortus sum, captus sum, plantatus sum, finitus sum*, Umbr. *screhto est* 'scriptum est' *screihtor sent* 'scripti sunt', Osc. *prúftúset* 'probata sunt'. How firmly rooted in the verbal system this periphrasis became is clear from two facts. (Whether the same holds for Umbro-Samnitic we cannot say; there is too great dearth of material.) (1) As the act. *fīnīvit* meant both 'he has

ended and done with', and in narrative 'he put an end to', so *finitum est*, which properly meant 'it is ended and done with', got in addition the meaning 'it was ended'; and *finitum erat* meant not only 'it was' but 'it had been ended'. Beside *praeceptum est* 'it is prescribed' we get *praeceptum fuit* 'it was prescribed'. (2) The other fact is the use of this periphrasis with deponents, where we see e. g. *cōfessus sum* made the perfect of *cōfiteor* for all purposes, and taking the same construction (II § 79 p. 219).

Just as in Attic the 3rd pl. *γεγράφται* was driven out by *γεγραμμένοι εἰσι*; so in Latin — perhaps even in proethnic Italic — the old 2nd pl. middle (cp. Skr. *bhāradhvē* Gr. *φέρεσθε*, § 1063) was superseded by a periphrasis with a participle: **ferimī estis* = Gr. *φερόμενοι ἐστε*, which in the historical period dropt its copula, and then the participial character of *ferimī* fell out of sight; see II § 71 p. 165. We may conjecture that **ferimī erātis*, **ferimī essētis* were also used. By and by this form buried itself in the present system, which it became part of; then its ending *-minī* became recognised for a personal suffix; and lastly we have *ferāminī ferēminī ferrēminī ferēbimī ferēbāminī* on the analogy of *ferāmur ferēmur* etc. to *ferimur*.

Old Latin had an indeclinable inf. fut. in *-tūrum*, as *credō inimicōs meōs dictūrum* (C. Gracchus), which Postgate (Class Review, v 301) neatly explains as compounded of *dictū* and *erum* = Umbr. *erom* Osc. *ezum* 'esse'. To this crystallised infinitive *esse* was superadded, as *dixerunt omnia . . . prōcessūrum esse*; and then, the apparent analogy of *hoc prōcessūrum* (*esse*) with *hoc factum* (*esse*) caused the form to be inflected as an adjective (*o*-stem), e. g. *hanc rem prōcessūram* (*esse*) etc. Similarly, as beside Gr. *ὀψέσθω* an indic. *ὀψέτω* was formed (§ 898 p. 446), so beside *mē datūrum* (*esse*) we have e. g. *datūrus sum*.

Remark. The traditional interpretation, that *datūrus* is an extension of *dator* (cp. II § 122 p. 387), has been recognised for wrong by Kretschmer too (Kuhn's Zeitschr., xxxi 463 f.). He also connects the form with the supines in *-ū* and *-um*, but assumes the suffix to be *-ro-*, comparing Gr. *λαγρό-* from *λαγύ-*. Postgate's explanation I think the likelier.

In formation, as in meaning, there is no connexion between the verbal adj. in *-fūrus* and the abstract noun in *-fūra*; the latter has nothing future in it, and contains a secondary suffix *-rā-*. As regards Desideratives like *parturiō canturiō*, see § 768 p. 282, § 778. 1 p. 301.

Further, Latin has the periphrastic inf. fut. passive, *datum iri*, mentioned above in § 898 p. 446. The complete fusion of these two words is shown by the spelling *-tuiri* instead of *-tum iri* (see Brandt, Arch. Lat. Lexicogr. II 349 ff.; Schmalz, Fleckeisen's Jahrb., 1892, pp. 79 f.).

In Umbro-Samnitic, we have the part. perf. active (suffix *-yes-*) combined with an injunctive from *es-* 'esse' to make a future perfect, as Umbr. *dersicust* 'dixerit' Osc. *fefacust* 'fecerit'. See § 872 p. 421.

§ 901. Germanic. The Idg. perf. passive in its original meaning, that of a present perfect, used to describe what has been completed in the past and is now a finished result, has been superseded all through Germanic by the phrase made up of the part. pret. pass. + the auxiliary *bin*; e. g. Goth. *gamēliþ ist* 'ἔγγραπται, it is written', O.H.G. *ginoman ist* 'it is taken'; similarly pret. Goth. *ana þammei sō baúrgs izē gatimrida was* 'ἐφ' οὗ ἡ πόλις αὐτῶν ὠκοδόμητο, was built, stood builded', O.H.G. *ginoman was* 'it had been taken, was in that condition'. Cp. Lat. *scriptum est* 'it is written' *scriptum erat* 'it was written' § 900 p. 447 f.

The same Idg. form in its later function of a historic perfect was superseded by the same participle with the auxiliary *ward* (*wurde*), e. g. Goth. *fralusans was jah bigitans varþ* 'ἀπολωλὼς ἦν καὶ ἠνρέθη, was lost and has been found again', O.H.G. *ginoman ward* 'it was taken'.

Everywhere but in Gothic the present passive too had to be superseded by a periphrasis: O.H.G. *ginoman wirdit* or *ist* 'is being taken' (Goth. *nimada*).

In the Active, the preterite present meaning could no longer be clearly put by the old perfect, Goth. *skatskáip* 'parted, divided' *nam* 'took' for example, as this had become a historic tense. Nor could it be put any better by the "weak" Preterite, as

Goth. *vaúrhta* 'worked' *nasida* 'saved'. This led to a periphrasis (not found in Gothic) of *bin* and *habe* with the preterite participle, as O.H.G. *queman ist* 'he has come, and is here' pret. *queman was* 'he had come and was here', *funtan habet* 'he has found and possesses' pret. *funtan habēta* 'he had found and possessed'. The participle with *habēm* was a true passive and belonged predicatively to the accusative object, cp. Lat. *cōgnitam hanc rem habet* and gr. *κρυπτόν ἔγω* 'abditum habeo' beside *κρυψῶς ἔχω* (see Thielmann, *Abhandlungen* W. v. Christ dargebracht, München 1891, p. 298). The participle with the presents *bin* and *habe* was used later, in Upper and Middle German, as a simple narrative tense without any reference to the present (cp. Lat. *finitum est* 'it was ended' on the analogy of *fīnīvit* 'ended'), whilst with the preterites *war* and *hatte* it had always served to express the pluperfect (cp. Lat. *finitum erat* 'it had been ended').

In Germanic the Idg. *sjo*-future was lost, nor did this branch, as others did, use certain conjunctive forms with future meaning only (as Lat. *erō*). For future events were used either perfect Present forms (see Streitberg, P.-B. Beitr. xv 119 ff.); or the living conjunctive, i. e. the Idg. optative (as Got. *jah sijaina þō tva du leika samin* 'και ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς ἓνα ἄρκα μίον'); or thirdly, periphrases with auxiliaries which naturally pointed to the future. But the use of these last with dependent infinitive (Goth. *haban*, *duginnan*, *skulan*, O.H.G. *scolan*, *muozan*, *wellen wollen*) did not lead to any fixt type in the old Germanic dialects, and each auxiliary bore its own proper meaning. Only phrases with *sollen* and *wollen* gained by degrees a simple future sense. Besides these periphrastic turns there was an idiom made up by *werden* (Goth. *vaírþan* O.H.G. *werdan*) with the present participle, which is found a few times, in Gothic, as *jūs saúrgandans vaírþiþ* 'ὅμως λυπηθήσεσθε, you shall be grieved'. This idiom in O.H.G. little by little won its way till all others had disappeared; but in Mid.H.G. the participle was exchanged for the infinitive.

§ 902. Baltic. In Lithuanian all the old middle forms which were used passively dropt out of use, and the reflexive with *-si* only partially did for the passive, as *teip kalba-si* instead of *teip kalbamà* 'so it is said'; hence a periphrasis was used for the passive in all tenses. To express habit or duration the pres. part. in *-ama-s* is used, as *taĩ (yrà) sàkoma* 'that is being said, that is usually said', *jis prakéikiams bús nũ visũ* 'he is constantly curst by all'. For completed action the participle in *-ta-s* is used; as *jis (yrà) prakéiktas* 'he is accurst', *dũrys uždarytos bũvo* 'the door was shut'. But it is usual to avoid passive constructions and so to express the idea as to make the active do for it.

Active Preterites like *vĩlkaũ* (§ 586 p. 126) and *viriaũ* (§ 593 p. 133) combine the meanings of historic perfect and present perfect; as *isz-áugo* 'he grew up' and 'he is grown up'. If it is needful to make the latter meaning clear beyond a doubt, the part. pres. act. with *esũ* may be used; as *asz (esũ) iszáugęs* 'I am grown up', *asz (esũ) iszmókęs* 'I have learnt', *jis bũvo pavařęs* 'he was impoverished'. This participle with *buvauĩ* also serves for a more exact expression of pluperfect time, cp. O.H.G. *qeman was* 'he had come' § 901 p. 450.

Wish is expressed by the Injunctive forms 1. pl. *-bime* 2. pl. *-bíte* from *✓bhey-* preceded by the Supine in *-tum*, as *sũktum-bime*. See § 727 p. 257. The 3rd sg. pl. and dual *sũkta* is without the auxiliary; for the 1st sing. we have *sũkciau sũkcze*. There are a great many bye-forms of this mood in the dialects (see Schleicher, Lit. Gramm. 228 f.; Kurschat, Gramm. d. litt. Spr. 300 f.; Bezzenberger, Beitr. z. Gesch. d. lit. Spr. 212 ff.; Leskien-Brugmann, Lit. Volksl. u. Märrh. 315 f.; for Lettic, see Bielenstein, Die lett. Spr. II 158 ff.); we cannot here enter into the history of these, which is sometimes very obscure.

§ 903. Slavonic. The Slavonic Imperfect is the imperf. **jachũ* 'eram' for **es-o-m* (§ 510 p. 76) added to the Instrumental case of nomina actionis in *-ě* and *-a*. To the first members of these compounds there are parallels in Italic

and Keltic, and doubtless in Sanskrit, as we have seen in § 896 Rem. p. 445, § 899 p. 447. O.C.Sl. *vidě-achŭ* 'I saw' like Lat. *vidē-bam*, *oslabě-achŭ* 'I became weak' like *albē-bam*, *nesě-achŭ* 'I carried' *pečaachŭ* 'I backed' for **pekě-achŭ* (I § 78 p. 65) like *ferě-bam*, *borja-achŭ* 'I fought' for **borjě-achŭ* (see as cited) like *capiš-bam*, *laķa-achŭ* like *plantā-đam*.

For Present Perfect was used the pres. part. in *-lŭ* (II § 76 p. 212) with *jesmŭ*, as *prišlŭ jesmŭ* 'I am come, I am here'. The same participle and *běachŭ* or *běchŭ* formed the Pluperfect, if need were to express this point of time exactly; as *posŭlalŭ běaše* 'he had sent'.

As in Germanic, when the old *sjo-* future was lost (cp. § 760 p. 278), future time was expressed either by the present of perfect verbs, or by a periphrasis consisting of Auxiliaries + dependent Infinitive. Such auxiliaries were in O.C.Sl. *imamŭ* ('I have'), *choštq* ('I wish'), *načŭnq* ('I will begin'), all of which with others (Miklosich, Vergl. Gr. iv 862 ff.), including *bqđq* ('I will, will be'), occur in other dialects. In some of the modern dialects, one or other of these verbs is used exclusively, just as *werde* with the infinitive in High German.

UNEXPLAINED FORMATIONS.

§ 904. A number of fertile tense types have now, with certain reservations, been compared with those of other languages, or explained as due to some analogy which has been pointed out within the same language; for instance the Greek *x*-perfect (§ 864 Rem. p. 412), or the Latin preterite in *-vŭ* and *-uŭ* (§ 875 p. 423). But there are many such types, characteristic enough in their own language, whose origin is still so dark that they cannot be brought in place amongst those already given. These may now be mentioned.

§ 905. Aryan. The 3rd sing. aor. pass. (also mid.) in *-i*, mostly with *a* in the root-syllable, in Vedic and Avestic, with or without augment like the other augmented tenses (as

usual, the unaugmented forms can have a conjunctive meaning). Examples: Skr. *á-vác-i vác-i* Avest. Gath. *a-vác-i vác-i* √ *ueq-* 'speak'; Skr. *á-dhar-i* O.Pers. *a-dar-iy* √ *dher-* 'hold fast'; Skr. *ájani* √ *ġen-* 'gignere', *ádarši* √ *derk-* 'see', *áyōji* √ *jeug-* 'yoke', *á-jhā-yi* stem *ġn-ē- ġn-ō-* 'noscere'; Avest. *jaini* √ *ghen-* 'strike, slay'.

It has often been assumed that *-i* is identical with the ending of the 1st sing. mid. *-i* (as in *á-kr-i*), just as *-ē* in the perfect did for both 1st and 3rd singular. The difference of vowel grade in the root syllable is generally compared with that in the 3rd sing. *u-vác-a* : 1st sing. *u-vác-a*. Compare § 1054. 3.

§ 905^a. The Armenian verb is permeated with analogical formations, which have largely destroyed the original structure of it. Specially difficult are the Conjunctive, Aorist, and Future forms characterised by *-ç-*, such, for instance, as conj. pres. *geriçem* (for **gerēçem*) aor. *gereçi* (for **gereaçi*, 3rd sing. *gereaç*) fut. *gereçiç* from *gerem* 'capio', where not only does *ç* need further explanation (cp. § 672 pp. 204 f.), but also the vowels that go with it.

§ 906. In Irish, no explanation has been found for what is called the Secondary Present (indic. and conj. impf.),¹⁾ as *no berinn* 2nd sing. *no bertha* etc. The 3rd sing. *no bered* is perhaps for **bhere-to* = Gr. *φέρε-το*.

§ 907. In Germanic, explanation is still to seek for the much discussed Weak Preterite,²⁾ whose chief mark is a *t*-sound.

1) Windisch, Das ir. praes. secundarium, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxvii 156 ff.

2) Begemann, Das schwache Präteritum der german. Sprachen, Berl. 1873. *Idem*, Zur Bedeutung des schw. Prät. der germ. Spr., Berl. 1874. Fr. Carter, On Begemann's Views as to the Weak Preterite of the Germanic Verbs, Transactions of the Am. Phil. Assoc. vi (1875) pp. 22 ff. Wickberg, Über den Ursprung der schwachen Präteritalbildung in den german. Sprachen, Lund 1877. Bugge, Das schwache german. praeteritum, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxiii 523. Amelung, Die Perfecta der schwachen Conjugation, Zeitschr. deutsch. Altert. xxi 229 ff. Paul, Zur Bildung des schwachen Präteritums und Participiums, Paul-Braune's

This is found alongside of the so-called primitive Presents, as often as their part. pret. pass. is formed with the suffix *-to-*, as Goth. *vaúrhta* O.H.G. *worhta* from *vaúrkja wurk(i)u* 'I work', Goth. *pūhta* O.H.G. *dahta* from Goth. *pugkja* O.H.G. *dunk(i)u* 'I think', Goth. O.H.G. *brahta* from *briggs bringu* 'I bring'. Next, the Preterite Present has also this preterite, as Goth. *ga-daúrsta* O.H.G. *gi-torsta* from *ga-durs gi-tar* 'I dare', Goth. *skulda* O.H.G. *scolta* from *skal scal* 'I shall', Goth. *munda* from *man* 'I think', *kunþa* from *kann* 'I know, learn'. Lastly, it is found with all weak verbs, as Goth. *nasida* O.H.G. *nerita* from *nasja neriu* 'I save', Goth. *salbōda* O.H.G. *salbōta* from *salbō salbōm* 'I smear, anoint', Goth. *habāida* O.H.G. *hapta habēta* from *haba habēm* 'I have'.

In the Indicative, the dental was followed by *ē* sometimes and sometimes *ō*, as Goth. 2nd sing. *nasidēs* contrasted with O.H.G. *neritōs* (but also *chi-minnerōdēs* like O.Sax. *habdes*); 1st and 3rd sing. Goth. *-da* O.H.G. *-ta*; Norse Run. 1st sing. *worahito* 'I made' 3rd sing. *wurte urte* 'he made'; in the plural O.H.G. *-tum -tut -tun* (Alemann. *-tōm -tōt -tōn*), Goth. *-dēdum -dēduþ -dēdun*. Opt. Goth. *-dēdjau -dēdeis* etc., O.H.G. *-ti -tīs* etc.

The connexion with the *to*-participle is unmistakable, if the treatment of the participial *t* under Verner's Law be borne in mind; e. g. Goth. *kunþa* like partic. *kunþa-*, *munda* like partic. *munda-*.¹⁾ But it does not follow that the dental of the weak preterite was always Idg. *t*. Not so; but forms with Idg. *dh*, *d*, or *th* may be included in this group, and the relation to the participle may be secondary. Indeed, there must be some

Beitr. vii 186 ff. Möller, *Kunþa* und das *t*-Präteritum, *ibid.* vii 457 ff. Sievers, Zur Flexion der schwachen Verba, *ibid.* viii 90 ff. Collits, Das schwache Präteritum des Germanischen, Am. Journ. Philol. ix 42 ff. = Bezzenberger's Beitr. xvii 227 ff. Johansson, Zur Flexion des schwachen Präteritums im Got., Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxx 547 ff. Other works are cited in those here enumerated.

1) For O.H.G. *forah-tu* 'feared', whose old participle is the adj. *forah-t* Got. *faúhr-t-s* 'timid', the present *t* must be taken into account (*furiht(i)u* Got. *faúrhja*). See § 685 p. 216.

such forms in the group; for example, O.Sax. *libda* 'lived' from $\sqrt{\text{leip-}}$ cannot have had Idg. *t* in the ending, and the partic. *ge-libd* must be instead of **-lift* and due to the analogy of the preterite.¹⁾ Just as the Latin Perfect included a variety of quite different tense forms, to which similar use has given the same inflexions, so the Weak Preterite in Germanic may have absorbed alien elements. That Goth. *iddja* (pl. *iddjēdun*) is the Sanskrit *á-yā-m* or perhaps its byeform *iyā-m* we have seen in § 478 p. 26, § 587 p. 128 (compare § 886 Rem. p. 434). Preterites of our Present Class I. may be included in the weak preterite, since e. g. Goth. *mun-dēs*²⁾ *vil-dēs* may be equated with Skr. 2nd sing. mid. *ma-thās* (*á-ma-thās*) *vṛ-thās* (*á-vṛ-thās*), compare Gr. $\lambda\text{-}\tau\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\theta\eta\varsigma$ = Skr. *á-ta-thās* § 503 p. 67. Again, O.H.G. *wissun* as an *s*-aorist may be compared with Gr. *ῥῶαν* (§ 827 p. 365), and forms like *salbō-ta* may be compounds of the same kind as Lat. *ama-bam* O.C.Sl. *děla-achŭ* (§ 899 p. 447, § 903 p. 451 f.), having for the second member the preterite of *dhē-* 'do' **(e-)dhē-m*, or the preterite *a*-injunctive **dh-a-m* (§ 507 p. 74, § 937).

§ 908. In Lithuanian, the growth of the Imperfect of habit in *-davau* is obscure; examples are *piáu-davau* 'I used to cut' 3rd sing. *piáu-davę* part. *piáu-davęs* (fem. *-davusi*), *sūk-davau* 'I used to twist', *matý-davau* 'I used to see'. The ending *-avau* recalls *baĩtavau* pret. of *baĩtāju* 'I gleam white', and recalls *d* in the present endings *-d-inu* and *-d-au*, treated in §§ 700 f. pp. 226 ff.

1) Nothing prevents our putting this re-formation of the participle back to protothnic Germanic; and so Goth. *ga-hugd-s* O.Sax. *gi-hugd* 'thought, reason, understanding' beside pret. O.Sax. *hoyda hugda* O.H.G. *hoeta* part. O.Sax. *gi-hugd* O.H.G. *ge-huct* does not weigh against the connexion of Germ. *hug-* with Skr. *śuc-* (I § 439 p. 327, § 447 p. 332).

2) For Goth. *mun-dēs* = Skr. *ma-thās* compare some recent remarks by Streitberg, *Zur Germ. Sprachgesch.*, 79.

FORMATION OF THE MOOD STEM.¹⁾INJUNCTIVE.²⁾

§ 909. Injunctive (or Spurious Conjunctive) is a name given to forms which look like unaugmented indicative forms belonging to a tense which is properly augmented; thus **bhere-t* = Skr. *bhārat* Gr. *πέρε*, cp. imperf. *á-bhara-t* ἄ-περε. Injunctive forms therefore have the secondary personal endings.

In the parent language they had a very wide scope; perhaps these are really the oldest forms of the verb finite, which do not yet show in their form either distinction of time, or distinction of the ideas conveyed by the words indicative and conjunctive (wish, futurity). In historical times we find these used in three different ways:

1) L. Tobler, *Übergang zwischen Tempus und Modus* etc., see p. 33 footnote 1. S. H. A. Herling, *Vergleichende Darstellung der Lehre vom Tempus und Modus*, Hannover 1840. Wüllner, *Die Bedeutung der sprachlichen Casus und Modi*, Münster 1827. C. F. Nägelsbach, *De vera modorum origine*, Erlang. 1843. M. L. E. Rusén, *Unde notiones modorum verbi sint repetendae*, Upsala 1855. A. Bergaigne, *De coniunctivi et optativi in Indoeuropaeis linguis informatione et vi antiquissima*, Paris 1877.

R. Kohlmann, *Über die Modi des griech. und des lat. Verbums in ihrem Verhältnis zu einander*, Eisleben 1883.

Scheuerlein, *Über den Charakter des Modus in der griechischen Sprache*, Halle 1842. W. Büttner, *Vom Optativus und Coniunctivus*, I, Schweidnitz 1879.

W. Weissenborn, *De modorum apud Latinos natura et usu*, I, Eisenach 1846. *Idem*, *Bemerkungen über die Bildung des Modus im Lat.*, *Philologus* 1 589 ff. Works on the future perfect and the conjunctive perfect are given in the footnote to page 346.

Jellinek, *Germanische Conjunctive*, in: *Beitr. zur Erklärung der germ. Flexion* (Berl. 1891) pp. 94 ff.

2) The Author, *Der sogen. unechte Conjunct.*, *Morph. Unt.* III 1 ff. M. Bloomfield, *On Certain Irregular Vedic Subjunctives or Imperatives*, *Am. Journ. Phil.* v 16 ff. Thurneysen, *Der ir. Imperativ auf -the*, *Idg. Forsch.* I 460 ff.

(1) Indicative Present. Skr. Ved. *cōdaya-t* 'he sets afire' and others (Delbrück, Altind. Syntax 354 f.). Gr. Dor. and Cypr. *φέρε-ς* 'thou bearest', Att. *τίθη-ς* 'thou placest'; cp. also the Author, Gr. Gr.² § 160 Anm. p. 185 on the present (timeless) use of the ind. aor., as in *κάρθαν' ὁμῶς ὁ τ' ἀεργὸς ἀνὴρ ὁ τε πολλὰ ἐοργώζ.*¹⁾ Lat. *vehi-s im-plē-s ī-s s-u-m* (§ 528 p. 91). O.Ir. 2nd sing. *-bir* 'fers' for **bhere-s* 3rd sing. *-beir* for **bhere-t*. O.Icel. *ero eru* 'are' for **iz-únþ* (§ 507 pp. 73 f., § 508 p. 74). Lith. *blį-o-si* 'he fears' for **bhij-a-t*, *jū'sto* 'he girds' for **jöstā-t*, Pruss. *waitia* 'he speaks' (§ 782. 4 p. 310); O.C.Sl. *beretū* 'fert' 3rd pl. *beratū* for **bhere-t* **bhero-nt* with the particle *u* (§§ 999 and 1026).

The only difference between these and the indic. forms in *-ti -nti* is that the latter have the particle *i* affixed; and this is apparently just what marked the new forms clearly out as present indicative (§ 973).

(2) Indicative Preterite. Skr. Ved. *bhāra-t* 'he bore'. Gr. Hom. *φέρει* 'he bore'; special mention must be made of the Ionic frequentatives *φένυσσεν* etc. (§ 673 p. 206), which regularly lack the augment. Lat. *-ba-s* Osc. 3rd pl. *-fans*, Lat. *era-s* (§ 583 p. 124), Osc. *kúm-bened* 'convēnit' (§ 867. 5 p. 415). O.Ir. *do bert* 'he brought' for some middle form in *-to* (§ 506 p. 72 f., § 826 p. 364). O.H.G. *biggi* 'thou didst bite' = Skr. *(ā-)bhīd-a-s* (§ 893 p. 441). Lith. *būvo* 'he was'; O.C.Sl. *tekū* 'I ran'. Cp. § 483 p. 31 ff.

(3) Conjunctive.

(a) Conj. = Wish. The 2nd pl. and 2nd and 3rd dual were firmly rooted among the imperative forms as early as the parent language: Skr. *bhāra-ta* 'ferte' *bhāra-tam bhāra-tām*, Gr. *φέρε-τε φέρε-ρον*, Lat. *agi-te*; O.Ir. 2nd pl. *beri-d*; Goth. 2nd pl. *batrī-þ* (2nd dual *batra-ts* with primary ending); beside **es-ti* 'is' Skr. *s-tā s-tām s-tām*, Gr. *ἔσ-τε ἔσ-τον*, Lat. *es-te*;

1) The use of the augmented forms in the same way may be compared with the use of Skr. *agāt* instead of *gāt* after *mā* in the *Mahā-Bharata* (Holtzmann, Gramm. aus dem Mahābh., 28).

s-Aorists Skr. *aviṣ-tā-na* (*-na* is a particle, see § 1010) *aviṣ-tām aviṣ-tām* from *áv-a-ti* 'he desires', Gr. *δειξά-τε δειξά-τον* from *δείξ-νῃ-σι* 'shows'. In the other persons the proethnic imperative has other formations.

But in some of the derived languages these other persons also are found with the sense of Wish; and here and there one of them does duty for some part of the imperative.

Skr. Ved. *prá vācam* 'I will praise', *dās* 'give', *juṣata* 'let him be pleased' 3rd pl. *juṣanta*, and many more. Then we have as part of the Aryan imperative such forms as 3rd sing. Skr. *bhārat-u* Avest. *barat-u* 'ferito' 3rd pl. Skr. *bhārant-u* Avest. *baran-tu* 'ferunto', Injunctives + particle *u* (§§ 992. 2 and 1017).

Gr. 2nd sing. mid. *φέρεο φέρον* for **φέρε-σθ* (cp. imperf. *ἐ-φάρο*), *βαλοῦ* for **βαλέ-σθ* (on the accent of this form see § 958), *φάο* from *φη-μι* 'I say', aor. *ῥέο ῥοῦ* beside *ἐ-ῥέ-μην* 'I placed for myself', used as regular imperative forms. Rarely also the corresponding 2nd sing. act. as *ἐνί-σπ-ε-ς* beside *ἐνί-σπ-ε* 'insece', *ἐπί-σχε-ς* beside *ἐπί-σχε* 'stop', *ἄγ-ε-ς* *ἄγε*, *φέρε* (Hesych.); cp. also § 932 on *ῥέξ* *ἔξ* *δέξ*.

Lat. *sequere* = gr. *ἔπει*, as regular imperative.

O.Ir. forms of the *s*-aorist, as *comèir* 'get up' for **-rec-s-s*, *tair* 'let him come' for **-inc-s-t* (§ 826 p. 363). Also the 2nd sing. imper. mid. in *-the*, as *cluinte* 'exaudi' beside indic. *ro-chluinethar*, *aigde* 'fear' beside *-āgur*, *foilsigthe* 'revela', since *-the* is the Skr. secondary ending *-thās* (§ 1051).

O.H.G. *ni curi* 'noli' for **kuz-i-z* **gus-e-s* beside 2nd pl. *ni cur-e-t*; Goth. *visa-m vaila* 'ἐνφρανθῶμεν', O.H.G. *fara-m* (*fara-mēs*) 'transeamus'.

Lith. *te ne ei* 'let him not go' for **ei-t*, *tè-suka* 'let him turn' *te-māto* 'let him see',¹⁾ 1st pl. *ei-mè* 1st dual *ei-và* 'let us go' (§ 511 p. 77), O.C.Sl. *bqdq* 'sunto' (also found *bqdaqū* 'erunt'), *veli-te* 'command ye' (also indic. *veli-te* 'ye command'), see § 955 Rem.

1) Since forms like *sūka māto* were also used for pres. indic., it came about that indicative forms with primary endings, as *ei(i)*, could be used with a "permissive" meaning; e. g. *t'ei(i)*.

(b) Conj. = Future. Skr. Ved. *nēm* (= *ná im*) *agha naśat* 'him no mischief will reach' (cp. Delbrück, Altind. Syntax 358). In Lithuanian, some dialects have forms of the *s*-aorist like *dė-s-me* 'we will lay' *dėste dėsva dėsta* (§§ 828 f. pp. 365 f.).

CONJUNCTIVE.¹⁾

§ 910. It has been pointed out (§ 489 pp. 47 f.) that in all the languages the same formative elements which mark what from its use is called the Conjunctive are also found in the Indicative. In this way we find used both *-e-* and *-o-*, the "Thematic Vowel", and also *-ā-* and *-ē-* (*-ō-*). It follows that these forms had originally a much wider use than they came to have afterwards; and it was only by degrees that some of them were appropriated to the Indicative and others for the Conjunctive. Even in the parent language the rule held good that forms with a thematic vowel were Conjunctive, where the Indicative was distinguished by having none; whilst if the Indicative had a thematic vowel, the Conjunctive had the suffixes *-ā-* or *-ē-* (*-ō-*). If the Indicative itself had *-ā-* or *-ē-* (*-ō-*) (Classes X and XI, §§ 578 ff. pp. 118 ff.), then Injunctive forms commonly served for the Conjunctive mood (§ 930).

Remark. As stems with *-e-* *-o-* and stems with *-ā-* *-ē-* (*-ō-*) originally did for both Indicative and Conjunctive, we may suppose that

1) Moulton, The Suffix of the Subjunctive, Amer. Journ. of Philol. x 285 f.

Bartholomae, Indisch *āi* in den Medialausgängen des Conjunctivs, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxvii 210 ff.

Joh. Paech, De veteri coniunctivi Graeci formatione, Breslau 1861. H. Stier, Bildung des Conjunctivs bei Homer, Curtius' Stud. ii 125 ff. Stolz, Zum Conj. des griech. sigm. Aor., Idg. Forsch. ii 153 ff.

Thurneysen, Der italokeltische Conjunctiv mit *ā*, Bezzenberger's Beitr. viii 269 ff.

Bréal, Un mot sur les subjonctifs latins en *am*, Mém. Soc. ling., vi 409 ff. L. Job, Le subjonctif latin en *-am*, *ibid.* vi 347 ff. V. Henry Esquisses morphologiques III: Le subjonctif latin, Douai 1885. G. Curtius, Der lat. Conjunctiv des Imperfects, in his Stud. viii 460 ff. Corssen, Die syncopierten Futurformen auf *-s* im Umbr., Osk. und Volsk., in: Beitr. zur ital. Sprachk. 533 ff.

tense-stems of other kinds had the same double use. As a matter of fact this was so in the fullest sense wherever these stems had the secondary personal endings, that is, were Injunctive (§ 909). But even some forms with the primary endings and without these conjunctive suffixes are so used: Skr. 2nd sing. *vê-ṣi* 'thou comest near' and 'come near' (3rd sing. *vê-ti* 'he comes near'), *kṣê-ṣi* 'thou abidest' and 'abide thou' (3rd sing. *kṣê-ti* 'he abides') are two examples out of many (Delbrück, Altind. Verb. 31 and 34 f.), Avest. Gath. *dōiṣt* 'perceive thou', Gr. imper. 2nd sing. *λίσσεαι* 'lay thyself' for **λεν-σ-σαι* (§ 969. 2). Compare § 974 Rem. On the use of the Att. indic. forms *μολθοῖς* *μολθοῖ* for the conjunctive see § 923.

The Conjunctive has a simple Future meaning in addition to that of wish (in which I include deliberative and dubitative). Often these forms drop their other meanings in the separate languages, and have that of Future only, or chiefly. Then they are called future in the grammars, as are for instance Lat. *erō viderō*.

In Armenian the Conjunctive formation appears to be entirely lost.

In Germanic and Balto-Slavonic it is lost all but a few scanty survivals, which will be given below. In both these branches the Optative took its place. First both these groups were used together (as in the Latin conjunctive, *edā-mus agā-mus* true conj. and *edī-mus sī-mus* optative); then the Optative won the day. Examples of Opt. forms used as Conj. in these languages are: Goth. *ḡairhaggagāima* 'διέλθωμεν, let us go through', *ni maúrþrjáis* 'μη φονεύσῃς'; *te-sukē* 'let him turn' (imperative)¹⁾, O.C.Sl. *ne vūvedi nasū vū iskušeniže* 'ne nos inducas in tentationem, μη εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμῶς' etc.

We now come to details. The Conjunctive formations may be divided into two groups, according as the Indicative stem (I) ended in a consonant, as **es-ti* **ei-ti* **ḡney-ti*, and contained the thematic vowel, as **bhere-ti*, or (II) ended in a long vowel, as **e-stā-t* **plē-ti*.

1) May also mean 'he may turn, he is to be allowed to turn'.

I. CONJUNCTIVE WHERE THE INDICATIVE STEM ENDS IN A
CONSONANT OR HAS A THEMATIC VOWEL.

A. Indicative Stem ends in a Consonant.

§ 911. The Conjunctive from these stems had in the parent language, and continued to have, the Thematic Vowel, as **eḡ-e-t(i)* (Skr. *áyati áyat*) beside Indic. **eḡ-ti* 'goes'. The stem had its strong form, the ablaut-syllable the 1st strong grade (e-grade in the *e* : *o*-series): pres. conj. **eḡ-e-t(i)* beside indic. *eḡ-i-*, **ṛ-neu-e-t(i)* (Skr. *ṛ-náv-a-t(i)*) beside indic. **ṛ-neu-* **ṛ-nu-*, **steu-e-t(i)* (Skr. *stáv-a-t(i)*) beside indic. **stēu-* **stu-* (§ 494 p. 54 f.); s-aor. conj. **qeḡ-s-e-t(i)* (Skr. *cé-ṣ-a-t(i)*) Gr. 2nd pl. *τεῖ-σ-ε-τε* beside indic. *(e-)qeḡ-s-* **(e-)qi-s-* (§ 811 p. 348); perf. conj. **te-ten-e-t(i)* (Skr. *ta-tán-a-ti*) beside indic. **te-ton-* **te-tn-* **te-tn-* (§ 843 p. 384).

§ 912. Pr. Idg. Conjunctives of this group have been touched upon frequently in our discussion of the Tense Stem. I therefore confine myself here to a few examples.

Present. Class I (§§ 492 ff.): **és-e-t(i)* beside **és-ti* 'is': Skr. *ásat(i)*, Gr. 1st sing. *ἔ-ω* (but *ἔης ἦς* etc. belong to B), Lat. (fut.) *er-i-t*. Class III (§§ 536 ff.): Skr. *bi-bhar-a-t* beside *bi-bhar-ti* 'bears', *bī-bhay-a-t* beside *bi-bhē-ti* 'fears'. Class V (§§ 555 ff.): Skr. *ba-bhas-a-t* beside *bá-bhas-ti* 'eats, devours'. Class VII (§§ 567 ff.): Skr. *jaṃ-ghán-a-t* beside *jám-ghan-ti* intens. 'strikes, kills'. Class XV (§§ 625 f.): Skr. *riṇác-a-t* beside *riṇák-ti* 'lets go, makes empty'. Class XVII (§§ 638 ff.): Skr. *ṛ-náv-a-t* beside *ṛ-nó-ti* 'excites, sets in motion'. Class XIX (§§ 656): *dvē-ṣ-a-t* beside *dvē-ṣ-ti* 'hates'.

s-Aorist (§§ 810 ff.). Skr. *nē-ṣ-a-t(i)* beside *á-nāi-ṣ-am* 'I feared', Gr. *τεῖ-σ-ο-μεν* beside *ἔ-τεῖ-σ-α* 'I paid', Lat. (fut.) *dix-ō* beside *dix-ī*, O.Ir. *for-tias* 'subveniam' beside *inconj. for-tē* 'subveniat' (§§ 826 p. 363 f.). Gr. *εἰδ-ί-ω* *εἰδῶ* (but *εἰδῆς* etc. belong to B) beside *ᾔδ-εα* 'I knew' for **ῆ-Feid-εσ-α*,

Umbr. *eest est* 'ibit' beside Gr. ἦεν 'I went' instead of **ē-es-η* (§ 836 pp. 372 ff.). Skr. *bōdh-iṣ-a-t* beside ind. 3rd pl. mid. *ā-bōdh-iṣ-ata* from *budh-* 'watch, notice', *gā-siṣ-a-t* beside ind. 3rd pl. *ā-gā-siṣ-ur* from *gā-* 'to sing'; add perhaps Gr. fut. *κρεμάω* from stem *κρεμασ-* 'to hang' (§ 840 p. 377). Lat. (fut.) *vid-er-ō* beside ind. 2nd pl. *vid-is-tis*. Gr. ἐρύ-σσ-ο-μεν beside εἴρ-υ-σσ-α 'I dragged', Lat. *amā-ss-i-t*.

Perfect (§§ 843 ff.). Skr. *ta-tān-a-t(i)* beside ind. *ta-tān-a* from √ *ten-* 'stretch'. Gr. *πενόισθμεν* instead of **νε-πειθ-ο-μεν* beside *πί-νομθ-ι* 'he trusts', *εἰδ-ο-μεν*) *εἰδ-ο-μαι* beside *οἶδ-ε*; but it can be grouped with the pres. **yeid-mi* Skr. *véd-mi* (§ 493 p. 52). Goth. *ōgs* 'fear thou' for **agh-e-s* beside *ōg* 'fears' (§ 882 p. 430).

§ 913. Aryan. The Thematic formation is fertile in Vedic, Avestic, and Old Persian. In later Sanskrit nothing remains but the 1st persons, which are now called 1st person Imperative.

The personal endings here as in the *a*-conjunctive (§ 921) were in Sanskrit and Avestic sometimes primary and sometimes secondary; the Middle had the primary almost always (details may be seen in Delbrück, *Altind. Verb.* 191 ff.; Whitney, *Skr. Gr.* §§ 560 ff.; Bartholomae, *Altiran. Verb.* 130 f.). The few Old Persian forms which occur all show a primary ending. As to Skr. middle forms like *kṛṇāvamahāi* instead of *kṛṇāvamahē*, see § 922.

Further examples (cp. § 912). Present. Skr. *kār-a-ti* *kar-a-nti* Avest. 1st sing. *carā-nī* beside ind. Skr. *kār-ṣi* Avest. *cor'-p* from √ *ger-* 'make'; Skr. *āy-a-t(i)* Avest. *ay-a-p* beside ind. *ē-ti* *aē-iti* from √ *eī-* 'go'; Avest. *anōh-a-iti* *-a-p* O.Pers. *ah-a-tiy* Skr. *ās-a-t(i)* beside ind. Skr. *ās-ti* etc. from √ *es-* 'esse'. In Sanskrit this Conjunctive formation is also found beside Indicatives with the suffix *-t-*, as *brāv-a-t(i)* beside *brāv-ī-ti* 'speaks' (§ 574 p. 116). Skr. *ju-hav-a-ti* beside *ju-hō-ti* 'offers', Avest. *ci-kay-a-p* 3rd pl. *rikaen* = *ci-kay-en*

1) Compare for this Conj. W. Schulze, *Kuhn's Zeitschr.* xxix 251.

beside Skr. *ci-ké-ti* 'observes, perceives'. Skr. *yunáj-a-tē* beside *yunák-ti* 'yokes', Avest. 1st pl. mid. *cināp-a-maidē* beside *cinas-ti* 'teaches'. Skr. *kṛ-ṇāv-a-t(i)* Avest. 1st sing. *ker'-nav-a-ni* beside *kṛ-ṇō-mi* *ker'-nao-mi* 'I make'. *s*-Aorist. Skr. *vá-s-a-ti* Avest. *vərogh-a-iti* from *√ uen-* 'win, get, conquer'. Skr. *san-iṣ-a-t* beside *á-sān-iṣ-am* 'won', Avest. 1st sing. *xšnev-iš-a* from *xšnu-* 'join oneself'. Perfect. Skr. *ja-ghán-a-t(i)* beside *ja-ghān-a* from *√ ghen-* 'strike, kill', *mu-mōc-a-t* beside *mu-mōc-a* from *muc-* 'let go', Avest. 1st pl. *ḍəh-a-ma* beside *ḍəh-a* (Skr. *ḍas-a*) from *√ es-* 'esse' (but the form may also be connected with the 3rd sing. *ḍəh-a-p*, under *B*).

Rarely we find a divergence in the Present from the rule of gradation which holds for this Conjunctive formation (§ 911 p. 461), as Skr. 3rd dual *añj-a-tas* beside 3rd pl. *anáj-an* (indic. *anák-ti* 'anoints, adorns') formed as though the indic. were **ának-ti*. On the numerous analogical forms in the *s*-aorist, such as Skr. *dṛk-ṣ-a-sē tār-iṣ-a-t*, see § 815 p. 353 and § 839 p. 375.

For the *a*-Conjunctive with an unthematic Indicative see § 921.

§ 914. Greek. The 1st sing. act. in *-ω* is regular in all dialects and periods. With this exception, the Conjunctive with a long vowel proved a formidable rival to the thematic formation. The latter held its ground most tenaciously in the *s*-aorist.

Very little trace is left in the stem of the proethnic law of gradation (§ 911 p. 461).

Present. This Conjunctive is fertile only in the oldest poetical language. Hom. *ἵομεν* instead of **ἱ(ε)-ο-μεν* and *ῥ-ο-μεν* from *ελ-μι* 'I will go'; *ῥομεν* is to be compared with Skr. *t-mahē* (see § 493 p. 52, § 497 p. 56), or else it is due to the analogy of *ῥή-ο-μεν* *δω-ο-μεν* and the like (cp. § 934 on Messen. *ἦνται* Hom. *μετ-ή(ω)*). Hom. *φθί-ε-ται* (instead of **φ.θ(ε)(ι)-ε-ται*) beside *φθί-το* 'was destroyed', *ἄλ-ε-ται* beside *ἄλ-το* 'he leapt'. On the analogy of these were made similar Conjunctives for indic. stems in *-α* *-ε* or *-ο*, as *πτή-ο-μεν* *ῥή-ο-μεν* *δω-ο-μεν* *βλή-ε-ται* (§ 934).

Some such conjunctives survived elsewhere, for instance in Attic, crystallized and used only for the Future; ἔδ-ο-μαι 'I will eat' (cp. inf. ἔδ-μεναι, Skr. indic. *āt-ti*), πί-ο-μαι 'I will drink' (beside imper. *πί-θι*), χέ(F)-ω 'I will pour' (beside indic. ἔ-χε(F)-α ἔ-χυν-το).

Remark 1. In an Aeolic insor. (discussed by Meister, *Anzeiger für idg. Spr.- und Altertumsk.*, 1 203 f.) we have the 3rd pl. *τέκοισι* with the meaning of Att. *τέκωσι*. If the reading is true, we must grant it to be an instance of the *o*-conj. invading the domain of the long vowel. If so, we should have a right to question whether Homeric conjunctives like *οιρέπεται* (in subord. clause after *δρ' ἄν*) ought really to be denied. These are collected by Stier in Curtius' *Stud.* II 138 f.; Curtius himself regards them as mythical (Verb, II³ 87 ff.).

s-Aorist. There are many examples in Homer and other Homeric poets; as *τείσομεν* *τείσετε*, *βιήσεται*, *ἀμείψεται*. So there are in inscriptions of the 5th cent. B. C., from Ephesus, Teos, and Chios; as 3rd sing. in *-ει*, *ἀποκρύψει*, and 3rd pl. *πρήξοισιν* (Att. *πράξωσιν*) with *-οι-* instead of *-ον-* by Lesbian influence (I § 205 p. 172). In Cretan we find such forms as 3rd sing. *δεῖξει*. Then there are Epic imperatives such as *ἄξ-ε-τε* 'bring ye' *ἄξ-ε-σθε* *ὄψ-ε-σθε* 'see ye' (§ 833 p. 370), and the futures *ἄξω* *ὄψομαι*, which must not be separated from the imperatives; indeed the whole Greek *s*-Future may perhaps come from the Conj. of the *s*-aorist (§ 747 p. 269). Lastly, the 1st sing. *εἰδέω* *εἰδῶ* (2nd sing. *εἰδῆς* etc. goes under *B*) beside indic. *ᾔδεα* 'I knew' for **ῥ-Feid-εσ-α* (§ 836 pp. 372 ff.).

Perfect. Survivals in Homer: *πε-ποίηθ-ο-μεν* *ἔδ-ο-μεν*, see § 912 p. 462; mid. *προσ-αρήρε-ται* Hes. Op. 431 (Vat. 2 *προσαρήσεται*). Attic imper. like *κε-κράγ-ε-τε* *κε-χρήν-ε-τε* (§ 854 p. 404).

Remark 2. It is strange that while Homer has *τείσομεν* etc. he has no complementary conj. forms in *-εις* *-ει* *-ουσι*. We may conjecture that he really had, but that the symbols of the old alphabet, *-ΕΙΣ* *-ΕΙ* *-ΟΣΙ*, which had more than one value, were here misunderstood, and the forms disappeared, *-ης* *-η* *ωσι* being written instead.

Those conjunctives which are not used exclusively for future or imperative, are being attracted even in Homer to follow the

lead of those with long vowels, as ἵωμεν, ἄληται, πεποιδωμεν. See § 923.

§ 915. *Italic*. Only found as a Future (cp. Att. ἔθ-ο-μαι, § 914).

Present. Lat. *erō er-i-s*: Skr. *ás-ā-ni* Gr. ἔ-ω, see § 912 p. 461.

s-Aorist. Lat. *dīx-ō dīx-i-s, fax-ō fax-i-tur, cap-s-ō* and the like, Umbr. Osc. *fust 'erit'*, Umbr. *furent 'erunt'* prupehast 'ante piabit', Osc. *deivast 'iurabit'* (§ 824 p. 362). Umbr. *cest est 'ibit'* ferest 'feret', Osc. *pert-emet 'perimet'* (§ 837 p. 374). Lat. *viderō liquerō*, then by analogy *sciderō totonderō dixerō* etc. (§ 841 pp. 378 f.). In the 3rd pl. of these future perfects, the ending **-erunt*, which was also the ending of the 3rd pl. indic. perfect, gave place to the optative ending *-erint* (beside 1st sing. *vid-erim*), just as we find *viderimus* instead of *viderimus*, *videritis* instead of *videritis*.¹⁾ Lastly, Lat. *amāssō turbāssitur habēssō*, for which infinitives were coined, as *impetrāssere*, on the analogy of *capessere* to *capessō* (§ 842 p. 381).

In the Conjunctive use (Wish), only the *ā-* and *ē-*forms (*B*) remained fertile; these also spread into the thematic conjunctive, as Lat. *e-ā-s* beside indic. *ī-s*, *plē-r-ē-s* beside indic. Skr. *ā-prā-s-am*.

§ 916. *Keltic*. *s-aorist* with meaning of Wish and more rarely of the Future; as from *tiagim* 'I step, go' the 1st sing. *-tias*, 3rd sing. *tēs tēis*, see § 826 p. 364.

§ 917. *Germanic*. Isolated Got. *ōgs* 'fear thou' beside perf. *ōg* 'fears' (§ 822 p. 430, § 912 p. 462).

B. Conjunctive to a Thematic Indicative.

§ 918. These Conjunctives have for the Suffix long vowels, not subject to gradation, *-ā-* or *-ē-* (*-ō-*). These are the same

1) With this contamination compare the use of *sim edim* as conj. On the analogy of the fut. perf. *viderint* itself we have *erint poterint* instead of *erunt poterunt*.

as in the Indicative, Gr. ἰ-ῥ-ᾱ-ν Lat. *pl-ē-s*, which also have no gradation; this has been pointed out in § 578 p. 119.

-ā- is a Conj. vowel in Italic, Keltic, Slavonic, Germanic (?); -ē- in Greek and Italic; -ō- in Greek. -ē- and -ō- (φείρ-η-τε φείρ-ω-μεν) are connected closely (cp. Gr. indic. ζ-ῆ and ζ-ῶ-σι, ψ-ῆ and ψ-ω-ρό-ς); but their distribution in the Greek system can hardly be original, through it is the same as -e- and -o- in the Indicative. It is likely that they just imitated the Indicative, differing only in length, for symmetry (cp. Arc. conj. ἰ-στᾱ-ροι beside indic. ἰ-στᾱ-μι ἰ-στα-μεν, Mess. conj. τι-θῆ-ντι beside indic. τι-θῆ-μι τι-θε-μεν § 934). What was the quality of sound which became Aryan -ā- cannot now be seen. And as long as this remains dark, so long it will be unknown how the ā- and ē- (-ō-) formations were distributed in the parent language. No inference can be drawn from the different use in Latin of *ag-ā-s* and *ag-ē-s*.

Remark. From the form of the 1st sing. act. Ved. *ārcā* (3rd sing. *ārc-ā-t*) Avest. *per^s-ā* (3rd sing. *per^s-ā-iti*) we may perhaps assume some direct connexion with the Greek formation (φείρ-ω beside 3. sing. φείρ-η); compare Lat. *ag-a-m* O.Ir. *do-ber* for **ber-ā-m* O.C.Sl. *bera* for **ber-ā-m*. The O.Lat. 1st sing. *age* may be for **agō* by qualitative assimilation with *agēs* etc.: **agō* beside *erō* like Skr. *ārcā* beside *brāra*.

§ 919. Pr.Idg. Class II (§§ 513 ff.): Skr. *bhār-ā-t(i)*, Gr. φείρ-ω-μεν φείρ-η-τε, Lat. (conj.) *fer-ā-s* (fut.) *fer-ē-s*, O.Ir. *do-ber* for **ber-ā-m*, beside indic. Skr. *bhār-a-ti* etc. from √ *bher-* 'bear'; Skr. *vid-ā-t(i)* Gr. ἰδ-ω-μεν beside indic. Skr. *ā-vid-a-t* 'found' Gr. εἶδ-ε ἰδ-ε 'saw' from √ *ueid-*; Skr. *bhuv-ā-ni* Lat. *fu-ā-s* Osc. *fuid* 'fuerit' (for **fu-ē-d*) beside indic. Skr. *ā-bhuv-a-t* Lat. (perf.) *fu-i-t* from √ *bheu-* 'be, become'. Class IV (§§ 547 ff.): Gr. γί-γν-η-ται Lat. *gi-gn-ā-s gi-gn-ē-s* beside indic. γί-γν-ε-ται *gi-gn-i-t*, Mid.Ir. *gignid* 'nascetur' ground-form **gi-gen-ā-ti* (§ 544 p. 103) from √ *gen-* 'beget'. Class VI (§§ 561 ff.): Avest. *ja-yn-ā-p* Gr. πεί-φρ-ω-μεν Mid.Ir. 1st pl. (fut.) *gēnam* for **ge-gn-ā-m* beside indic. ἔ-πει-φρ-ε from √ *ghen-* 'strike, kill'; Avest. *vaoc-ā-p* Gr. εἴπ-ω-μεν beside indic. Avest. *vaoc-a-p* Gr. ἔ-ειπ-ε Idg. *(e)-ue-yq-e-t from √ *ueq-* 'speak'. Class XIII (§§ 607 ff.): Gr. πεί-φρ-ω-μεν from πεί-φω 'drink',

Lat. *li-n-ā-s* *li-n-ē-s* from indic. *li-nō* (cp. § 935). Class XVI (§ 627 ff.): Skr. *siñc-ā-s* beside *siñc-ā-ti* 'sprinkles' from $\sqrt{\text{siñc}}$, Gr. *σφίγγ-ω-μεν* from *σφίγγ-ω* 'I tie, bind', Lat. *jung-ā-s* *-ē-s* from *jung-ō*. Class XVIII (§§ 648 ff.): Skr. *inv-ā-t* from *i-nva-ti* 'subdues, oppresses', O.Pers. *kū-nav-a-hy* from *a-kū-nav-a* 'he made', Gr. Att. *τίν-ω-μεν* from *τίνω* 'I pay' for **τι-νfw*, Lat. *minu-ā-s* *-ē-s* from *mi-nu-ō*. Class XX (§§ 657 ff.): Avest. 3rd pl. *baxš-ā-nti* from *bax-ša-iti* 'divides, receives as a share', Gr. *ἀέξ-ω-μεν* *αὐξ-ω-μεν* from *ἀέκ-σω* *αὐκ-σω* 'I increase', *τρέ-ω-μεν* from *τρέ-ί(σ)-ω* 'I tremble, flee', Lat. *vīs-ā-s* *-ē-s* from *vīsō* for **vñ-sō*. Class XXII (§§ 670 ff.): Skr. *prch-ā-t* Lat. *posc-ā-s* *-ē-s* beside *prchā-ti* *posci-t* from $\sqrt{\text{prek}}$ 'ask, demand', Gr. *φάσκ-ω-μεν* from *φά-σκω* 'I inform, say' O.Ir. 1st pl. *-nasc-a-m* beside *nascim* 'bind' from $\sqrt{\text{nedh}}$. Class XXIII (§ 678): Gr. *διδάσκ-ω-μεν* from *δι-δά(κ)-σκω* 'I teach', Lat. *disc-ā-s* *-ē-s* from *discō* for **di-tc-scō*. Class XXIV (§§ 679 ff.): Gr. *πέκτ-ω-μεν* from *πίκ-τω* 'I comb', Lat. *pect-ā-s* *-ē-s* from *pec-tō*. Class XXV (§§ 688 ff.): Gr. *πλήθ-ω-μεν* from *πλή-θω* 'I am full', *ἐλθ-η-ται* from *ἐλ-θω-μαι* 'I wish, desire', Lat. *cūd-ā-s* *-ē-s* from *cū-dō*. Class XXVI (§§ 705 ff.): Skr. *har-y-ā-s* Gr. *χαίρ-ω-μεν* Osc. heriad 'velit' beside Skr. *hār-ya-ti* *χαίρω* from $\sqrt{\text{gher}}$ 'take pleasure in'; Skr. *pāśy-ā-t(i)* Lat. *cōn-spici-ā-s* *-ē-s* beside *pāś-ya-ti* *-spic-iō* from $\sqrt{\text{spek}}$ 'see'; O.Ir. 3rd sing. *do-lēcea* beside *-lēc-iu* 'I let'. Class XXVII (§§ 728 ff.) Gr. *γαργαίρ-ω-μεν* beside *γαρ-γαίρω* 'I swarm with', Lat. *tin-tinni-ā-s* *-ē-s* beside *tin-tinn-iō*. Class XXVIII (§§ 734 ff.): Skr. 2nd sing. mid. *pyāya-sē* beside *py-ā-ya-tē* 'swells', Gr. *ζώ-ω-μεν* (Gort. 3rd pl. *δω-ω-ντι*) beside *ζ-ώ-ω* 'I live', Lat. *-pleā-s* for **plē(i)-ā-s* beside *pleō* for **pl-ē-(i)ō*, *videā-s* for **vidē(i)-ā-s* beside *videō* for **vid-ē-(i)ō* (*hiē-s* for **hiā(i)-ē-s*? beside *hiō* for **hi-ā-(i)ō*). Class XXIX (§§ 742 ff.): Skr. *prtan-y-ā-t* from *prtan-yā-ti* 'fights', Gr. *ιαίν-ω-μεν* from *ιαίνω* for **i(σ)ανω* 'I quicken, make alive'. Class XXX (§§ 766 ff.): Skr. *apas-y-ā-t* from *apas-yā-ti* 'is active', *vasūy-ā-t* from *vasū-yā-ti* 'desires wealth', Gr. *τεκταίν-ω-μεν* from *τεκταίνω* 'I fashion' for **τεκταιν-ω*, *τιμά-ω-μεν* *τιμῶμεν* *τιμά-η-τε* *τιμᾶτε*

from *τιμά-ω* 'I honour', *φιλέ-ω-μεν* *φιλωμεν* *φιλέ-η-τε* *φιλητε* from *φιλέ-ω* 'I treat as a friend', Lat. *custōdi-ā-s* *-ē-s* from *custōd-iō*, *fīni-ā-s* *-ē-s* from *fīni-ō*, *claudē-ā-s* from *claudē-ō*, *statu-ā-s* *-ē-s* from *statu-ō* (*plantē-s* for **plantā(i)-ē-s*? from *plantō* for **plantā(i)ō*). Class XXXII (§§ 788 ff.): Skr. *yōdhāy-ā-s* Lat. *jube-ā-s* from *yōdhāy-a-ti* 'involves in a fight' *jube-ō* (§ 794 p. 329), Gr. *φορέ-ω-μεν* *φορωμεν* from *φορέ-ω* 'I wear'.

§ 920. In all the languages which have this Conjunctive, forms of the type are found in connexion with an unthematic Indicative; and it may be assumed that in the parent language itself both types of Conjunctive were sometimes used with the same verb, just as many verbs had thematic and unthematic inflexion in the Indicative and elsewhere. Skr. 3rd pl. *ād-a-n* Gr. *ἔδ-ω-μεν* Lat. *ed-ā-s* beside indic. Skr. *āt-ti* Lat. *ēst*, cp. ind. Skr. *ād-a-t* (imper. 2nd sing. mid. *ad-a-sva*) Gr. *ἔδ-ω* Lat. *ed-ō* Goth. *it-a* from *√ed-* 'eat'. Skr. *ās-a-t* 2nd pl. *as-a-tha* Gr. *ἔ-ω-μεν* beside Skr. *ās-ti* Gr. *ἔσ-τι*, cp. Hom. *ἔ-ο-ν* *ἔ-ο-ι* *ἔ-ών* Lat. *s-u-nt* O.C.Sl. (O.Russ.) *s-qtŭ* from *√es-* 'to be'. Skr. *ay-ā-s* *ay-a-t* Lat. *e-ā-s* beside indic. *ē-ti* *i-t*, cp. *áy-a-tē* Lat. *e-ō* *e-u-nt* from *√ei-* 'go'. For the long-vowel Conjunctive from the *s*-aorist, as Skr. *mā-s-a-tāi* Gr. *δείξ-ω-μεν* *εἰδέ-ω-μεν* Lat. *es-s-ē-s* *ager-ē-s*, thematic Indicatives like Skr. *ád-dik-ṣ-a-t* Gr. *ἔ-δειξ-ε* *ἔξ-ο-ν* Lat. *dīx-i-t* must be compared (§ 833 p. 369). So for Perfect forms like Skr. *vā-vṛdh-a-ti* Gr. *λελήχη* Osc. *fefacid* 'fecerit' we compare the thematic indic. Skr. *á-ca-kr-a-t* Gr. *ἐ-μέ-μηκ-ο-ν* *μέ-μβλ-ε-ται* Lat. *te-tig-i-t* *vhe-phak-e-d* 'fecit' (§ 854 p. 403 § 865. 2 p. 413, § 866 p. 413 f., § 867. 5, 6, and 7 p. 414 f., §§ 872 f. pp. 420 ff.).

§ 921. Aryan. On the distribution of primary and secondary Personal endings see § 913 p. 462.

Further examples for the normal Conjunctive formation (cp. § 919). Skr. *yáj-a-tē* Avest. *yaz-a-itē* beside *yáj-a-tē* *yaz-a-itē* 'he honours with an offering'. Skr. *bhāv-a-ti* Avest.

2nd sing. *bav-ā* O.Pers. *bav-ā-tiy* beside Skr. *bhāv-a-ti* etc. 'becomes'. Avest. *per's-ā-iti* O.Pers. *pars-ā-tiy* Skr. *prchā-t(i)* beside Skr. *prchā-ti* etc. 'asks'. Skr. *many-ā-tē* Avest. *many-ē-itē* O.Pers. 2nd sing. act. *maniy-ā-hy* beside Skr. *mān-ya-tē* 'thinks'. Skr. *pārāy-a-t(i)* Avest. *pāray-ā-ḥ* beside Skr. *pārāya-ti* 'carries over'; O.Pers. 2nd sing. *gauday-ā-hy* from *gud-* 'hide'.

Not uncommonly we find an *ā*-Conjunctive to an unthematic Indicative (cp. § 920); here we must bear in mind that in Aryan the 1st persons of the Active and Middle were the same in the two Conjunctive series, 1st sing. act. Skr. *-ā* (*-ā-ni*) Avest. *-a* (*-ā-ni*) mid. Skr. and Avest. *-āi*, 1st pl. Skr. act. *-ā-ma* mid. *-ā-mahē* (*-ā-mahāi*). (1) Present. Skr. *ās-a-t* Avest. *aṇh-a-iti* 2nd sing. *aṇh-ā* beside Skr. *ās-ti* 'is', cp. O.Pers. 3rd sing. pret. *aha* i. e. *āha*. Skr. *ay-a-t* Avest. *ay-ā-ḥ* beside Skr. *ē-ti* 'goes', cp. Skr. indic. *āy-a-tē*. Skr. 2nd pl. *han-a-tha* Avest. *jan-a-ḥ* beside Skr. *hān-ti* 'strikes, kills', cp. indic. Skr. *han-a-ti* Avest. *jan-a-iti*. Skr. *brav-a-t* Avest. 3rd pl. mid. *mrao-a-iṛē* beside Skr. *brāv-i-mi* Avest. *mrao-mi* 'I speak', cp. Avest. indic. *mrao-a-iti*. Skr. *bi-bhar-ā-si* beside *bī-bhar-ti* 'bears', cp. Avest. indic. *bī-bar-a-mi*. Avest. 3rd sing. mid. *vōi-vid-ā-itē* beside Skr. part. *vē-vid-āna-s* intens. of *vid-* 'find', cp. Avest. indic. *naē-niž-a-iti* (§ 570 p. 113). Skr. 3rd pl. *yunaj-a-n* beside indic. *yu-nāk-ti* 'yokes'. Skr. *kṛ-ṇāv-a-t* Avest. *ker'navā-ḥ* O.Pers. 2nd sing. *kūnavā-hy* beside indic. Skr. *kṛ-ṇō-ti* etc. 'makes', cp. indic. O.Pers. *a-kū-nav-ata* and the like, § 649 p. 185. (2) *s*-Aorist. Skr. 3rd sing. mid. *mās-a-tai* beside indic. 1st sing. mid. *ā-mā-s-i* from *mā-* 'measure', Avest. *janh-a-ḥ* beside conj. Gath. *jēnogh-a-itī* from *√ gem-* 'go' (§ 814 p. 352), cp. the thematic Indicative Skr. *ā-dikṣ-a-t* Avest. *a-sas-a-ḥ* § 833 p. 369. (3) Perfect. Skr. *vā-vṛdh-a-ti* beside indic. *va-vārdh-a* from *vardh-* 'to grow', *pa-prc-a-si* beside indic. 3rd pl. *pa-prc-ur* from *parc-* 'to mix', Avest. *ānsh-a-ḥ* beside indic. *ānsh-a* from *as-* 'to be', cp. the thematic Ind. Skr. *ā-ca-kr-a-t* etc. § 854 p. 403.

§ 922. In Sanskrit an extra mark was added to the Middle of the *a*-conjunctive; the final *-ē* of those persons that ended therewith was changed to *-āi*, as *-mahē* to *-mahāi*. This came from the 1st sing., as *bhārāi*, which was all that had it in pr. Idg. (§ 1042. 1).

First were formed 1st pl. *bhārāmahāi* 1st dual *bhārāvahāi* instead of **bhārāmahē* **bhārāvahē*, to distinguish conjunctive from indicative: so that *bhārāmahāi* answered to indic. *bhārāmahē* as *bhārāi* to indic. *bhārē*.

Next *-mahāi* and *-vahāi* took their place in other conjunctives which had no confusing indicative of the same form, both in *a*- and *a*-conjunctives: e. g. aor. *vōcā-vahāi* beside indic. *a-vōcā-vahi* (*vōcā-vahī*) 3rd sing. *a-vōc-a-ta* from *vac-* 'to speak', pres. *kṛṇāv-a-mahāi* beside indic. *kṛ-ṇu-māhē*. Amongst these we find also the older *-mahē* used, as in *kār-a-mahē* beside indic. *á-kṛ-ta* from *kar-* 'to make', *sanīṣ-a-mahē* beside indic. *á-san-iṣ-ṭa* from *san-* 'to get, gain'.

From the 1st pl. and dual *-āi* next went on to the other persons of the *a*-conjunctive: 2nd sing. *-ā-sāi* beside *-ā-sē*, 3rd sing. *-ā-tāi* beside *-ā-tē*, 2nd pl. *-ā-dhvāi* beside *-ā-dhvē*, 3rd pl. *-ā-ntāi*. In the Rig-Veda two such new forms, but only two, occur: *yaj-a-tāi* from *yaj-* 'to honour with an offering' and *māday-a-dhvāi* from *mad-* 'to enjoy'.

In the 2nd and 3rd dual the ending *-āi* is not found. Here the endings were *-āithē* *-āitē*, in which *-āi-* on account of the 2nd dual *trāsāithē* (indic. *á-trā-s-ta* from *trā-* 'to protect') must doubtless be regarded as also coming from the 1st sing. in *-āi*: following *bhārāi* beside indic. *bhārē* were coined the conj. *bhārāithē* and *bhārāitē* beside *bhārēthē* and *bhārētē*. See Bartholomae, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxvii 214 f.

Some few instances occur of a 3rd pl. in *-antāi* beside a thematic indicative; as *vantantāi* beside indic. *vārt-a-ntē* 'vertuntur'. The origin of this form is clear: *bhārāi* *bhārāmahāi* *bhārāvahāi* are distinguished from *bhārē* *bhārāmahē* *bhārāvahē* only by the ending, which suggested a symmetrical relation and caused *-antāi* to arise in place of *-antē*.

§ 923. Greek. Examples in § 919.

The Personal endings are nearly all primary. But in the 3rd singular many dialects (amongst others Arcadian and Cyprian) have *-η* for *-η-τ*, as *ἔχη*, instead of *-ηι* (*-η*).

In the 3rd pl. *φέρωντι* (Att. *φέρουσι*) *φέρωνται*, *ω* is not regular: there is the same analogical change as in *ἄνται* instead of **ἄνται* cp. act. *ἄεισι* (I § 611 Rem. p. 462, IV § 582 p. 123).

In Attic the ending *-ης -η* (§ 987. 1, § 995) ran together with the indic. *-εις -ει*, that is *φέρης* and *φέρεις* had the same pronunciation; so too *φιλής* (for *φιλέης*) and *φιλείς* (for *φιλέεις*). And since after contraction *τιμάης τιμάη* became the same as *τιμάεις τιμάει*, namely *τιμάῃς* and *τιμάῃ*, and since the 1st sing. in all verbs of this form was the same for both indic. and conj., — *φέρω φιλω τιμῶ μισθῶ* — the result was that the indic. *μισθοῖς μισθοῖ* came to be used as conjunctive too.

By degrees, the *η-ω*-inflexion drove out that with *ε* and *ο* from the Conjunctive Mood; as *ῥομεν* instead of *ῥομεν* (§ 914 p. 463 f.); the latter only held its own where any form was used exclusively in the sense of a future or imperative. This tendency, which, as we saw in § 920 p. 468, may have begun in the parent language, was made easier because the 1st sing. act. in both these conjunctive systems ended in *-ω*; as *ἔω* (*ῶ*) beside indic. *ἔσ-τι* (Lat. *er-ō* 3rd sing. *er-i-t*), *φέρω* beside indic. *φέρει* (cp. Skr. *ārcā* beside indic. *ārc-a-ti*).

It remains for the present a question whether the reverse be true, and the thematic conjunctive ever took the place of a long-vowel form; see § 914 Rem. 1 p. 464.

§ 924. Italic. The long-vowel Conjunctive drove out the Optative in thematic tenses (e. g. *ag-a-s* is used as equivalent to both *ἄγης* and *ἄγοις*), whilst in Germanic and Balto-Slavonic the Optative won the day (§ 910 p. 460). The short-vowel Conjunctive had a different fate. It remained only as the Future (§ 915 p. 465), and its conjunctive use (Wish, Deliberation, Doubt) passed either to the long-vowel series, for which see below, or to the Optative (as Lat. *s-iē-s s-i-s* beside *es-t*).

The suffixes *-ā-* and *-ē-* are both found, and the personal endings are secondary: Lat. *ag-a-m* (like injunct. — pret. — *-b-a-m*), 3rd sing. Osc. *pútíad fuid*, 3rd pl. Osc. *putíans herrins* (but Osc. has also 3rd sing. *tadait* = **-a(i)ē-ti*, § 996).

On the spread of long-vowel forms in place of those with a short vowel, as in Lat. *e-ā-s* *es-s-ē-s* Osc. *fefacid*, see § 920 p. 468.

§ 925. The *ā*-suffix appears in the Present only. To the forms cited in § 919 add the following. Lat. *fu-ā-s* beside indic. *fu-i-t*. Lat. *dīc-ā-s* Osc. *deicans* 'dicant' beside indic. Lat. *dīc-i-t*. Umbr. *emantur* 'emantur'. Lat. *faci-ā-s* Umbr. *fašia* 'faciat' beside indic. *fac-iō*. Lat. *fīni-ā-s* beside indic. *fīni-ō* i. e. *fīni-iō*, *claude-ā-s* beside indic. *claudeō* for **claude-iō*, *mone-ā-s* beside indic. *moneō* for **mon-eiō*.

In Umbrian *-iā-* spread from *fašia* and like forms to the *ā*-denominatives; hence *kuraia* 'curet' *etaians* 'itent'.

Lat. *e-ā-s* beside indic. *i-t* (like Skr. *ay-a-t*), whilst in the verbs *est vult ēst* the Optative (*s-iē-s* *s-i-s*, *vel-i-s*, *ed-i-s* beside *ed-ā-s*) added the conjunctive function to their own. The opt. of *i-t* may have been lost by the plural **i-i-mos* becoming **īmos*, and thus being identical with the indicative.

Remark. The only example of *-ā-* outside the Present would be Lat. *dum-taxat*, if Bréal be right in taking *-taxat* as the conj. of the *s*-aorist of *tangō* (cp. opt. *tax-i-s*): 'donec tetigerit, jusqu'à ce qu'il ait atteint', then 'jusqu'à (et non plus loin)' (Mém. Soc. Ling. v 35 f., Dict. étymol.* p. 385). As in the whole area of Italic the *s*-aorist has only the *ē*-conjunctive (§ 926), it would be better to take *-taxat* as conj. of an indic. **taxō*, Class XX (§ 662 p. 197).

§ 926. The *ē*-suffix appears in all tense Stems.

(1) Present. Lat. (fut.) *fer-ē-s capi-ē-s farci-ēs fini-ē-s*.) Umbr. *heriiei* 'velit' or 'volet' (cp. Osc. *heriiad* 'velit' § 919 p. 467).

The following may also be examples: Osc. *deivaid* 'iuret' for **deivā(i)-ē-t*, *tadait* 'censeat' for **tadā(i)-ē-ti*, *sakahiter* 'sacretur' for **saka(i)-ē-ter*; Lat. *nēs plantēs* for **nā(i)-ē-s* **planta(i)-ē-s* (indic. 1st sing. *nō plantō* for **-ā(i)ō*); similarly

1) These forms are wrongly explained in vol. I § 81 Rem. 3 p. 74 f.

stēs for **sta(i)-ē-s* (indic. 1st sing. *stō* for **stā-(i)ō*), by analogy of which would come *dēs* (cp. § 946). The difference between *plantēs* and *claudēs finias* — the conj. suffix being in the one group *ē* and in the other *a* — may be explained by remembering that **plantā(i)-a-s* must become **plantas*, and a confusion with the indicative would result (compare § 930 *sub fin.*); the loss of **clau*de*(i)-ē-s* (cp. *fīni-ē-s plantēs*), because it too would become **claudēs* like the indicative. But all these *ē*-forms may be optative: **deivā-iē-t* **plantā-iē-s*, **da-iē-s*. If, as is possible, the origin of these forms is double, the intermingling of Conjunctive and Optative would be due to formal analogy as well as syntax. See § 946.

(2) *s*-Aorist (cp. Skr. *mā-s-a-tai* Gr. *μαῖ-η-ται* εἰδέ-η-ται § 920 p. 468). Lat. *es-s-ē-s in-trā-r-ē-s im-plē-r-ē-s vidē-r-ē-s plantā-r-ē-s* Osc. *fusid* 'foret' Pelign. *upsaseter* 'operaretur' or 'operarentur' (§ 824 p. 362). Lat. *ag-er-ē-s gnōsc-er-ē-s*, Umbr. *ostensendi* 'ostenderentur' for **-tend-es-ē-ntēr*, Osc. *herrins* 'caperent' for **her-es-ē-nt* (§ 837 p. 374). Lat. *vid-is-s-ē-s totondissē-s dixissē-s* (§ 842 p. 381). Compare the short-vowel conjunctive-futures Lat. *fax-i-tur vider-i-s* Umbr. Osc. *fust* § 915 p. 465.

(3) Perfect Forms (cp. Skr. *vā-vṛdh-a-ti* Gr. *λε-λῆ-κ-η* § 920 p. 468) occur only in Umbro-Samnite, as in Latin the *s*-Aorist had intruded in place of the perfect forms. Osc. *fefacid* 'fecerit' *hipid* 'habuerit' *fuid* 'fuerit'; Osc. *sakrafir* 'sacraverint' Umbr. *pihafei* 'piaverint'; Osc. *tribarakattins* 'aedificaverint'. See §§ 872 f. pp. 420 f. Most of these forms may be regarded as belonging originally to a thematic aorist, as *fuid* to indic. Lat. *fu-i-t* = Skr. *ā-bhuv-a-t* (see *loc. cit.*); if so they belong to (1).¹⁾

§ 927. Keltic. For Irish examples see § 919. Only *-a-* is proved as the Conjunctive suffix. Conjunct flexion, e. g. sing. *do-ber*, *-berae* *-bere*, *-bera*, pl. *-beram* *-berid* *-berat* based

1) In regarding the Umbro-Samnitic forms in this section as *ē*-conj. I follow my pupil G. Bronisch. Meanwhile Bartholomae likewise explains *sakahīter* as a conj. like Gr. *ὁράη-ται* (Stud. Idg. Spr., II 154, 185).

upon **ber-ā-m -ā-si -ā-t, -ā-m- -ā-te -ā-nt(o)*; with primary endings, the "absolute" 1st sing. *bera* (certainly a new form), 3rd sing. *berid*, pl. *bermme berthe berit*. Similarly 3rd sing. *dolēcea* for **leikyi-ā-t* etc.

With the conj. *-hera* harmonised fully in inflexion *-cara*, beside indic. *no charu* for **carā-īð*, cp. Cymr. conj. 3rd sing. *caro* pl. *carom caroch caront* with *o* for *a*. The conj. *carā-* may be for **carāi-ā-*, but may also be for orig. *carā-* (§ 930).

To the Present in *-enim* (Class XII, § 604 pp. 145 f.) the conjunctive was a series of forms without the nasal suffix. E. g. with *crenim* 'I buy' (from $\sqrt{qre\dot{i}-}$) and *benim* 'I strike, cut' (beside O.C.Sl. *bi-ti* 'to strike') the conjunctives are 3rd sing. *(ni-)cria* for **qrii-ā-t* (cp. Gr. $\eta\theta\iota-\omega-\mu\alpha\iota$ $\eta\theta\iota-\eta-\tau\alpha\iota$) and *(fom-)bia* for **bhi-ā-t*. Compare Thurneysen in Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxi 87 f. On the analogy of these, *renim* 'I sell' for **pr-nā-* ($\sqrt{per-}$) had the conj. *ni-ria* made for it; levelling seems to have taken place between these two verbs in the indic. perfect too, though in the reverse direction (§ 878 p. 426 f.).

§ 928. Germanic. Only one form, and that very dubious; the 1st sing. *bairau* = O.Icel. *bera* beside the clear optatives Goth. *bairāi-s bairāi* etc.; this has hitherto been derived from **berai-u* Idg. **bheroj-ŋ* (cp. I § 142 p. 126), which is called the "only tenable hypothesis" by Kluge, Paul's (Grundr. i 381.¹) According to Hirt (Idg. Forsch. i 206) the form comes from **berō-m* = Lat. *feram*, and *-au* must be pronounced *-aú*, that is as a single sound; similarly Goth. *viljau* O.H.G. *wille* would be derived from **uel-i-ā-m*, pr. Germ. **uiliŋn*. Compare § 947.

§ 929. Slavonic. 1st sing. indic. *bera* for **berām* is a conj. form used as future, which displaced the old form in *-ō*

1) I cannot agree to a recent criticism of this explanation, that it violates well established laws of sound. *i* would drop between vowels in unaccented syllables, and *u* may have been contracted with the preceding *a*, before acc. **frijōnd-u* became *frijōnd*, if this form really so arose (see III § 219 p. 96). Others see the particle *u* in *bairau* (cp. Wiedemann, Lit. Prät. 159).

first in perfect verbs whose present served for the future. Compare § 955 on imperative *pīja-te* and the like.

II. CONJUNCTIVE WHERE THE INDICATIVE STEM ENDS IN A LONG VOWEL.

A. Indicative Stem ends in *-ā-*, *-ē-* *-ō-* without gradation.

§ 930. We have here the Conjunctive to our Present Classes X and XI (§§ 578 ff. pp. 118 ff.), that is, stems such as **dr-ā-* 'to run' (Skr. *dra-ti* Gr. *ἐ-δρά-ν*), **pl-ē-* 'fill' (Skr. *á-prā-t* Gr. *πλή-το* Lat. *im-plē-s*), **mṛn-ē-* 'to think' (Gr. *ἐ-μάρη* Lith. *mīnē*), **tak-ē-* 'to be silent' (Lat. *tacē-s* O.H.G. *dagē-s*), with which are grouped denominative stems without *-jo-* like Lat. *plantā-* (*plantā-mus*) O.Ir. *carā-* (*no chara-m*) Goth. *salbō-* (*salbō-m*) Lith. *jūstō-* (*jū'stō-me*) Gr. Aeol. *τῖμα-* (*τῖμα-μεν*) (§ 769 pp. 283 ff.) and Perfects like Skr. *ji-jyāú* Gr. *βε-βίη-ται* *βέ-βλη-ται* *τε-τίμα-ται* (§ 847 pp. 390 ff.).

The long vowels of these stems we have already identified with the conjunctive suffixes *-ā-* and *-ē-* (*-ō-*), in § 578 p. 119 f. Thus the Conjunctive and Indicative had here originally the same stem.

In Aryan we get Injunctive forms with Conjunctive use; as Ved. *pr-ā-s* from *pr-ā-* 'to fill'. Forms with primary ending in conj. meaning do not occur, except *prā-si* 'let him fill', which however belongs to the group *vē-ṣi* *kṣē-ṣi* etc. (§ 910 Rem. pp. 459 f.).

Greek. Messen. *-γράφ-η-ντι* conj. of *ἐ-γράφ-η* 'it was written' 1st pl. *ἐ-γράφ-η-μεν*, *-σκενάσθ-η-ντι* beside *ἐ-σκηνάσθη* 'was prepared'. Perf. Gortyn. *πέ-π-α-ται* beside indic. *πέ-π-α-ται* 'he has gained, he possesses' from *ἔμ-α-* (II § 117 p. 370 f.), Ther. *πέ-πρ-α-ται* beside indic. *πέ-πρ-α-ται* 'is sold', also conj. Heracl. *οἰκοδόμη-ται* from *οἰκοδομέω* 'I build', Gortyn. *ἐσ-τετέκνω-ται* beside (Att.) *ἐκ-τεκνῶω* 'I beget children'. For clearer distinction between conj. and indic. these forms followed the

analogy of our 1st conjunctive class: hence we have on the one hand forms with short conj. vowel, as Hom. *βλή-ε-ται τραπή-ο-μεν γνώ-ο-μεν κι-χῆ-ο-μεν* (cp. *κί-χ-η-μι* § 594 p. 135), and on the other hand forms with long vowel, as Hom. *δαμῆ-ης γνώ-ωσι*,¹⁾ contracted Att. *τραπήης τραπῶμεν γνώωμεν, μεμνήται* Hom. *μεμνώμεθα*, Heracl. *ἐπι-βῆ* for **-βᾶει* or **-βᾶη*.

From Keltic we may cite the conj. of *a*-verbs, as O.Ir. *-cara* for **carā-t* (cp. § 927 p. 474), and from Germanic the corresponding conjunctives, such as Goth. *salbō -ō-s -ō -ō-ma -ō-p -ō-na* O.H.G. *salbo -ō-s -o -ō-m -ō-t -ō-n*; also O.H.G. conj. *habe -ē-s -e -ē-m -ē-t -ē-n* beside indic. *habēm -ēs* etc., and Gr. conj. *γράφ-η-νται* beside *ἐ-γράφ-η-μεν*.²⁾ Similar Latin forms, **plantā-m -a-s* etc., may have been the predecessors of *plantem -ēs* etc.; cp. § 926 p. 473.

B. Indicative Stem has a Long Final Vowel, with Gradation.

§ 931. We have now to deal with the Conjunctive of Indicative Stems like **dhē- *dh(ə)-* (Skr. *á-dhā-t á-dhi-ta*), **dhi-dhē- *dhi-dh(ə)-* and **dhe-dhē- *dhe-dh(ə)-* (Gr. *τί-θ-σι τί-θ-ε-ται τέ-θ-ε-ται*, Skr. *dá-dhā-ti da-dh-más da-dhāú da-dh-úr*), **mṛ-nā- *mṛ-n(ə)-* (Skr. *mṛ-nā-ti mṛ-n-ānti* Gr. *μάρ-να-ται*).

Two conjunctive types appear to be proethnic; one with the thematic vowel, which we may call the regular type, as Skr. *da-dh-a-tē* beside indic. *dá-dhā-ti*, and one with long

1) It is true there is nothing to prove that the forms Homer really used were not *δαμῆ-ει; γνώ-ουσι*; compare § 934, on conj. like *στήης στήωσι*. The absence of such forms as *δαμῆωμεν δαμῆητε στήωμεν στήητε* in Homer is in favour of the short-vowel conjunctive.

2) But how are we to explain Goth. *habau -ais -ai*? That *habēs* in Gothic became *habais* (*ai* = long *ai*) by simple action of regular change is to my mind as little proven as the identity of Goth. *sifais* and Lat. *sifēs*. The student may now refer to Streitberg, Zur Germ. Sprachgeschichte 73 f., who regards *habais habai* as optative with the suffix *-iē*.

vowel, as Skr. *da-dh-a-tāi*, Gr. *ἐνί-στ-ω-μαι ἐνί-στ-η-ται* beside indic. *ἐνί-στα-ται*, Lat. *si-st-ā-s*. The latter are not independent of the fact that the Indicative so often has a thematic side by side with the unthematic series, thus Skr. *da-dh-a-tē* beside indic. *dā-dhā-ti*, *da-dh-ā-tāi* beside indic. *dā-dh-a-ti* (§ 562 p. 110 f.). Cp. conj. *āy-a-t* and *ay-ā-t* and the like (§ 920 p. 468).

§ 932. (1) Thematic Conjunctive Type.

Skr. *da-dh-a-t* 2nd dual *dā-dh-a-thas* mid. *da-dh-a-tē* beside indic. *dā-dhā-ti* 'places'. 2nd dual mid. *dh-ēthē* 3rd sing. act. *prāti-dhat* beside indic. *ā-dhā-t*. *mi-n-a-t* beside indic. *mi-nā-ti* 'lessens, injures'. The forms with secondary personal ending, *da-dh-a-t mi-n-a-t*, may be regarded as injunctive to the thematic indic. *dā-dh-a-ti ā-mi-n-a-nta*; *-dh-a-t* as injunctive is to be compared with *āda-t* (§ 524 p. 88). Avest. 1st sing. *xšt-a* (cp. indic. 3rd sing. *paiti-štā-p* Skr. *ā-sthā-t* from *√ sta-* 'stare') may come in here as easily as under (2); cp. § 933.

Greek perhaps has specimens of this type of conjunctive in the imperative 2nd sing. *ῥέε* (from *ῥίθηναι*) and *ἔε* (*ἔηναι*). If so, their *ε* is not the same as *ε* in *ἔ-ῥε-μεν*, which has displaced *α* = Idg. *ə* (§ 493 p. 53); they would be on the same plane as *οἷ-έ-ς*. On the model of *ῥ-έ-ς* (**dh-e-s*): *ῥέ-τε* (Idg. **dha-te*) *ῥός* beside *ῥότε* would then be coined. Or are *ῥέε* *ἔε* *ῥός* transformates of **ῥῥς* **ῥς* **ῥως* (which would be injunctive like Skr. *dhās dās*) by levelling with *ῥέτω* *ῥέτε* etc. (§ 909 p. 458).

§ 933. (2) Long-Vowel Conjunctive Type.

Aryan. Skr. *da-dh-a-tāi da-d-a-tāi* beside indic. *dā-dhā-ti* 'places' *dā-da-ti* 'gives', cp. indic. *dā-dh-a-ti dā-d-a-ti* Avest. *da-p-a-iti* (§ 562 p. 111). Skr. *dh-ā-ti d-ā-ti sth-a-ti sth-ā-thas* 2nd dual mid. *dhāithē* (cp. § 922 p. 470 on *bhārāithē*), Avest. 2nd sing. *d-ā-hī* 3rd sing. *d-ā-itī* mid. *d-ā-itē* *xšt-ā-itē* 3rd pl. mid. *d-ā-ntē* beside indic. Skr. *ā-dhā-t ā-dā-t ā-sthā-t* Avest. *dā-p-štā-p*, cp. indic. Skr. *āda-t* (§ 524 p. 88). Skr. 2nd pl. *krī-n-a-tha* mid. 3rd sing. *krī-n-a-tāi* beside indic. *krī-nā-ti* 'buys' (Whitney, Skr. Gr. § 720), Avest. mid. 3rd sing. *per'-n-a-itē* *ver'-n-a-tā* (with secondary ending) 3rd pl. *ver'-n-ā-ntē*

beside indic. *ger'w-na-iti* 'grasps, comprehends', cp. indic. Skr. *mṛ-ṇ-a-ti* (§ 598 p. 141, § 609 p. 149).

On the ending *-a-tai* see § 922 p. 470.

§ 934. Greek. *ἐπί-στ-ω-μαι ἐπί-στ-η-ται* beside indic. *ἐπί-στα-ται* 'understands'. *δύ-ω-μαι* beside indic. *δύ-να-ται* 'can', *μαρ-ν-ώ-μεσθα* (Hesiod) beside indic. *μάρ-να-ται* 'fights', cp. opt. *μαρ-νο-ί-μεθα* (Od. 11. 513) and indic. like *πτάο-νο-μαι* (§ 611 p. 149). Whether the Attic accent be *τίθωμαι* or *τιθῶμαι* (for **τιθέωμαι*) cannot be decided; the grammarians contradict each other, and the MS. tradition is uncommonly inconsistent; *τί-θ-ω-μαι τί-θ-η-ται* would answer to Skr. *da-dh-a-tai*.

A second type is represented by forms like Messen. *τίθηντι* beside *τίθημι* 'I place', Arcad. *ἱ-στᾶ-τοι* Cret. *ἱθῶντι* beside *ἱ-στᾶ-μι* 'I place, set up', Cret. *δύ-ῃ-μαι* beside *δύ-να-μαι* 'I can', *ῥήγ-νῦ-ται* (Hipponax) beside *ῥήγ-νῦ-μι* 'I break, tear'. I assume that this type is due to imitation of such a conjunctive as *-γράφ-ηντι* (§ 930 p. 475) — observe that in both series the optative formation had become the same in proethnic Greek, as *γραφείην* and *τιθείην*, see § 943; — *τίθηντι* : *τίθημι ἐτίθην* = *γράφηντι* : *ἐγράφην*; *ῥήγνῦται* like *ὑμεναῖον* § 480 p. 29. Cp. Hom. *τιθήμενος* instead of *τιθέμενος* like *κ-χήμενος* *βλή-μενος*, indic. *ἐπί-σσηται* (Il. 16. 243, from *ῥ-σση-ν*) like *πλῆ-το* 'drew near' (for **πλᾶ-το*). If Greek once had the conj. *a*-suffix, *ἱ-στᾶ-τοι* might be compared with Lat. *si-ēt-a-s*.

In the same way, and at the same time, with the forms *γράφηντι* etc., Conjunctives like *τίθηντι* came under the influence of *o*- and *ω*-conjunctives. Hom. *στή-ο-μεν στή-ε-τον*, *θή-ο-μεν -θή-ο-μαι*, *δῆ-ο-μεν* and Hom. *στή-ης στή-ωσι*, *φή-ης*,²)

1) The forms here treated have been wrongly explained in vol. I

used were *στήεις* *στήουσι*.

Delph. *δῶ-η*, Boeot. *καθ-ιστάει*. Contracted Att. *σῶ στήζ*, *ίσῶ ιστήζ*, *ἔσῶ ἐστήζ*, *θῶ θήζ*, *δῶ δήζ*.

The relation of *τίθηνται* to indic. *τίθενται* produced in Messenian a conj. *ῆνται* 'sint' beside indic. *ένται*. With this must be grouped Hom. *μετ-εῖω* (Il. 23. 47), for which read *μετ-ήω* and place it parallel to *θῆ-ω ἐφ-ήω*. Compare also § 502 p. 66 on *ἐμὲν* and *ἔμειν ἔμεναι* and § 914 p. 463 on Hom. *ῥομεν*.

§ 935. Italic. Lat. *si-st-ā-s* cp. indic. *si-st-i-t* √ *sta-*; *serās* for **si-s-ā-s* cp. indic. *se-r-i-t* √ *sē-*; *red-d-ā-s* Osc. *da-dad* 'dedat' (*da-* prefix) cp. indic. Lat. *red-d-i-t* (the indic. forms *dās dat* may contain the same stem *d-ā-* which with injunctive Flexion could also be indic. pres., cp. § 505 p. 71, § 909 p. 456 f.), Pelign. *di-d-a* 'det' Umbr. *di-rs-a* 'det' cp. indic. Vest. *di-d-e-t* 'dat' √ *dō-*. Compare § 493 p. 53, § 524 p. 88, § 550 p. 106, § 553 p. 107.

Lat. *ster-n-ā-s li-n-ā-s* cp. indic. *ster-n-i-t li-n-i-t*. Compare § 603 p. 145.

§ 936. From Irish we may cite the Mid.Ir. 2nd sing. *eba* 'bibas', cp. indic. *ibid* for **pi-b-e-ti* √ *pō-*. Compare § 539 p. 100, § 554 p. 108.

§ 937. Germanic. In § 507 p. 74 it was pointed out as possible that O.Sax. *dō-m* O.H.G. *tuō-m* 'I do' may represent the stem *dh-ā-* of Lat. *condā-s* and be compared with Lat. indic. *d-ā-s* (§ 935). The same stem as Conj. is seen in O.Sax. 1st 2nd and 3rd pl. *dua-n* O.H.G. 2nd pl. *tuō-t* 3rd pl. *tuō-n*.

OPTATIVE.¹⁾

§ 938. The Optative of the Unthematic Indicative has for suffix in the Singular Active *-iē- -iē-* (Strong form), in the Plural and Dual Active and in the Middle of all numbers *-i-*

1) Th. Benfey, Über die Entstehung und die Formen des idg. Optativ (Potential) so wie über das Futurum auf sanskritisch *syāmi* u. s. w., Abhandl. der Gött. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. xvi 135 ff. J. Schmidt, Die

before consonants and *-i-* *-ij-* before sonants (Weak forms). The Tense Stem had its Weak form. Thus from **es-ti* 'is': **s-iē-* **s-ijē-* 2nd sing. Skr. *s-yā-s s-iyā-s* O.Lat. *s-iē-s*, **s-i-* **s-ī-* **s-ij-* 1st pl. Lat. *s-i-mus* 3rd pl. Skr. *s-y-ūr s-iy-ūr* O.Lat. *s-i-ent*. But the Optative of Thematic tense stems had in all persons of the Active and Middle *-oi-* before the personal ending; as **bhero-i-* (Gr. *φέρου-ς φέρου-τε*) beside indic. **bhere-ti* 'bears' from $\sqrt{bher-}$. Probably *-oi-* is for *-o-i-* and this *-i-* identical with that of **s-i-*; 2nd pl. **bhero-i-te*: **s-i-te* = loc. **uoi-ko-i* (Gr. *οἴκοι*): **kun-i* (Gr. *κυν-ί* Skr. *śún-i*).

The Personal endings of the Optative are Secondary. Compare § 942 Rem.

In Armenian and Irish¹⁾ the Optative seems completely dead; in Italic the *oi-* type can no longer be traced. The commingling of optative and conjunctive has been described in § 910 p. 460.

I. OPTATIVE WITH *-iē-* *-ī-*.

§ 939. Pr.Idg.

Class I (§§ 492 ff.). **gm-iē-* **gm-ī-* beside indic. **gém-ti* 'goes' (Skr. *á-gan*): Skr. *gam-yā-t* mid. 1st sing. *gm-ī-ya*, A.S. *cyme* (Goth. **kumjau*). **bhū-iē-* **bhu-ijē-* **bhu-ij-* beside

ursprüngl. Flexion des Optativs und der auf *ā* auslautenden Präsensstämme, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxiv 303 ff.

G. H. Müller, De Graecorum modo optativo, Philologus XLIX 548 ff.

Fr. A. Börsch, Hat die lat. Sprache einen Optativus? Marburg 1820.

Loth, L'optatif, les temps secondaires dans les dialectes britanniques, Mém. Soc. Ling., v 133 ff.

F. Bech, Der umgelautete Conjunctivus praeteriti rückumlautender Zeitwörter, Germania xv 129 ff.

Miklosich, Imperativ [in Old Slovenian], Sitzungsber. d. Wien. Akad. LXXXI 132 ff. Oblak, Ein Beitrag zum slavischen Imperativ, Archiv slav. Phil. x 143 ff.

1) "What the British conjunctive, in which *i* seems to be mixt up with *ō* (for *ā*), really is, has not yet been made out. It may be partly derived from an optative of the *s*-aorist." (Thurneysen.) Compare also Loth, Mém. Soc. Ling. v 133 ff.

1st pl. Skr. *á-bhū-ma* Gr. *ἔ-φθ-μεν* from \sqrt{bhey} 'be, become': Skr. *bhū-yā-t* O.Pers. *b-iyā*, Gr. Cypr. *φύκη*, 1st pl. Avest. *buyamā* i. e. *bviyama* for **bhū-ī-ṇm-* (§ 942). **uid-īē- *uid-ī-* beside Skr. *vēd-mi* from \sqrt{ueid} 'see, know' (see § 493 p. 52): Skr. *vid-yā-t* Goth. 1st pl. *vit-ei-ma*. **s-(i)īē- *s-ī-*: Skr. *s-yā-t s-iyā-t*, O.Lat. *s-ie-t* 1st pl. O.Lat. and class. *s-ī-mus*, O.H.G. 1st pl. *s-ī-m*. **d-(i)īē- *d-ī-* beside Skr. *ád-mi* 'esse': Skr. *ad-yā-t* Lat. *ed-ī-mus* O.C.Sl. *jad-i-mŭ*; in all three branches a strong root-form has taken the place of the weak.

Indicatives like **é-dhē-t* 'he placed' had two optative types, one having the "unaccented weak grade" of root (*dh-*) and the other the "weak grade with secondary accent" (*dhā-*); compare the two forms of the root in Skr. *d-yā-ti* and *dā-ya-tē*, and the like (§ 707 p. 238). (1) **dh-īē- *dh-ī-*: Avest. *d-yā-ḥ* Osc. *da-did* 'dedat' (*-ī-* from the plural), cp. redupl. Avest. *daidyā-ḥ* mid. *daidī-ta*. (2) **dhā-īē- *dhā-ī-* (cp. **bheroī-* and Skr. superl. *sthēṣṭha-s* 'the steadiest, most stable' for **stā-īs-to-* II § 81 p. 244). Gr. pl. *ῥεῖ-μεν δοῖ-μεν σταῖ-μεν* (*ῥε- δο-* instead of and *ῥα- *δα-*, see § 493 p. 53), beside which we have *ῥεῖην δοῖην σταῖην* instead of **ῥε-ιη-ν* etc., like 3rd pl. *φέρουεν -οιᾶτο* instead of **-ο(ι)εν -ο(ι)ατο* following *φέρουμεν* etc. Skr. pl. **dhēma*¹⁾ **dēma* **sthēma* (cp. precative *dē-ṣ-ma* § 942), whence sing. *dhēya-t dēya-t sthēya-t* instead of **dha-ya-t* etc. (cp. *bhārēyam* following *bhārē-ma* instead of **bharāy-am* § 951, and compar. *sthēyas-* following superl. *sthēṣṭha-s* instead of **stha-yas-* II § 81 p. 244), and hence again by further analogy pl. *dhēyāma dēyāma sthēyāma* like *syā-ma* following *syā-t* and like Gr. *ῥεῖμεν* following *ῥεῖην* (§ 945); the root syllable in

1) The 2nd pl. Ved. *dhātana*, R.V. viii. 56. 5, x. 37. 12 (*-tana* as often instead of *-ta*, see § 1010), probably does not belong to this place; it is either a thematic form like Avest. 2nd sing. *dōi-ē* Gr. *ἐνι-δοῖτο -δοίμεθα*, or a new form coined beside *dhēhi* on the analogy of *attana attā* beside *addhi*, *itana itā* beside *i-hi*, *yātana yātā* beside *yāhi*, and the like. The latter view is supported by Pali pres. *dhēmi dhēsi* etc. and *dēmi dēsi* etc., which undoubtedly are new formates complementary to the imperative *dhēhi* and *dēhi*.

the presumptive form **dhē-ma* stands to that of 3rd sing. mid. *da-dh-ī-tá* just as the indic. 3rd sing. mid. pret. *á-dhi-ta* to the 3rd sing. mid. pres. *dha-t-tē*. It is uncertain whether Lat. *dēs* comes from **da-(i)ē-s* (§ 946), and whether O.H.G. 1st pl. *stēn* is to be equated with Gr. *σταῖμεν* (§ 947).

Remark. Others assume that Skr. *dhēyā-t* Gr. *ᾄω* come from **dhā-ijē-t*. With this view, attractive enough at first sight, I cannot agree. The explanation, now put forward again by Jellinek (Beitr. zur Erklärung der germ. Flexion, p. 95), that *bhādrēyam* comes from Idg. **bhero-ij-m*, is proved by the evidence of Iranian to be wrong.

Class III (§§ 536 ff.). Skr. *da-dh-yā-t* *da-d-yā-t* mid. *da-dh-ī-tá* *da-d-ī-tá*, O.Sax. pl. *ded-ī-n* 'we did' (beside *dād-ī-n*), unless this form is to be put with the perfect (§ 886 p. 433), O.C.Sl. *da-d-i-mŭ* *da-d-i-te* (indic. *da-d-eti* 'dant'); Gr. *τι-θι-ῖ-μεν* *δι-δο-ῖ-μεν* *ἰ-στα-ῖ-μεν* like *θι-ῖ-μεν* etc., see above Skr. *bi-bhi-yā-t* *bi-bhī-yāt* beside *bi-bhē-ti* 'fears', *bi-bhṛ-yā-t* beside *bī-bhar-ti* 'bears'.

Class VII (§§ 567 f.). Skr. *vē-viṣ-yā-t* beside indic. *vē-vēṣ-ṭi* 'works, is active'.

Classes X and XI (§§ 579 ff.). Skr. *jñā-yā-t* (gramm.) Gr. *γνοῖμεν* for **γνω-ι-μεν* from *gn-ē- gn-ō-* 'to learn'. Skr. *mndā-yā-t* 'commemoret' 3rd pl. *mndā-y-ur*. Gr. *δοῖμεν* for **dōā-ι-μεν* beside *ᾔ-δο-α-ν* 'I ran'. Lat. *nēs* for **sn-a-jē-s*? (s. § 946). — Gr. *κῃξῖμεν* beside *κί-χ-η-μεν* 'we reach, find'.

Class XII (§§ 597 ff.). Skr. 3rd sing. mid. *śṛ-ṇ-ī-tá* beside *śṛ-ṇā-ti* 'shatters'. Gr. *δύρατο* (beside *δύ-ρα-ται* 'is able') for **du-nā-i-to* stands to Skr. *śṛ-ṇ-ī-tá* as *τι-θῖτο* (on the accent see § 944) to *dadhītá*.

Class XV (§§ 625 f.). Skr. *yuñj-yā-t* mid. *yuñj-ī-tá* beside *yunák-ti* 'yokes'.

Class XVII (§§ 638 ff.). Skr. *ṛ-nu-yā-t* mid. *ṛ-nv-ī-tá* beside *ṛ-ṇō-ti* 'excites, sets a-going', mid. *aś-nuv-ī-tá* beside *aś-nō-ti* 'attains'. Hom. *δαίνωτο* for **dai-nv-ι-το* beside *dai-nv-ται* 'eats', 3rd pl. *δαίνατο* for *-nv-ι-ατο* (§ 944). Goth. *kunneima* for **kun-nv-ī-* Idg. **gṇ-nv-ī-* beside *kun-nu-m* 'we learn, know'.

Class XIX (§ 656). Skr. *dviṣ-yā-t* beside *dvēṣ-ṭi* 'hates'.

s-Aorist (§§ 811 ff.). Skr. mid. *dikṣ-i-ta* beside 1st sing. *á-dik-ṣ-i*, Lat. *dīx-i-mus* beside *dīx-i*, √ *deīk-* 'show'; Skr. mid. *ma-s-i-ta* Idg. **mṃ-s-i-to*, √ *men-* 'think'; O.H.G. *wiss-i-mēs* 'we knew' must be named here, if *wissun* 'they knew' is to be compared with Gr. *ῥσαν* (§ 827 p. 365). es-Aorist: Gr. *εἰδεῖμεν* 'we should like to know' for **Feid-es-i-mev* (cp. Lat. *vīd-er-i-mus*), *δεῖξαιεν* for -σ-εσ-κ-αν or -σ-εσ-ι-αν see § 944. es-Aorist: Skr. 1st pl. mid. *jan-iṣ-i-mahi* beside indic. *á-jan-iṣ-ta* from *jan-* 'gignere', *pyā-s-iṣ-i-mahi* from *pyā-* 'swell'. is-Aorist: Lat. *vīd-er-i-mus* for **uejd-is-i-* beside conj. *vīder-ō* (cp. Gr. *εἰδεῖμεν*).

Perfect (§§ 843 ff.). **ue-urt-iṣ-* -i- from √ *uert-* 'vertere': Skr. *va-vrt-yā-t* 1st pl. mid. *va-vrt-i-mahi*, Goth. *vaúrþ-ei-ma* (instead of reg. **vaúrdeima*) O.H.G. *wurt-i-mēs*. **se-zd-(i)ṣ-* -i- from √ *sed-* 'sedere': Skr. *sēd-yā-t* Avest. *hazd-yā-þ*, cp. Goth. *sēt-ei-ma*. Skr. 3rd sing. mid. *iṣ-i-ta* Goth. 1st pl. *áig-ei-ma* beside indic. *iṣ-ē áih* 'has something in his power' (§ 848 p. 391).

Often both types, -iṣ- and -oi-, occur together, just as in the Indicative thematic and unthematic forms are found side by side, and as in the Conjunctive we see both long-vowel type and thematic. Examples are: Gr. *ἔοι* Lith. *tesē* beside *ei-mi* *es-mi* 'I am', Avest. *d-ōi-š* Gr. *ἐπι-δοιτο* beside indic. *dā-þ ē-θi-to* from √ *dhē-* 'place', Pruss. *dais* 'give' from √ *dō-*, Gr. *μαρτυρίμεθα* beside *μάρ-να-ται* 'fights', *πενόνθαι* beside *πέ-πονθ-α* 'I have experienced'.

§ 940. Aryan. In Sanskrit, the -yā- of the sing. active is invariable for active plural and dual forms that have a personal ending with initial consonant; as *s-yā-ta* instead of **s-i-ta* (Lat. *s-i-tis*), *jñā-yā-ta* instead of **jñāi-ta* (Gr. *γνοί-τε*); in the Middle it is invariably absent. The same relation may be seen in Indicative stems like *dhā-* (Idg. **dhē-*): as *va-vrt-yā-t* *va-vrt-yā-ta* mid. *va-vrt-i-ta*, so *á-dā-t* *á-dā-ta* mid. *á-di-ta* (§ 495 p. 55). In Avestic -yā- preponderates for the plural active, as Gath. *īyā-tā* = Skr. *syā-ta*; but -i- seems to occur, as in *sruvā* i. e. *sruv-i-mā* beside imper. *srao-tū* = Skr. *śrō-tu* from √ *kley-* 'hear'.

Instead of the Skr. ending *-iya* of the 1st sing., as *va-vṛt-iy-a*, we should expect *-ya* or *-iya* following the *-y-ur -iy-ur* of the 3rd pl. active; indeed, the MS. *ī* of the Veda must often be read short for metrical reasons, as in *īṣiya* and *rāṣiya* Rig.-V. vii. 32. 18, and Avestic regularly has *tanuya* i. e. *tanv-iy-a* (Bartholomae, Handb. § 91 b p. 40). This *-ī-* came from the other middle forms; similarly we have *bhārēyam* following *bhārē-ṣ* etc., instead of **bharay-am* or **bharāy-am* (§ 951).

More examples to add to those given in § 939:

Class I. Skr. *kr-iyā-t* beside *á-kar* 'he made', *ḍir-yā-t* = **ḍī-ṣ-t* beside *á-dar* 'he split, burst' (cp. below, Class VII Avest. *dar°-dairya-ḥ*), mid. *ur-ī-ta* beside *á-vṛ-ta* 'he chose'. Avest. *jam-yā-ḥ* O.Pers. *jam-iyā* with *jam-* instead of *gam-*, which is preserved in Skr. *gam-yā-t* (mid. *gm-īya*) (I § 451 Rem. p. 334), cp. § 939 p. 480. Skr. *han-yā-t* Avest. *jan-yā-ḥ* O.Pers. *jan-iyā* beside Skr. *hán-ti* 'strikes, kills' from *√ ghen-*; pr.Ar. **jhan-ṣ-t* instead of **ghan-* = **ghṇ-*, with which we have the reg. mid. Skr. *ghn-ī-ta* Avest. *yn-i-ta*, but in Skr. following the active also *han-ī-ta* (I § 454 Rem. p. 335, II § 498 p. 57 f.). Skr. *stu-yā-t* mid. *stuv-ī-tá* Avest. *stu-yā-ḥ* beside indic. Skr. *stāu-ti* (*stu-māsi*) Avest. *stao-itī* 'he praises'. Skr. *i-yā-t* beside *é-ti* 'goes'. Skr. *vṛj-yā-t* beside *á-vark* 'he twisted together' (pres. *vṛnák-ti*). Skr. *uṣ-yā-t* Avest. *us-yā-ḥ* beside Skr. *váṣ-ti* Avest. *vas-ti* 'wishes' (*uṣ-māsi us-mahi*). On Skr. *dēya-t* Avest. *d-yā-ḥ* and the like, see § 939 p. 481; on Avest. 2nd sing. *da-yā*, below, Class X.

Skr. *brū-yā-t* mid. *bruv-ī-tá* (Avest. *mru-yā-ḥ*) beside *brāv-ī-ti* 'he speaks' Class IX (§ 574 p. 116).

Class III. Skr. *ju-hu-yā-t* mid. 1st pl. *jú-hv-ī-mahi* beside *ju-hó-ti* 'offers'. Avest. *daidyā-ḥ daiṣya-ḥ* mid. *daidi-ta daiṣi-ta* like Skr. *da-dh-yā-t da-d-yā-t da-dh-ī-tá da-d-ī-tá*, § 939 p. 481.

Class VII. Avest. *dar°-dairya-ḥ* beside indic. Skr.

1) On the active singular forms with *-ī-*, like *sāhīḥ*, which used to be wrongly taken as optative, see Bartholomae, Stud. Idg. Sprachg. II 157, 169.

dār-dar-ti intens. of *dar-* 'to split'; the ground-form may be **-dā-īē-t*, see § 568 p. 112.

Class X. Skr. *yā-yā-t* beside *y-ā-ti* 'goes'. Avest. *pā-yā-ḥ* from *pā-* 'protect' (§ 588 p. 129). The forms Skr. *mnēyā-t jñēyā-t* beside the regular *mna-yā-t jñā-yā-t* (§ 939 p. 482) are adformates of such as *dhēyā-t sthēyā-t* (Class I), just as Skr. *jyēṣṭha-s* 'the mightiest' beside comp. *jyā-yas-* is an adformate of *sthēṣṭha-s* (II § 81 p. 244); compare the precative *jñēṣam*, § 942. Levelling in the reverse direction is shown by Avest. *dā-yā-ḥ* beside *d-yā-ḥ*.

Class XII. Skr. mid. *pr-ṇ-ī-tā* beside *pr-ṇā-ti* 'fills'; act. *pr-ṇī-yā-t* with the same *-ī-* as indic. *pr-ṇī-mās*, see § 597 p. 141.

Class XV. Skr. *rundh-yā-t* mid. *rundh-ī-tā* beside *runādh-mi* 'I hold back, stay'. Avest. *meraṣ-yā-ḥ*, see § 626 p. 162.

Class XVII. Skr. *kṛ-ṇu-yā-t* mid. *kṛ-ṇv-ī-tā* Avest. *ker'-nu-yā-ḥ* beside *kṛ-ṇō-ti ker'-nao-iti* 'makes, does'. Skr. *aś-nu-yā-t aś-nuv-ī-tā* Avest. *aś-nu-yā-ḥ* beside *aś-nō-ti aś-nao-iti* 'attains'. Avest. 1st sing. mid. *tanuya* i. e. *tanv-īy-a* (beside Skr. *tanvīy-ā*), see p. 484.

s-Aorist. Skr. 1st pl. mid. *dhuk-ṣ-ī-māhi* from *duh-* 'to milk', 1st sing. mid. *di-ṣ-īy-a* from *dā-* 'divide, share'; Avest. *diṣyā-ḥ* from $\sqrt{\text{deik-}}$ 'to show, point' from a ground-form **dik-s-īē-t*, cp. Skr. mid. *dik-ṣ-ī-ta*. On the intrusion of the strong root in Skr., as *mā-s-ī-māhi* beside *mā-s-īy-a*, see § 815 p. 353. The *iṣ-* and *siṣ-*aorist in Sanskrit: *ruc-iṣ-īy-a* and *rōc-iṣ-īy-a* from *ruc-* 'to shine', *sah-iṣ-ī-mahi* and *sāh-iṣ-ī-māhi* from *sah-* 'to overcome', *vā-siṣ-īy-a* from *van-* 'to gain'. Optatives from sigmatic aorist are in Sanskrit only found in the middle voice, and the 2nd and 3rd sing. show regularly the precative form, as *mā-s-ī-ṣṭhās mā-s-ī-ṣṭa van-iṣ-ī-ṣṭa yā-siṣ-ī-ṣṭhās* (§ 942).

Perfect. Skr. *ja-gam-yā-t* Avest. *jaymyam* i. e. *ja-ym-iyam* beside indic. Skr. *ja-gām-a* from $\sqrt{\text{gem-}}$ 'go'. Skr. *ri-ric-yā-t* beside *ri-rēc-a* from *ric-* 'let loose'. Avest. *vaonyā-ḥ* beside

indic. 3rd pl. *vaon-ar** from *van-* 'to gain', O.Pers. 3rd sing. *ca-xr-iyā* from *kar-* 'to make'.

§ 941. According to Bartholomae, Avestic has in the 1st pl. active forms with *-ama* for *-yme*: *jam-y-ama* (the 3rd sing. is *jam-yā-ḥ*, § 940 p. 484), *buyamā* i. e. *bo-iy-amā* (cp. *tanuya* § 940 p. 434) beside O.Pers. *biyā* for **b(v)-iyā-t* (Avest. 2nd sing. *buyā* 3rd sing. *buyā-ḥ* may also be derived from *bo-iyā-*, because of the Avestic mode of spelling). Following *buyama* we have 2nd pl. *buya-ta*: perhaps 2nd pl. *daya-ta* springs from 3rd sing. *dayā-ḥ* in the same way. A similar explanation is given of Skr. *duhīyā-t* beside 3rd pl. *duhīyān*; perhaps the *i* of this 3rd pl. may be accepted as evidence that *-ī-ma* and *-ī-ta* once existed in the Sanskrit language (cp. middle *-īy-a* following *-ī-thas* etc.). See Benfey, Abh. Gött. Gesellsch. Wiss. xvi 182 f., 197; J. Schmidt, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxiv 318; Bartholomae, *ibid.* xxix 274 f.

§ 942. The "Precative", as it is called, is a mood peculiar to Sanskrit. This is a optative with *-s-* between mood-suffix and personal ending;¹⁾ in the middle, the 1st persons and the 3rd pl. could not take this form. Examples are act. sing. 1st *bhū-yā-s-am* 2nd and 3rd *-yā-s* (2nd **-yā-s-s* 3rd **-yā-s-t*) pl. *-yā-s-ma -yā-s-ta -yā-s-ur*, mid. sing. 2nd *muc-i-ṣ-ṭhas mā-s-i-ṣ-ṭhas yā-sis-i-ṣ-ṭhas* 3rd *muc-i-ṣ-ṭa* etc.

Beside *ā-da-t* 'gave', 1st pl. *dēṣma* i. e. **dā-i-s-me* (confirming the assumed **dē-ma* = Gr. *δοῖ-μεν*, see § 939 p. 481); 3rd pl. *sthē-ṣ-ur* beside *ā-sthā-t*. To this the 1st sing. is *dēṣam sthēṣam jñēṣam* (from *jñā-* 'know'): *dēṣam* = *jñēyā-t*: *dēyā-t*, see § 940 p. 485.

The history and origin of the Precative are as yet unknown. But there must doubtless be a connexion between its *s* and the aorist *s*.

Remark. If the optative suffix is the same as the Root-determinative *i*, described in § 498 p. 61 and § 572 p. 114, it would be obvious to

1) Avest. *tūuyā* is not a precative; see Bartholomae, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxix 581. On Skr. forms assumed to be precative, which do not have *s* just before the personal ending, see the same, p. 587.

assume the same connexion between Skr. *dē-ṣ-ma* (**da-i-ṣ-ma*) and Gr. *δο-ῖ-μεν* as between Skr. *d-grah-i-ṣ-ta* and *d-grah-i-t*; Skr. *djāi-ṣ* 'thou didst drive' could be analysed **aj-ā-i-ṣ*, as the opt. *djē-ṣ* into **aj-a-i-ṣ*. Then the optative would be an Injunctive to the indicative with *-i*.

§ 943. Greek. Here we see *-iē-* *-i-* always and only after sonant vowels, with which *-i-* is contracted.

The fact that Skr. forms like *vid-yā-t gam-yā-t bi-bhṛ-yā-t da-dh-yā-t ri-ric-yā-t* are missing in Greek as we have it, is easy to explain. The *i* of *-iē-m* *-i-ent* etc. in proethnic Greek, together with the consonant preceding, formed sound-groups which disguised certain parts of the paradigm, and obscured their connexion with the rest. Thus **ιζην* (**izōhen*) **ιδιμεν* beside *οἶδα ἰδ-μεν*, **κταινην* **κτανιμεν* beside *ἐκτα-μεν*, **θισσην* **τιθιμεν* beside *τί-θη-μι*, **λελισσην* **λελιτιμεν* (**λελιτιμεν*) beside *λέ-λοιπ-α*, the regular forms, would be unrecognisable for the same kin.

§ 944. Class I. Hom. *εἶην* 'sim' for **έσ-κη-ν* or trisyllabic **έσ-ιη-ν*, 3rd pl. *εἶεν* for **έσ-κε-ν* or **έσ-ι-εν* (cp. Skr. *s-iyā-m s-iy-ūr* beside *s-yā-m s-y-ūr*), 1st pl. *εἶμεν* for **έσ-ι-μεν* with intrusion of strong root (cp. § 502 p. 65). El. *εἶα* for **έη* 3rd pl. *συν-εἶαν* possibly for *-εἶαν* answering to the Ion. *εἶεν* (cp. I § 64 p. 51, § 72 p. 63, where *εἶα* must be read and not *εἶα*, and IV §§ 952, 1020.1 a). *εἶ-* in Att. *εἶην εἶεν* is either to be explained by the fact that the Greek ground-forms **έσιην* **έσιμεν* were trisyllabic, or else if these were really **έσκηην* **έσκεν* it must have come from *εἶμεν*, as *θείην* follows *θειμεν* and *φέροιεν* follows *φεροιμεν* (I § 131 p. 118, IV § 939 p. 481).

On *θείην δοίην σταίην* see § 939 p. 481. Of the same sort are *φαιήν φαῖμεν* mid. 2nd sing. *φαῖο* from *φη-μι* 'I say'.

Cypr. *φύκη*, see I § 130 p. 118: Skr. *bhū-yā-t*, see § 939 p. 481. Hom. *ἐκ-δῶμεν* (beside *ἐ-δῶ* 'went in' *ἐ-δῶ-μεν*) for **δνκ-μεν* (like *πταῖμεν γνῶμεν*) stands for **δν(f)-ι-μεν* or **δf-ι-μεν*, 3rd sing. *δῶη* = **δνιη* like *σταίη* beside *σταῖ-μεν*. Cp. *δαινῶτο δαινέατο* Class XVII p. 488. Whether Hom. *φθῖτο* (beside *ἐ-φθι-το* 'was destroyed' is regularly descended from **φθι-ι-το*, which must be assumed as original, is a question; it may have been coined beside *ἐφθι-το* on the analogy of *δοῖτο* to *έδοτο*.

Class III. *τιθείην διδοίην ισταίην* like *θείην* etc., cp. § 939 p. 481. *τιθεῖτο* : Skr. *dadhātā* = *τίθεμεν* : *dadhmās*. If the Gr. Indicative with *σ* need not be regarded as a new formation in Greek (cp. Skr. *dadhi-dhvē ja-hi-mas*), neither need *τιθεῖμεν* *τιθεῖτο* be such; we should then postulate Idg. **dhi-dhə-ǵ-* = **dhi-dhə-t-*. But in that case the accentuation *τιθεῖμεν διδοῖμεν* etc. (not certain before the Alexandrian period) must be new, and the original accent **τίθεμεν *δίδοιμεν* etc., as *δύναιτο* shows (see below); the influences at work in the change may have been the accent of *εἰδεῖμεν* for **φειδέ(σ)-τ-μεν* (beside *εἰδείην*), *παρ-εῖμεν* for **-έσ-τ-μεν* (beside *παρ-είην*), and *φιλοῖμεν* for *φιλέοιμεν* (beside *φιλοίην*, see § 952), and again that of *τιθείημεν* (§ 945). Similarly the accent of *ἐκ-θείμεν ἐκ-δύμεν* and *δαινῶτο* is not original.

Classes X and XI. *δραῖμεν* for **δρα-χ-μεν* by I § 611 p. 461, hence *δραίην* instead of **δρα-(κ)η-ν* like *σταίην* following *σταῖ-μεν*. Similarly, *γηραίην* beside *ἑ-γήρα-ν* 'I grew old', *βλείην* *βλείμεν* *βαλείην* *βαλείμεν* beside *ἐ-βλη-ν* *ἐ-βάλη-ν* 'I received a missile, was struck', *δοθείην* beside *ἑδόθη-ν* 'I was given', *κίχην* beside *κί-χη-μι* 'I attain, reach', *γνοίην* *γνοῖμεν* beside *ἔ-γνων* 'I learnt', *άλοίην* beside *ἑάλω-ν* 'I was caught'. Again Lesb. *φιλείην* beside *φιλίη-μι* 'I treat as a friend', El. *σῦλαίη* beside *σῦλαμι* 'I rob', and on the same principle we explain *στεφανοίην* etc.

The Middle formation *ἐμ-πλήτο* (beside *πλή-το* 'filled itself') is to be compared with the 3rd pl. indic. *ἐμ-πλήντο* : as this is a transformat of **-πλεντο* on the analogy of *πλήτο*, so *-πλήτο* is instead of **-πλεῖτο* (§ 582 Rem. p. 123). The same is true of *μεμνήμην κεκτεμήμην*, p. 489. *-πλήτο μεμνήμην* : *βλείμεν δραῖμεν* = *-πλήντο μέμνηται* : *ἔβλεν(τ) ἔδραν(τ)*.

Class XII. Apparently the only form found is *δύναιτο* from *δύναμι* 'I am able'; *κίρναιην* from *κίρ-νη-μι* 'I mix' and the like may be left out of count. *δύ-να-ι-το* beside Skr. *ḡh-ṇ-t-tā* like **tí-ḡ-t-i-το* (*τιθεῖτο*) beside *da-dh-t-tā*.

Class XVII. Hom. *δαινῶτο* (beside *δαι-νν-ται* 'eats') for *-ννχ-το*, like *ἐκ-δύμεν*; instead of **-νν(F)-τ-το* or **-νF-τ-το*, cp. Skr. *aś-nuv-t-tā kṣ-ṇv-t-tā* § 940 p. 485. 3rd pl. *δαινῶατο* = *-ννι-ατο*, like *δέη* (p. 487).

s-Aorist. εἰδείην εἰδεῖμην (beside ᾔδεα 'I knew') for **ἑιδ-*-*εσ-κη-ν* or *-εσ-ιη-ν* and *-εσ-ῖ-μεν*, cp. Lat. *vid-er-i-mus*; Att. εἰδείην is to be explained in the same way as εἶην, page 487. On the optative of εἶμι 'I go' see § 836 p. 372 f.; the form ἰείην Pl. 19. 209 may, like Plato's δεδιείην, be an adformate of εἰδείην, cp. ἰέναι δεδιέναι : εἰδέναι.

δειξαι-μι -αι-ς etc. is a new formation following the optative -οι-μι -οι-ς etc., which sprang up when α in the σ-aorist had spread beyond its proper sphere; cp. § 820 p. 357.

It is likely that the forms Hom. Att. δειξείας -ειε -ειαν Arcad. διακωλύσει and τύψοιμεν (only preserved by Choeroboscus Dict. 565. 2, and by him called Aeolic) contain the endings -σεσ-κ-η- or -σεσ-ιη- and -σεσ-ῖ-, see § 836 p. 374. The 3rd pl. -ιαν stands to the ordinary -ιεν (εἶεν θεῖεν) as indic. Boeot. παρ-εῖαν to Dor. ᾗν for *ᾗ(σ)-εν; 1st pl. -σοιμεν for *-σεσ-ῖ-μεν. On the one hand, -σοιμεν occasioned a 3rd sing. -σει on the analogy of -σαι : σοιμεν and -οι : οιομεν; on the other, -σειαν produced complementary 2nd and 3rd sing. -σειας -σειε following indic. -(σ)ας -(σ)ε -(σ)αν, just as Avest. *buya-ta* follows *buyama* and Skr. *duhīyá-t* follows *duhīyám* (§ 941 p. 486).

Remark. For the latter development (-σειας -σειε) there would be a second motive if there ever was a 1st pl. in *-σοισμεν, answering to the Avest. *jam-y-ama* (§ 941 p. 486); -σοισμεν : -σοιμεν as *jam-y-ama* : *srñmā*. And -σοισμεν would make it easier to understand the 3rd pl. -ιαν beside the usual form -ιεν.

Perfect. ἑσταίην ἑσταῖμεν beside ἑσταμεν 'we stand' like ἰσταίην ἰσταῖμεν beside ἵσταμεν. Mid. μεμνήμην (beside μέμνη-μαι Dor. μέμνᾱ-μι 'I remember') κεκτήμην (beside κέκτη-μαι 'I have gained') instead of regular *μεμναιμην *κεκτεμην, like indic. 3rd pl. μέμνηνται κέκτηνται instead of *μεμινανται *κεκτενται, see p. 488.

With perfect stems having a final consonant the thematic optative is always found; as πεπόνθοι.

§ 945. In the Active of the Optative -ιη- constantly passed into the Plural and Dual, as εἶημεν beside ἔιμεν, σταίημεν beside σταῖμεν, εἰδείημεν beside εἰδεῖμεν, ἑσταίημεν beside ἑσταῖμεν;

Homer has only one example of this sort, *στεινῶαν* Il. 17. 733. Compare Skr. *sydma* instead of **s-i-ma* following *s-yd-t* § 940 p. 483.

§ 946. Italic. O.Lat. *s-ie-m siēs siet s-i-mus sītis s-i-ent* beside indic. *es-t*; in classical Latin the weak stem only is found, and we have *sim sīs* etc. The same levelling is seen in the sister dialects: Umbr. *sir si sei* 'sis' si 'sit' *sins sis* 'sint', Marruc. *pacr-si* 'propitius sis' or 'sit'. Lat. *vel-i-m vel-i-mus* beside *vul-t*, with irregular strong root (cp. Skr. mid. *vur-t-ta*), see § 505 p. 69. Similarly *ed-i-m ed-i-mus* beside *ēs-t* from *✓ed-* 'eat', see § 505 p. 70, § 939 p. 481. The reason why *siem* is the only optative with strong opt. suffix which survives in historical Latin is probably that its *i* carried the word-accent.

On the reason for the loss of the optative of *i-t* see § 925 p. 472.

Osc. *da-did* 'dedat' beside Avest. *d-ya-ḥ*, cp. Marruc. *-si* 'sit'.

Lat. *dem* may be derived from **da-(i)ē-m*, and *stem* from **sta-(i)ē-m*; *dēmus stēmus* for **da-(i)ē-mos* **sta-(i)ē-mos* should be compared with Gr. *δοίηναι στείνειν* (§ 945). Lat. *nem plantem* may come from *(*s*)*na-(i)ē-m* **plantā-(i)ē-m*, Osc. *deivaid* from **deiyā-(i)ē-t*, cp. § 939 p. 482. But all these forms, as we saw in § 926 p. 472, may be Conjunctive.

s-Aorist. Lat. *dixim axim*, see § 824 p. 362. *viderim liquerim totonderim dixerim*, see § 841 p. 378. *amāssim prohibēssim ambīssim*, see § 842 p. 381. On the intrusion of such optative forms into the Future Perfect system, i. e. their Conjunctive, see § 915 p. 465.

§ 947. Germanic. The suffix forms *-i-* had got into the singular in protoethic Germanic, cp. e. g. 3rd sing. Goth. *vaurþ-i* O.H.G. *wurt-i* Norse Run. *urþ-i* 'would be' for *-i-þ* as contrasted with Skr. *va-ṛyt-yā-t*, 2nd sing. O.H.G. *s-i-s* (O.Icel. *sēr* (= pr. Germ. **sīz*) 'mayst thou be' as against Skr. *s-yd-s*; so in the 3rd pl., Goth. *vaurþ-ei-na* O.H.G. *wurt-i-n*

'they would become' Norse Run. *vaxin* 'they would be'. The history of the 1st sing. (Goth. *-jau* O.H.G. *-i* O.Icel. *-a*) is still obscure (cp. § 953 on Goth. *nimau*); in explaining Goth. *-jau* let it be remembered that *j* in *viljau* and *j* in *vitjau* seem to be different (see below).

Present. A.S. *cyme* pl. *cymen* (from *cuman* 'to come') would be Goth. **kumjau* **kumeima*: Skr. *gam-yā-t*, see § 939 p. 480. Goth. *viljau* *vilei-s* etc., cp. Lat. *vel-i-m* § 505 p. 69; the 1st sing. *viljau* may with O.H.G. *wille* have been originally 1st sing. conj. to indic. O.H.G. *willu* 'I will' = O.C.Sl. *velja*, whose tense stem is also represented by Goth. *viljan* and *viljands* (§ 505 p. 69, § 716 p. 249, § 727 p. 259), cp. § 928 p. 474. O.H.G. *sī* 'I should be' pl. 1st *sī-mēs* *sī-m* 2nd *sī-t* 3rd *sī-n* beside *is-t* 'is': Skr. *s-yā-m* etc., see § 939 p. 481; Goth. *sijau* *sijāis* etc. (like *bairau* *bairais*) is perhaps a transformation of the dissyllabic Idg. **s-ijē-m* etc. It is possible, that O.H.G. 1st pl. *stēn gēn* (sing. 1st and 3rd *gē stē* 2nd *gēs stēs*) are optative like Gr. *σταῖμεν*.

The following may be counted amongst those parts of the Preterite-Present system which are not really perfect. 1st pl. Goth. *vit-ei-ma* O.H.G. *wizz-i-mēs* (Skr. *vid-yā-t*), Goth. *mun-ei-ma*, *ga-daūrseima* O.H.G. *gi-turrīmēs* see § 508 p. 74. Goth. *kunneima* O.H.G. *kunnīmēs* (beside Goth. O.H.G. *kun-nu-m* 'we learn, know' Class XVII) for **gŕ-nu-i-* like Skr. *ṛ-ṇo-i-tā*, see § 939 p. 482; similarly O.H.G. *unnī-mēs* beside indic. *an* 'I grant', N.-Ger. *dürne* beside indic. *darn* 'I dare', see § 646 p. 184.

Perfect. Goth. *skat-skāid-ei-ma* O.H.G. *sciad-i-mēs* 1st sing. *skat-skāid-jau* *sciadi* beside indic. *skat-skāip* *sciad* 'I divided', similarly Goth. *nēm-ei-ma* O.H.G. *nām-i-mēs* beside *nam* 'I took' etc. Similarly in the weak preterite (§ 907 pp. 453 ff.), as Goth. *nasidēd-ei-ma* O.H.G. *nerit-i-mēs*. On O.Sax. *dedīn* 'they would do' sing. *dedi* (instead of regular **did-*) see § 939 p. 482.

The intermingling of 2nd sing. opt. and 2nd sing. indic. preterite of strong verbs has been discussed in § 893 p. 441 f.

§ 948. Balto-Slavonic.

In Baltic this optative cannot be traced. Pruss. *dais* 'give, let' imper. 2nd pl. *daīti* (read *daiti*) doubtless do not go with Gr. *δοῦτε* — *dais* would have to be an adformate of the plural — but are thematic like *jeis jeiti idaiti*, §§ 510 f. pp. 75 f., § 954.

§ 949. Slavonic offers but a few specimens, all with hortative force. O.C.Sl. 1st and 2nd pl. *jad-i-mŭ i-te* 1st and 2nd dual *-i-vě -i-ta* beside indic. *jad-ętŭ* 'they eat' (§ 510 p. 76): Skr. *ad-yā-t* Lat. *ed-ī-mus*, see § 939 p. 481. *dad-i-mŭ* etc. beside *dad-ętŭ* 'they give' (§ 546 p. 103 f.): Skr. mid. *da-dh-ī-tā* etc., see § 939 p. 482. *věd-i-mŭ* beside *věstŭ* 'he knows' 3rd pl. *věd-ętŭ* with the perfect stem *uoid-*, originally confined to the singular indicative, see § 894 p. 442 f. Side by side with this, from the same root, imperative *vidi-mŭ* 'videamus' etc.; the 2nd sing. *vižďi* = Lith. *veizdi*, which must be explained with *vidimŭ*, proves it to be old and to belong to the Idg. present **ueid-mi* (§ 493 p. 52, § 510 p. 75); here *ei* = Slav. *i* became the only suffix, as *oi* = Slav. *ě* did in *věstŭ*.

The 2nd and 3rd sing. to these imperatives are *jažďi* *dažďi* *věžďi* and the already mentioned *vižďi*. The ending *-i* makes it probable that these should be derived from genuine imperative forms in **-dhi*. Their original shape was **ězdŭ* (cp. Skr. *addhi*), **dazďi* (cp. Skr. *dēhi* *daddhi* Avest. *dazdi*) or **dadŭ* (= O.Lith. *dūdi*), **vēžďi* and **vizďi* (= O.Lith. *veizdi*, cp. Skr. *viddhi* Gr. *ῖσθι*). Side by side with these stood the 2nd and 3rd sing. opt. **ēdīa* **dādīa* etc. (= orig. **ēd-īēs* **ēd-īē-t*, **dōd-īē-s* etc.). By levelling arose **ēd-ī* **dadŭ* etc., which became the forms actually found, *jažďi* etc.¹⁾ Compare I § 547 p. 401,²⁾ II § 962. The use of *jažďi* etc. for the 3rd singular has a parallel in 3rd sing. *pri-jętŭ* for the 2nd singular; see § 830 p. 367.

1) That e. g. *ěďi* *jažďi* are not simply contaminations of **ězdŭ* and **ědŭ* is shewn by the other Slavonic languages, which imply an older ending *-dŭi*. E. g. Pol. *wiedz*; O.C.Sl. *věžďi* = Pol. *miedza*; O.C.Sl. *mežďa*.

2) Here **ueizdi* = O.Lith. *reiz(d)i* is a misprint for **uizdi* = ...

II. OPTATIVE WITH *-oi-*.

§ 950. The ending in the 1st sing. act. is *-oi-η* (§ 976. 3), in the 3rd pl. *-oi-ηt* (1017. 1. *b*).

In all languages which have this optative at all it is a living and creative type.

For pr. Idg. a few examples will suffice. **bheroī-* beside **bhér-e-ti* 'bears', 2nd sing. **bheroī-s* 2nd pl. **bheroī-te*: Skr. *bhárē-ṣ -ta* Gr. *φέροι-ς -τε* Goth. *bairái-s -þ* O.C.Sl. *beri berē-te*; Lith. 3rd sing. *te-sukē* beside *sukù* 'I turn'. **urgōi-* beside **urg-īē-ti* 'works': Avest. *ver'zyaē-ta* Gr. *ῥέζοι-τε* Goth. *vaurk-jái-þ*; Skr. 3rd sing. mid. *sphāyē-ta* beside indic. *sphā-ya-tē* 'increases, grows', O.C.Sl. 2nd sing. *spěji* 2nd pl. *spěji-te* beside *spě-jā* 'I succeed'. Skr. 3rd sing. *pytanāyē-t* beside *pytanā-yā-ti* 'he fights', Gr. 2nd sing. *τιμάοι-ς τιμῶς* beside *τιμάω* 'I honour', A.S. 3rd sing. *sealfie* beside *sealfie* 'I salve, anoint', O.C.Sl. 2nd sing. *lākaji* beside *lāka-jā* 'I trick, deceive'.

§ 951. Aryan. For examples see § 950. No examples of this optative occur in Old Persian, certainly a mere accident.

In Skr. 1st sing. act. *bhārēyam* 3rd pl. act. *bhārēyur* 1st sing. mid. *bhārēya* 2nd and 3rd dual mid. *bhārēyātham bhārēyātām*, *ē* has taken the place of *a* (**bharay-am* etc.), coming from the other optative forms (*bhārē-ṣ* etc.); in Avest. we still see 3rd pl. act. *baray-en* mid. 1st sing. Gath. *vāuray-ā* 3rd pl. *baray-anta*.¹⁾ Compare Skr. *vavrt-ty-a* instead of **vavrt-y-a* § 940 p. 484, and possibly *duhryān* instead of **duh-y-an* § 941 p. 486; also *ābhāv-am* instead of *ā-bhuv-am* following *ā-bhū-ṣ* § 497 p. 57.

In the Brahmana and Sutra period verbs in *-aya-ti* sometimes show an opt. middle of the Ist type, as *vēday-ī-ta* beside *vēdāya-tē* 'gives to know', *kāmay-ī-ta* beside *kāmaya-tē* 'wishes'. These must be connected with participles like *vēdayāna-s* beside

1) If *ā* in open syllables represents Idg. *o* (I § 78 p. 68), we must assume pr. Ar. **bharāi-am* **bharāi-an*. In Avestic, *ā* will have been exchanged for *a* following the lead of these persons in which *aī* was tautosyllabic. Compare § 939 Rem. p. 482.

oēdaya-māna-s and such indic. forms as *dhvanay-i-t* (cp. *á-brav-i-t*, § 574 p. 116). Compare § 789 Rem. p. 321; Bartholomae, *Stud. Idg. Spr.* II 71, 127.

§ 952. Greek. Examples given in § 950.

On the endings of the 1st sing. *-οι-μι -οι-ν* see § 979.3; of the 3rd pl. *-οιεν* El. *-οιαν* Delph. *-οιν*, § 1020.1. *b*.

Because of the formal agreement between *σχοῖμεν* (indic. *ἔ-σχ-ο-μεν*) *φιλοῖμεν* (indic. *φιλοῦμεν* for *φιλέομεν*) *μισθοῖμεν* (indic. *μισθοῦμεν* for *μισθόομεν*) on the one hand, and on the other *δοῖμεν* *διδοῖμεν* (indic. *ἔ-δο-μεν* *δί-δο-μεν*), there arose in Ionic-Attic, and in Doric here and there, a new formation for the singular following Type I, *σχοίην φιλοίην μισθοίην* by analogy of *δοίην διδοίην*; but the old singular forms were not discarded (*παρά-σχοιμι φιλοῖμι μισθοῖμι*); similarly *τιμῶην* beside *τιμῶμεν* (indic. *τιμῶμεν* for *τιμάομεν*). A further consequence of this was the plural series *φιλοίημεν* etc., cp. *σταίημεν* complementary to *σταίην*, § 945 p. 489.

§ 953. Germanic. Goth. *nimái-s nimdi* etc. O.H.G. *nemēs neme* etc., Goth. mid.-pass. 2nd sing. *nimái-zau* 3rd sing. *nimái-dau* with the indic. *nima nimu* 'I take': Gr. *νέμοι-ς* etc. The A.S. *sealfie* pl. *sealfien* may be compared directly with Skr. *prtanāyē-t* O.C.Sl. *lākaji* (cp. § 781.1 p. 304), but O.H.G. *salbōe -ōēs(t) -ōēm* etc. beside *salbo -ōs(t) -ōn* etc. is a new formation (cp. Lith. *pa-darai* § 954), and so is *habēe -ēēs(t) -ēēm* beside *habe -ēs(t) -ēm* etc., see § 930 p. 476.

§ 954. Balto-Slavonic.

Lithuanian retains the 3rd sing. act. (used also for 3rd pl. and dual) and calls it a Permissive; e. g. *te-sukē* 'he may turn' beside indic. *sukù*, *te-ateinē* 'he may come' beside indic. *ei-nù* 'I go', *te-vertē* 'he may turn' for **vertižē* (like 2nd sing. indic. pres. reflex. *vertē-s* for **vertižē-s*, I § 147 p. 131) beside indic. *verczyù*. *te-dūdē* 'he may give' beside indic. *dū(d)-mi* and *dū-du* (§ 546 p. 104) like *tesē* 'he may be' beside indic. *es-mi* and *es-ù* (§ 510 p. 76, § 939 p. 483). The Permissive to the Indic. in *-au* has the ending *-ai* in the old books, as *te-darai* beside *daraù*

'I make'. *te-darai: te-sukē* = 2nd sing. indic. *darai-s(i): sukē-s(i)* (§ 991), i. e. the optative suffix *ē* (*ai*) is added to indic. stems in *-o* (*-ā*) just in the same way as O.H.G. *salbōe* is formed on the analogy of *bere* (§ 953). We also find 1st pl. *pa-praszaim* (*pa-praszaū* 'I beg for, win over') and 2nd pl. *žinait* (*žinaū* 'I know'); Bezzenberger, *Zur Gesch. der lit. Spr.*, 223. Furthermore, the *oi-* optative is a living type in Prussian, where it is used for the Imperative; e. g. *imais immeis* 'take thou' 2nd pl. *imaiti*, *en-gaunai -gaunei* 'let him receive'; to compare with Lith. *tesē* we have 2nd pl. *seiti* 'be ye', and again *jeis* 'go thou' pl. *jeiti* like Gr. *ῥος* (§ 511 p. 77), *idaiti ideiti* 'esset' beside Lith. *ėdu* (§ 510 p. 76), *dais* 'give thou' 2nd pl. *daiti* like Avest. *dōi-s* (§ 948 p. 492). Similarly in Lettic 2nd pl. *meti-t* 'throw ye' *we'łai-t* 'pull ye' *mafgāj-t* 'wash ye' *lūkūji-t* 'look ye'.

§ 955. The same optative type, like the other (§ 949 p. 492), is used for the Hortative (Imperative) in Old Church Slavonic. Sing. 2nd and 3rd *beri* (I § 84 p. 82) pl. 1st *berē-mū* 2nd *-ē-te* dual 1st *-ē-vē* 2nd *-ē-ta* from *berq* 'I carry, bear', *ději -ji-mū -ji-te* etc. (I § 84 p. 82) from *děja* 'I lay'. On the root syllable in *řici řici p̃ci řizi* see § 534 p. 95 f.

Along with forms having *-ji-* = *-joi-* we get in the Old Bulgarian literature forms with *-ja-* for *-jē-* (cp. *sto-jati* for **stojēti* I § 76 p. 66); as *pijate* beside *pijite* from *pija* 'I drink', *glagoljate* beside *glagoljite* from *glagolja* 'I speak' (see Leskien *Handb.*² p. 138, Wiedemann *Beitr. zur abulg. Conj.* 27 ff.) So long as no such forms as **řicate* instead of *řicēte* are found, it is likely that *ē* comes from forms like *berēte*,¹⁾ and the group *jē* thus made, along with *jē* = Idg. *ǵē*, became *ja*; more likely than Oblak's view (*Arch. slav. Phil.* x 143 ff.), that we have here orig. *ǵē*, i. e. a conjunctive like Lat. *capiē-s* (§ 926. 1 p. 472), *pijate* standing to *pija* in the same relation as Lat. *capiē-tis* to *capia-m* (cp. § 929 p. 475).

1) Similarly in O.H.G., after *ja* in final syllables had become *je* and then *e*, *-an* was replaced in the infinitive of the First Weak Conj. on the analogy of verbs without *-j*, e. g. *nerian* instead of older *nerien* following *neman* and similar infinitives.

Remark. Present Stems of Class XXVI, as *veljā veliši* inf. *velēti* 'to command' (§ 727 pp. 257 ff.); of Class XXXI, as *goštā gostiši* inf. *gostiti* 'to entertain as a guest' (§ 782 pp. 308 f.); and of Class XXXII, as *vraštā vratīši* inf. *vratīti* 'to turn' (§ 807 pp. 343 f.) all have throughout their imperative -i-: *veli velimū gosti gostimū vrati vratimū*; from the Idg. optative forms which it is necessary to assume we should expect **velji* **veljimū* **gostīji* **gostījimū* **vratīji* **vratījimū*. The forms are then doubtless not optative at all, but Injunctive; and *velimū velite* are related to indic. *velimū velite* as *bādq 'sunto'* (§ 909 p. 458) to indic. *bādqṣi (bādqṣi)*. Some might wish to take 2nd sing. *veli* for orig. **veli*, i. e. 2nd sing. imperative (cp. Lat. *farcī* § 958). Against this may be urged that *choṣti* 'wish thou' is sometimes used in sentences which are not imperative (Leskien, Handb.² p. 143).

IMPERATIVE.¹⁾

§ 956. The forms classed as Imperative in the various Indo-Germanic languages have all kinds of different origins. (1) Some of them are Injunctive, as 2nd pl. dual Skr. *bhāra-ta bhāra-tam* Gr. *φέρε-τε φέρε-τον*, which were already well established in the imperative system of the parent language; Skr. 3rd sing. *bhārat-u* 3rd pl. *bhārant-u* (with the particle -u), Gr. 2nd sing. mid. *φέρεο φέρον*, O.Ir. 2nd sing. mid. *cluinte* 'exaudi' (§ 909 p. 458). (2) Conjunctive forms: Skr. 1st sing. pl. and dual, as 1st pl. act. *bhārāma* mid. *bhārāmahai*; the 2nd and 3rd persons of the conj. are dropt in classical Sanskrit, and the 1st persons, which are kept, go with the Imperative system. (3) Optative forms: O.C.Sl. *beri berēte* (§ 955 p. 495). (4) Indicative forms: Skr. 2nd sing. *vē-ṣi* 'come

1) Thurneysen, Der idg. Imperativ, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxvii 172 ff. Pott, Über die erste Person des Imperativs, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. i 50 ff.

Aufrecht, Über eine seltne Verbalform [Skr. *addhaki* 'eat away now' from *addhi* and the like], Zeitschr. Deutsch. Morg. Gesellsch., XXXIV pp. 175 f.

I. N. Madvig, De formis imperativi passivi, Kopenh. 1837 = Opusc. ii 239 ff. J. N. Schmidt, Über den lat. Imperativ, Zeitschr. für d. Gymnasialw. 1855 pp. 422 ff. Ch. Thurot, De l'imperatif futur latin, Revue de phil., iv 113 ff.

Kern, Eine Imperativform im Got., Kuhn's Zeitschr. xvi 451 ff.

here', Gr. *λέξαι* 'lay thyself' (§ 910 Rem. p. 459 f.). (5) Forms of the Verb Infinitive: as Lat. 2nd pl. *sequi-minī* (II § 71 p. 165). Lastly (6) some are forms which, so far as we can trace them, were never used for anything but the Imperative.

It is the last group, which I call the Genuine Imperative, that will concern us in the following pages. But along with them we shall include some others from the different languages whose origin has not been clearly made out, amongst which may be a few which properly belong to one of the other five groups.

I. THE PROETHNIC IMPERATIVE.

A. Bare Tense Stem as 2nd sing. act.

§ 957. The forms which come in this section are such as Gr. *ἵστη* 'place thou' *φίρε* 'bear thou', which like the voc. *ὄψε* *ἴππε* do without any personal suffix whatever. I regard the Idg. forms in *-dhi* (§ 959) and *-tvd* (§ 963) and the Skr. forms in *-sva* (§ 968) as being nothing but extensions of these.

(1) Unthematic.

Pr.Idg. Class I. **eḡ* beside **eḡ-ti* 'goes': Gr. *ἔξ-ει*, Lat. *ei* *ī* *ex-ī*, Lith. *ei-k*. **dō* beside **dō-t* 'he gave': Lat. *ce-do* (2nd pl. *cette* for **ce-d(i)-te* § 505 p. 71),¹⁾ Lith. *dū'-k*, cp. Gr. *δί-δω* (Class III). — Class X. Lat. *hīa* Lith. *šiō-k* 'open thy mouth' beside indic. Lat. *hīa-mus*; on the same principle Lat. *planta* O.Ir. *car* Goth. *salbō* Lith. *dovanó-k* (see below). Lat. *vidē* Lith. *pa-vydē-k* 'invide' beside indic. Lat. *vidē-mus*. Compare Gr. *ἐγ-κίνα* *πίμ-νη* (Class XI). — Class XVII. Skr. *stṛ-ṇu* Gr. *στόρ-νῦ* beside indic. *stṛ-ṇō-ti* (*stṛ-ṇu-más*) *στόρ-νῦ-σι* 'sternit'.

Aryan. This formation is clear only in the XVIIth Class in Sanskrit, where however *-dhi* or *-hi* is usually affixed, *ḡ-ṇi*

1) Others, not so well, take *ce-do* as a combination of two particles, 'here-wards, hither'. *cette* then is explained as derived from *cedo* as Slav. *na-te* from *na*. See Per Persson *Studia Etymol.*, p. 71.

and *śṛ-ṇu-dhī* 'hear thou' (§ 960); in the later language it was the rule to use *-hi* only where the root ended in a consonant.

In § 600 p. 143 I conjectured that *grhānā* is **grhā* + the particle *na*, and that **grh-ā* comes from **-ṛ*: cp. Att. *κρίμνη*.

Compare further what is said in § 641 p. 180 about *kuru*.

Greek. Class I. Att. *ῥῥ-ι*, see above. Epir. Aeol. *πῶ* 'drink thou' beside *πῶ-θι*. — Class III. *δί-δω* (gramm.) 'give thou'. *ῖ-στη* Dor. *ῖ-στᾶ* Lesb. *ῖ-στᾶ* 'place thou'. — Classes X and XI. Dor. *ἐγ-κίκρᾶ*, from *κίγ-κρᾶ-μι* 'I mix'; Att. *πίμ-πρη*, from *πίμ-πρη-μι* 'I kindle' (cp. § 594 p. 135); Lesb. *κίνη* from *κίνη-μι* 'I move', Lesb. *φίλλη* from *φίλλη-μι* 'I treat as a friend', *μύρω* from *μύρω-μι* 'I anoint': cp. Lith. *kėlė-k baľnū'-k*. — Class XII. Att. *κρίμνη* from *κρίμ-νη-μι* 'I hang, let hang' Lesb. *δάμ-νᾶ* from *δάμ-νᾶ-μι* 'I tame, subdue'. — Class XVII. *ὄρ-νῦ* from *ὄρ-νῦ-μι* 'I arouse': Skr. *ṛ-ṇu*.

Latin. *ī ce-do*, see above.¹⁾ The forms *fer ēs es* can hardly belong to this group; it is more likely they are injunctive like *vel* = **uel-s* (§ 505 p. 69). — Class X. Besides *hīa plantā* we have *flā nā domā portā* etc., and by analogy *stā dā*, unless we must take *stā* to be another form of Class I like *ce-do* (cp. Lith. *stó-k*). Others like *vidē* (above) are *implē nē tacē* (on *albē*, see § 958).

Irish. *car* 'love thou' for *carā*, see above.

Germanic. Goth. *salbō* O.H.G. *salbo* 'anoint thou' doubtless from pr. Germ. **salbō*, like Latin *plantā* (above). But the forms actually used are not regular; *-ō* has been restored from the other imperative forms which had it, as 2nd pl. Goth. *salbō-p* O.H.G. *salbō-t* (cp. 1st sing. indic. pres. Goth. *salbō*, § 982. 1). Similarly, O.H.G. *habe* 'have thou' (indic. *habē-m*), with its final vowel assimilated to *ē* in pl. *habē-t*.

Baltic. In Lithuanian, a particle *-ki -k (-kē)* is always affix to these imperatives. Whether the *i*-vowel represents the original ending of the particle is very questionable. It is usual to compare Lat. *ce* (*ce-do si-c*), which is plausible.

1) *fu* in the Arval Song will be another if it means 'be thou', which is doubtful. Compare Pauli, Altital. Stud. iv 29 ff.

Class I. *eĩ-k* indic. *eĩ-ti* 'he goes': Gr. ἔξ-ει Lat. *i. dũ'-k* 'give thou' beside Skr. *á-dā-t* (§ 493 p. 58): Lat. *ce-do. dē-k* 'lay thou' beside Skr. *á-dhā-t* (see *loc. cit.*). *bú-k* 'be thou' beside Skr. *á-bhū-ma* (§ 497 p. 56). — Class X. *ne-bijóki-s* 'fear thou not' beside *bijo-s* 'he fears'. *šió-k* beside *šió-ju* 'I open my mouth': Lat. *hiā* beside *hiā-mus. jó-k* beside *jó-ju* 'I ride'. *kló-k* beside *kló-ju* 'I spread out', *minē-k* beside *minē* 'he remembered'. *lukē-k* beside *lukē-ju* 'I wait a bit'. *dovanó-k* beside *dovanó-ju* 'I present', *pāsako-k* beside *pāsako-ju* 'I relate': cp. Lat. *plantā. kēte-k* beside *kēte-ju* 'I grow hard': cp. Lesb. *qίλη. balnā'-k* beside *balnā'-ju* 'I saddle': cp. Lesb. *μύρω.*

It is the rule that this whole Imperative formation takes its stem from the Infinitive. The reason is that some of the forms belonged to the aorist, whose stem differed from the present stem and agreed with the *s*-future etc., that is, the infinitive stem; the others then conformed to the same type. Hence we have *vartý-k* beside *vartaũ* 'I turn', *jũ'sty-k* beside *jũ'stau* 'I gird'. And similar imperatives are made for all thematic present stems: thus the relation between *dũ'-k* and *dũ'-ti* suggested an imper. *věsk* from *věsti* 'to lead' (pres. *vedũ*), *sũk(k)* from *sũk-ti* 'to turn' (pres. *sukũ*), and so forth.

As the original meaning of these singular forms with *-k(i)* was forgotten, a plural and dual was made from them thus: *dũ'kime dũ'kite dũ'kiva dũ'kita* from *dũ'ki dũ'k*, on which see § 463 Rem. p. 9. *dũ'ki-te : dũ'k(i)* as Lett. *weddi-t : wedd(i)* 'lead thou' (cp. § 958).

§ 958. (2) Thematic.

Pr.Idg. **bhére*, from indic. **bhére-ti* 'bears': Skr. *bhára* Armen. *ber* Gr. *φέρε* O.Ir. *beir* Goth. *bair*; Lat. *age*. Skr. *ti-šth-a* Lat. *si-st-e*, indic. *tí-šth-a-ti si-st-i-t* from *√ stā* 'stand'. Skr. *gácha* Gr. *πάσκει* beside *gá-cha-ti* from *√ gem* 'go'. Skr. *namas-yá* indic. *namas-yá-ti* 'honours', Gr. *τέλει τελεῖ* from indic. *τελείω -έω -ῶ*, 'finish thou', for *-εσ-ιω*; Skr. *gā-tu-yá* indic. *gā-tu-yá-ti* 'goes an errand', Lat. *metue* from *metuō*. Skr. *sādāya* Goth. *satei* from indic. *sādāya-ti satji-p* causal

of $\sqrt{\text{sed-}}$ 'sit'; Gr. $\varphi\acute{o}\beta\epsilon\epsilon$ -ει, indic. $\varphi\theta\beta\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ -ῶ, 'scare thou off'. s-Aorist: Skr. $n\bar{e}-\check{s}-a$ beside conj. $n\acute{e}-\check{s}-a-t(i)$ from $n\bar{r}$ - 'to lead', Gr. $\omicron\lambda\sigma$ -ε beside conj. (fut.) $\omicron\lambda\sigma\omega$ 'I will bear or bring' (§ 833 p. 370).

Wherever $\dot{i}o$ -presents of Class XXVI show -i- and -ī- in the indic. pres. beside - $\dot{i}o$ -, these weaker grades are naturally found in the imperative too: Lat. *cape* for **capi* cp. indic. *capi-s*, *farcī* cp. indic. *farcī-s*, O.H.G. *biti* cp. indic. *bitis* 'thou prayest'; perhaps we may venture to add O.Lith. *girdi*, cp. ind. *girdi-te* 'ye hear'.

Aryan. Skr. *jīva* O.Pers. *jīvā* beside indic. Skr. *jīva-ti* 'lives'; Avest. *ja-sa* (Skr. *gá-cha*) beside indic. *ja-sa-iti* 'goes' (§ 671 p. 203).

Armenian. *ber* 'bring thou' beside *bere-m* aor. *ber-i*, *ac* 'lead thou' beside *ace-m* aor. *ac-i*, *ker* 'eat thou' beside aor. *ker-i*, *tes* 'see thou' beside aor. *tes-i*, *arb* 'drink thou' beside aor. *arb-i*.

Greek. $\acute{\alpha}\gamma$ -ε 'age' from $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega$ 'ago'. $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$ -σχ beside $\acute{\epsilon}$ -σχ-ο-ν pres. $\acute{\epsilon}\chi$ -ω 'I have'. $\tau\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha\iota$ $\tau\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha$ from $\tau\acute{\iota}\mu\acute{\alpha}\omega$ -ω 'I honour', $\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\epsilon$ -ου from $\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\acute{\omicron}\omega$ -ῶ 'I enslave' (cp. Lesb. $\mu\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omega$ § 957 p. 498). There are a great many bye-forms of this class used as variants to others of the first class (§ 957), when the tense stem ends in - \acute{a} - \acute{e} or - \acute{o} ; as Att. $\kappa\alpha\theta$ -ίσται Dor. $\dot{\iota}\sigma\tau\eta$ for * $\dot{\iota}\sigma\tau\alpha\epsilon$, Att. $\tau\acute{\iota}\theta\epsilon\iota$ δίδου, Att. $\pi\acute{\iota}\mu$ -πλᾶ Dor. $\pi\acute{\iota}\mu$ -πλη, Att. $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma$ -βᾶ Dor. $\acute{\epsilon}\mu$ -βη for * $\beta\acute{\alpha}\epsilon$; similarly $\delta\mu\upsilon\nu$ -ε. Perf. $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega\nu\epsilon$ from $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}$ -γων-α $\gamma\epsilon\gamma\acute{\omega}\nu\omega$ 'I announce, say'.

The five words $\dot{\iota}\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\lambda\alpha\beta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\epsilon\dot{\iota}\pi\acute{\epsilon}$ $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\theta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\epsilon\upsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}$ have kept the accent which they had in pr. Idg. at the beginning of a sentence; $\lambda\acute{\iota}\pi\epsilon$ and the others with the same accent were originally enclitic (I § 669 p. 532, § 676 Rem. 1 p. 541). The corresponding middle imperatives $\dot{\iota}\delta\omicron\upsilon$ $\lambda\iota\pi\omicron\upsilon$ for - $\acute{\epsilon}$ -($\sigma\omicron$) (§ 909 p. 458) have always the accent which they bore as first in a sentence, even when compounded, $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma$ - $\lambda\alpha\beta\omicron\upsilon$ (but active $\pi\rho\acute{o}\sigma\lambda\alpha\beta\epsilon$). $\dot{\iota}$ -θι (contrast Skr. *i-hí*, § 959) is accented on the same principle as $\lambda\acute{\iota}\pi\epsilon$, and so too $\dot{\iota}\sigma\theta\iota$ $\pi\dot{\iota}$ -θι and others; but $\varphi\alpha$ -θι is like $\dot{\iota}\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, and also has a variant $\varphi\acute{\alpha}\theta\iota$.

Italic. Lat. *age*. Whether *albē monē* are for **albe(i)e* **mone(i)e* is as doubtful as the derivation of *albēs monēs* from **-eje-s* (§ 788 p. 319).

Lat. *cape* for **capi*,¹⁾ *farci*, see above.

Keltic. O.Ir. *ib* Mod.Cymr. *yf* 'bibe' for **(p)i-be*. *lëic* for **lëci* or *-i*, see § 702. p. 229, § 719 p. 251.

Germanic. Goth. *batr*; in O.H.G. forms like *hilf* 'help thou' for **hilfi* are regular, but e. g. *bir* stands for **biri* (I § 662. 2 p. 520). O.H.G. *neri* 'make thou whole' for pr. Germ. **naziji*, see loc. cit.; Goth. *nasei* seems to prove that **naziji* had not yet become **nazī* in pr. Germ. (cp. nom. *frijōndi* I § 660. 2 p. 515).

With Idg. *-i* O.H.G. *hevi* from *heff(i)u* 'I lift', *biti* from *bitt(i)u* 'I beseech', like Lat. *cape* for **capi*, see p. 500. But Goth. *hafei* instead of **hafi* **haf* follows *nasei* etc.

Balto-Slavonic. In O.Lith. and Lett. *-i* is found with presents like Lith. *vedū* 'I lead', as O.Lith. *vedi ved* Lett. *weddi wedd*, *gawilēji* 'I exult, shout for joy'. By the sound laws it is impossible to explain this as the 2nd sing. opt. (cp. Pruss. *weddeis*), or to assume that *-i* is *-e* weakened; and therefore

1) The forms *fac* and *dīc dūc* may have elided *-e* as *haec* for *haece* has. But the injunctive *fer* at the same time must have helped to make the short forms current (§ 505 p. 68). [It is true Skutsch has lately derived *fer* from **fere*, denying most distinctly that it comes from **fer-s* (Forschungen zu lat. Gramm. 55 ff.). But his reasons will not hold water. That *ferre* was originally a thematic present, and that forms like *fert* come by syncope of the thematic vowel, is bare assumption and nothing more. And since the scansion of *ter* as long by Plautus (Baech. 1127) is taken as evidence of the older pronunciation **terr* (for **ters*, op. Bücheler, Rhein. Mus. XLVI 236 ff.), and since the same poet has *fer* twice short and once long (Mil. 1343^a *fēr aequo ánimo*), any candid enquirer will see in this a confirmation of my view rather than his. Why the MS. should be corrupt in *fēr aequo ánimo*, and genuine in the two examples of *fēr* short, as Skutsch says, there is nothing to show. If in Plautus' day people spoke *-rr* = *-rs* before a vowel, it is in the first degree probable that this was not done always, but that the form with *r*, which was right before consonants and at the end of a sentence, was sometimes used too. In any case Skutsch ought to prove the contrary before unconditionally supporting the transposition *fēr animo aequo*. To transpose is simple; it does not follow that it is necessary.]

at *-i* is due to the analogy of forms like *girdi*, to the Lat. *cape* (for **capī*) *farcti* etc., and are the 2nd sing. indic. (*vedi* beside indic. *ved-i* follows indic. *girdi*); and that *veizdi* 'see thou', i. e. helped to make the type current, — perhaps we *di* (§ 962).¹⁾

the 2nd sing. *veli* (indic. *velja veli-ši* inf. *veli-ti*) may possibly be a form like Lat. *farcti*. But it is better to regard it as injunctive, for **-i-s*; see 496.

3. 2nd Person Singular in *-dhi*.

Forms with this suffix occur in Aryan, Greek and Indic; they occur in Unthematic tense stems. Lehmann's Zeitschr. xxvii 180) compares Skr. *ádhi auf! geh! 'up! go!'*), with its variant *dhi*, like Sanskrit *bhi*; others again compare the infinitive Gr. *-θαι*, which is less credible. In both cases we see that the imperative type described in § 957 is the origin of this.

led to the Weak Stem.

Class I. **i-dhi* from **e₁-ti* 'goes': Skr. *i-hi* 'hear thou' Gr. *κλῦ-θι* 'hear thou' from *√kley-* (§ 494 p. 363) beside Skr. *véd-mi* and *véd-a* from 'know' (§ 493 p. 52): Skr. *viddhi* Gr. *ἴσθι*, O.C.Sl. *višdǫ* instead of **vizdǫ* (§ 962). **z-dhi* Avest. Gath. *zdhi* Gr. *ἴσθι*. — Class X. Skr. *γῶ-θι* 'learn, know'. — Class XVII. Skr. *śṛ-ñi* from *śṛ-ñō-ti* 'hears', Gr. *ὄμ-νυ-θι* from

change of **vede* to *vedi* following *girdi* etc. should be the origin of O.C.Sl. 1st pl. pres. **nesomū* to *nesemū* following *ib. fin.*; with the effect of *veizdi* which possibly helped, the origin of O.C.Sl. imper. *chošti* 'wish thou' to *chošiti* following

ὄμ-νθ-αι 'swears'. — Perfect. Skr. *mumugdhí* beside *mu-móc-a* from *muc-* 'to let go', Gr. Hom. *δεῖδιθι* i. e. **δέ-δφι-θι* beside **δέ-δφι-μεν* 'we feared'.

§ 960. Aryan. Sanskrit has both *-dhi* and *-hi*. Of these *-hi* is used only after sonants, *-dhi* in Vedic after both sonants and consonants, in the later language after consonants only. See I § 480 p. 354, and von Bradke, *Zeitschr. Deutsch. Morg. Gesell.* XL 658 ff., where the variants *-dhi* and *-hi* (*śṛnudhi* and *śṛnuhi* for instance) are convincingly explained as dialectic bye-forms.

Class I. Skr. *i-hi* Avest. *i-đi* O.Pers. *i-dīy* beside indic. Skr. *é-ti* 'goes'. Skr. *stu-hi* Avest. *stuidi* beside indic. Skr. *stau-ti* 'praises'. Skr. *kṛ-dhi* beside ind. *kár-ši* from *kar-* 'to make'. Skr. *ga-dhi* *ga-hi* Avest. *gaidi* beside indic. Skr. *á-gan* from *√gem-* 'go, come'. Skr. *ja-hi* Avest. *jaidi* O.Pers. *ja-dīy* beside indic. Skr. *hán-ti* from *√ghen-* 'strike'; the common ground-form **jha-dhi* stood instead of regular pr. Ar. **gha-dhi*, I § 454 Rem. p. 335, and § 480 p. 354; in Sanskrit we also have *han-dhi* by re-formation. Beside Avest. Gath. *zdi*, to which a Skr. form **dhi* would correspond, Sanskrit has a variant *ēdhi*, for **az-dhi*, I § 591 p. 447. Similarly, with intrusive strong stem, we have Skr. *addhi* 'eat' (indic. *átti*) from *√ed-*: cp. O.C.Sl. *jaždī* § 962. — Classes III and V. Skr. *dhēhi* and *daddhi* 'place thou' *dēhi* and *daddhi* 'give thou' Avest. *dazdi* beside indic. Skr. *dá-dha-ti* *dá-dā-ti*, see § 540 p. 101. Skr. *ci-ki-hi* beside *ci-kē-ti* 'observes, notices'. *śi-śi-hi* and with strong stem *śi-śā-dhi* and *śi-śā-ti* 'whets, sharpens' (§ 538 p. 98). — Class VII. Skr. *car-kṛ-dhi* beside *car-kar-ti* 'remembers', *nē-nig-dhi* beside *nē-nēk-ti* 'washes'. — Class IX. Skr. *stani-hi* from *stan-* 'to thunder'. *brū-hi* and with strong stem *bravī-hi* beside *bravī-ti* 'speaks'.

Class X. Skr. *vā-hi* beside *vā-ti* 'blows'. Skr. *pā-hi* O.Pers. *pā-dīy* from Ar. *pā-* 'to protect' (§ 588 p. 129).

Class XII. Skr. *śṛ-ñi-hi* from *śṛ-ñā-ti* 'breaks to bits, crushes' (§ 597 p. 141); sometimes the strong stem appears, as *śṛ-ñā-hi*. — Class XV. *bhindhi* from *bhinád-mi* 'I split',

prædhi from *prnák-ti* 'mixes, mingles'. — Class XVII. Skr. *kṛ-nu-hí* Avest. *ker'-nū-īdī* beside indic. Skr. *kṛ-ṇó-ti* 'makes', Skr. *dhṛṣ-nu-hí* beside *dhṛṣ-ṇó-ti* 'dares'; cp. § 957 p. 497 f.

s-Aorist. *aviddhi* instead of regular **avīdhi* (cp. I § 591 Rem. 1 p. 448), with indic. *aviṣ-am* from *av-* 'to favour, help'.

Perfect. Skr. *pi-prī-hí*, beside indic. *pi-priy-é* pret. *á-pi-prē-t* from *prī-* 'to enjoy'; *śu-śug-dhí* beside indic. *śu-śóc-a* from *śuc-* 'to shine'.

§ 961. Greek. Class I. *ἴσθι* 'be thou': Avest. *zāi*, see I § 593 p. 450, § 626 p. 470; also *ἔσθι* like pl. *ἔστέ*, see § 502 p. 66. *φα-θί* and *φά-θι* (on this double accentuation see § 958 p. 500) from *φη-μι* 'I say': cp. Skr. *bhā-hi* § 495 p. 55. *κῦ-θι*: Skr. *śru-dhí*, cp. *Περι-κλύμενο-ς* § 498 p. 59. *πῖ-θι* 'drink thou' beside conj. (fut.) *πίομαι* § 914 p. 464. — Class III. *ἔλα-θι* 'be thou gracious' for **σι-σλα-θι*, also *ἔληθι* on the type of Class XI; like the latter we find another, Hom. *δίδο-θι*.

Class X. *γνῶ-θι* 'learn thou, know'. *ἐλῆ-θι* 'endure thou'. *βῆ-θι* 'go thou' Lac. *κύ-βᾶσι* (I § 495 p. 364). *φάνη-θι* 'appear thou', *πορεύθῃ-τι* 'start off' (I § 496 p. 364). Of this class we have further *στῆ-θι* Lac. *ᾗ-τῆσσι* (I § 566 p. 423), see § 495 p. 55. — Class XI. *ἔλη-θι*, see above, *ἐμ-νίπληθι* 'imply'.

Class XVII. *ὀρνυ-θι* from *ὀρ-νύ-σι* 'arouses'.

Perfect. *ἔ-στα-θι* 'stand thou' beside indic. *ἔ-στα-μεν*. *τέ-τλα-θι* 'endure thou' beside *τέ-τλα-μεν*. *πέπισθι* 'trust thou' (Aesch. Eum. 599, MSS. *πέπεισθι*) beside *πέ-ποιθ-α ἔ-πέ-πιθ-μεν*. Of the same kind are *ἐλλαθι* *κέκλυθι*, which I placed in Class V (§ 557 p. 109).

§ 962. Balto-Slavonic. O.Lith. *veizdi veizd* 'see thou' (by this analogy *vėizdmi* instead of **veid-mi*) O.C.Sl. *viždī* instead of **vizdī*: cp. Skr. *viddhī* Gr. *ἴσθι*. O.Lith. *dūdi dūd* 'give thou' may be Idg. **dō-dhi*, in which case it stands to *dū-k* as Gr. *πῶ-θι* to *πῶ*; O.C.Sl. *daždī* instead of **da-dī* = *dū-di* Class I, or instead of **dazdī* like Avest. *dazdī*, Class V. O.C.Sl. *jaždī* 'eat thou' instead of **ēzdī*: cp. Skr. *addhī*. O.C.Sl. *věždī* instead of **vėzdī* beside indic. *vědě* 'knows'. See I § 547 p. 400, IV § 949 p. 492.

C. The Forms with *-tōd*.

§ 963. These forms, for instance **uit^o-tōd* from $\sqrt{\text{ueid-}}$ 'see, know', **bhére-tōd* from $\sqrt{\text{bher-}}$ 'ferre', served originally for the 2nd and 3rd persons of all numbers, as their use in Sanskrit indicates. Thus *-tōd* was properly not a personal suffix at all; probably it was an affix particle, the abl. sing. of the pronoun stem **to-* 'this, that' (Skr. *tād*), used in the sense of 'from there, then' (III § 424 p. 348). This theory suits the use of the forms in Sanskrit and Latin, where they are chiefly employed when the command is not to be straightway carried out, but only after a particular point of time, or under certain circumstances. Take, for example, *vānaspātir ādhi tvā sthāsyati tāsyā vittāt* (Tāittirīya-Saṃhitā) 'the tree will fall on thee; beware of it'; *tu velim saepe ad nos scribas; si rem nullam habebis, quod in buccam venerit scribito* (Cic.). Greek also has often this manner of using it; but its use was much restricted by preference for the infinitival imperative.

The basis of this *tōd*-series is the imperative type described under (A), §§ 957 f., of which it may safely be assumed that it was not originally restricted to the 2nd singular, which it is most commonly used for: cp. Skr. *kṛ-nu-tad* Gr. *στροφ-νύ-τω* with *kṛ-nu στροφή-νῦ*, Lat. *im-ple-tō* with *implē*, Gr. *λήπ-τω* Lat. *licē-tō* with *vidē*, Skr. *bhāra-tad* Gr. *φτορέ-τω* Lat. *vehi-tō* with *bhāra φέρε vehe*.

Remark. The arguments urged against this view by Windisch do not convince me (Ber. sächs. Ges. der Wiss., 1889 pp. 21 ff.).

§ 964. Pr.Idg.

(1) Unthematic Forms. Stems with gradation have the Weak grade. Class I. Skr. *vittād* Gr. *ῖστω* beside Skr. *véd-mi* and *véd-a* from $\sqrt{\text{ueid-}}$ 'see, know' (§ 493 p. 52). Gr. *ῖσ-τω* Lat. *es-tō* beside *ῖσ-τι es-t*; strong grade in the root as in *ῖσ-τῇ es-te* etc. Gr. *δί-τω* Lat. *da-tō* beside *ῖ-δο-μεν da-mus* from $\sqrt{\text{dō-}}$. — Classes III and V. Skr. *dha-t-tad* Gr. *τι-θῆ-τω*

from $\sqrt{dhē}$ ‘place’, Skr. *da-t-tad* Gr. δι-δό-τω from $\sqrt{dō}$ ‘give’. — Class X. Gr. δοῶ-τω beside ἐ-δοῶ-ν ‘I ran’, σβή-τω beside ἔ-σβη-ν ‘I quenched’, γνῶ-τω beside ἔ-γνων ‘I learnt’. Lat. *fla-tō* beside *flā-s*, *im-plēō* beside *im-plēs*. — Class XII. Skr. *pu-nī-tad* beside *pu-nā-ti* ‘purifies’. Gr. κίρ-νά-τω beside κίρ-νη-μι ‘I mix’. — Class XVII. *ky-nu-tad* beside *ky-nō-ti* ‘makes’. Gr. ὀμ-νύ-τω beside ὀμ-νῶ-σι ‘swears’. — Perfect. Gr. μέ-μά-τω, Lat. *me-men-tō* beside Gr. μέ-μυν-α μέ-μα-μεν Lat. *me-min-i* from \sqrt{men} ‘think, devise’.

(2) Thematic Forms. Skr. *vaha-tad* Lat. *vehi-tō* beside Skr. *vāha-ti* ‘vehit’. Skr. *vōca-tad* Gr. εἰπέ-τω beside ἀ-νῶκα-τ Gr. ἐ-εἶπ-ε (§ 561 p. 110). Skr. *rākṣa-tad* beside *rākṣa-ti* ‘protects’. Skr. *pātaya-tad* beside *pātāya-ti* ‘makes fly’, cp. Gr. mid. πορεύσθω § 966; Gr. φορέ-τω φορεῖτω from φορέω ‘I carry about with me, wear’.

§ 965. Aryan. No examples occur in Iranian. Sanskrit examples are given in § 964.

The forms in Sanskrit are most commonly used for the 2nd person singular, but are also found as 3rd sing. and as 2nd plural.

Since *vaha-tad* as 2nd pl. was associated with *vāha-ta* ‘vehite’, a middle form *vaha-dhvād* was coined to complement *vāha-dhvam* (*vārayadhvād* in the Brahm. is the only form actually found). Compare Gr. φερέ-σθω § 966, Lat. *fruminō* § 967.

§ 966. Greek. Further examples (see § 964). φά-τω from φη-μι ‘I say’; ἴ-τω from εἰ-μι ‘I will go’. ἰέτω from ἱ-η-μι ‘I send forth’. βλή-τω from ἔ-βλη-ν ‘I received a missile, was struck’, Lesb. τιμά-τω from τιμᾶ-μι ‘I honour’. ὠθή-τω from ὠθῆ-μι ‘I press, oppress’. δαμ-νά-τω from δάμ-νη-μι ‘I tame’. δεικ-νύ-τω from δεικ-νῶ-μι ‘I show’. δεξ-ά-τω from ἔ-δεξ-α ‘I showed’. ἐ-στά-τω from ἔ-στα-μεν ‘we stand’. ἀγέ-τω from ἄγω ‘ago’, τιμαέτω τιμάτω from τιμάω -ᾶ ‘I honour’.

On the analogy of act. φέρετε: mid. φέρεσθαι a middle φερέσθω was coined to complement φερέτω; this happened in

proethnic Greek. Compare Skr. *vārayadhvād* § 965, Lat. *fruiminō* § 967.

In Greek, the forms with *-τω* and *-σθω* are regularly used for the 3rd singular. The active form is used as 2nd sing., with the additional suffix *-s* to make the person clear, in the word *ἐλθετως· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐλθεῖ*. *Σαλαμῖνιοι*, a gloss given by Hesychius; cp. § 987. 1. The Corcyrean *φερέσθω*, 3rd plural, may be taken as evidence that once *φερέτω* could be used for the plural. But another explanation is possible; that the coincidence of *διδόσθω* 3rd sing. and *διδόσθω* = **διδονσθω* 3rd pl. caused the 3rd sing. *φερέσθω* to be used for the plural too.

For the 3rd plural, different dialects made new forms on the basis of *-τω* and *-σθω*: *φερέτω-ν φερέτω-σαν φερόντω* (cp. Lat. *feruntō*) *φερόντω-ν φερόντω-σαν* and *φερέσθω-ν φερέσθω-σαν φερόσθω φερόσθω-ν* (for **-ονσθω *-ονσθω-ν*, cp. I § 204 p. 171); see the collections of G. Meyer Gr. Gr.² pp. 498 ff. Two remarks must be made here. (1) The origin of *φερέτω-ν φερόντω-ν φερέτω-σαν φερόντω-σαν* is later than the change of **-τωδ* to *-τω* (I § 652. 5 p. 498).¹ (2) The forms with *-ντ-* (*-οντω -οντω-ν -οντωσαν*), it may be conjectured, were not based directly upon the indicative **bheronti *ebheront* (Att. *φέρουσι ἔφερον*), but on the imperative-injunctive form **bheront* (cp. *σχέ-ς φέρε-τε φέρε-τον φέρε-ο* and 3rd pl. Skr. *bhāran bhārant-u* O.C.Sl. *bqda* § 909 pp. 457 f.).

The active and middle endings of the 3rd plural did not always correspond; thus Arcadian has act. *-ντω* mid. *-(ν)σθων* (*ζᾱμιόντω ἐπαλασάσθων*). In this and similar cases the explanation is that it was attempted to distinguish the 3rd plural from the 3rd singular middle.

No certain explanation has been given for Lesb. 3rd pl. *φέροντων φέρεσθων*; see the Author, Gr. Gr.² 173, Windisch Ber. sächs. Ges. der Wiss. 1889 p. 20, O. Hoffmann Das Präsens der idg. Grundspr. 21. The medio-passive forms *ιστάνθω* and

1) So the identification of Goth. *bairandau* with Gr. *φερόντων* (Hirt, Idg. Forsch. I 206) is wrong.

ιστάσθων, found in a late Boeotian and a late Phocian inscription, are re-formates instead of *ιστάσθω* and *ιστάσθων* by analogy of the active forms, made in order to clearly mark the 3rd plural.

§ 967. Italic. The forms in *-tōd* (Lat. *-tōd -tō* Umbr. *-tu* Osc. *-tud*) were used for the 2nd or 3rd singular.

Class I. Lat. *fertō* instead of **for-tō* like 2nd pl. *fer-te* instead of **for-te*; on Umbr. *fertu fertu* 'fer-to' see § 505 p. 69. Lat. *ei-tō itō* Umbr. *etu etu* instead of **i-tōd*: Gr. *ἱ-τω*; cp. Lat. *ei-te ī-te* Pelign. *ei-te* instead of **i-te* = *ī-re*. Umbr. *futu futu* 'esto': Gr. *φύ-τω*. Lat. *es-tōd estō* Osc. *estud estud* Volsc. *estu*: Gr. *ἔσ-τω*, see § 964.1 p. 505. — Class X. Lat. *nē-tō*, *in-tratō*. Lat. *habē-tō* Umbr. *habetu habitu*, Lat. *licē-tōd licē-tō* Osc. *likītud licitud*. Lat. *portā-tō* Umbr. *portatu*, Osc. *deivatud* 'iurato'. — Perfect. Lat. *me-men-tō*: Gr. *με-μά-τω*. — Thematic. Lat. *agi-tōd* Umbr. *aitu aitu* Osc. *actud* (I § 502 p. 368). Lat. *sūmi-tō* Umbr. *sumtu*. With Idg. *i*, Lat. *faci-tō* Osc. *factud*.

These forms with *-tōd* were made the basis of new formations like the Greek. Here, as in Greek, we find forms with a plural characteristic, and medio-passive forms parallel to the active.

(1) A 2nd plural was made in Latin by adding *-te* (*fer-te*), as *fertō-te agitō-te*, which should be compared with Gr. 3rd pl. *φερέτω-ν φερέτω-σαν*: first arose **fertōtte* (cp. *cette* for **ce-dite*), and the double consonant was then thinned because of the preceding long vowel. Again, a 3rd pl. with *-nt-* makes its appearance, e. g. *feruntō*, *suntōd suntō*; probably this form has a similar history to Gr. *φερόντω*; the Umbrian formation does not correspond, which makes it very unsafe to suppose that the type originated at a time when Greek and Italic were still united.

3rd plural are made by affixing
p. 98) to *-tu* = **-tōd*: *futu-to*
-ta 'eunto' *fertu-ta* 'ferunto'

habetu-tu *habitu-to* 'habento'. This *-tā* may be either Lat. *-te* + some interjection (cp. ἔσσον ᾧ Ar. Lysistr. 350, *καρολο-λυῆαι* ᾧ Aesch. Ag. 1118, *dringā drinc* Parsifal 220. 28), or an ending of the 2nd dual (cp. Lith. and O.C.Sl. *-ta*) which, like the dual ending *-tis* in Latin (§ 1013), got into the plural. First *futu* 'esto' had the 2nd pl. *futu-to* made for it, like Lat. *agitō-te* from *agitō*, and then since *futu* could be used for 3rd singular too, *futu-to* came to be used for the 3rd person (cp. O.C.Sl. 2nd sing. *jaždī* used also for 3rd sing. § 949 p. 492). Still, *-tā*, if it was a dual ending, may have been originally the ending of the 3rd person too (cp. O.C.Sl. *-ta* as 3rd dual, § 1040); in that case *futu-to* was originally a 3rd person form as well as a 2nd.

Remark. The ending *-tā* seems to all appearance to be used in its proper and original way in VI b 63 (= I b 21. 22) *etato Iiocinur* 'itate Iguvini', and this *-tā* medialised into *-mā* (cp. *-mu(d)* following *-tu(d)*, below) might be seen in *arsmahamo caterahamo Iovinur* 'ordinamini centuriamini Iguvini' VI b 56 = I b 19. But I fear that it is only appearance. For in the first place this medialising would be very remarkable in itself; and secondly, it is natural to suppose that *etato arsmahamo* are shortened by dissimilation from **ētātū-tō* ('itatote') **arsmāmū-mō*, and that the latter has caused by analogy the shortening of **caterāmū-mō* which follows it.

(2) Complementary to *datōd datō dantō* there were formed in Latin *dator dantor*, like *damur* beside *damus*. There also arose a 3rd sing. in *-minō* for the 2nd pl. in *-mint* (II § 71 p. 165), as *fruiminō fāminō profitēminō* beside *fruimint* etc.

Corresponding to the latter formation Umbr. has *persnimu persnihimu* 'precamino, supplicato', and the relation of pl. *habituto* 'habento' and *habitu* 'habeto' suggested a plural *persnihimumo* 'pecantor, supplicanto'. On the 2nd pl. *arsmahamo caterahamo*, see the last Remark. Osc. *censamur* 'censemino, censetor' shows the mid.-pass. *-r* added to the mid.-pass. *m*-suffix. As regards the relation of the Umbr.-Osc. suffix *-mo-* to Lat. *-mino-*, see II § 72 p. 166.

II. SOME IMPERATIVE FORMS PECULIAR TO CERTAIN LANGUAGES.

§ 968. Aryan.

(1) The 2nd sing. mid. in pr. Ar. *-sya*. Skr. *kṛ-śvā* Avest. Gath. *ker'-švā* beside indic. 3rd pl. Skr. *á-kr-ata* from $\sqrt{\text{ker}}$ 'make'. Skr. *īr-śvā* Avest. *ar'-šva* beside indic. Skr. *īr-tē* from $\sqrt{\text{er}}$ 'set in motion' (§ 497 p. 57). Skr. *dhatsvā* Avest. *dasva* for **datsva* (I § 473. 2 p. 349) beside indic. Skr. *dá-dhā-ti* from $\sqrt{\text{dhē}}$ 'place'. Skr. *jāni-śva* (from $\sqrt{\text{gen}}$ 'gignere') *vāsi-śva* (from *y-es-* 'clothe') like *stani-hi* (§ 960 p. 503). Skr. *vāha-sva* Avest. *vaza-ruha* beside Skr. *vāha-ti* 'vehit', Gath. *gūša-hva* beside *gūša-itē* 'hears', O.Pers. *pati-paya-uva* 'take care' (I § 558 p. 415).

It can hardly be doubted that this middle form is an extension of the Imperative discussed in §§ 957 f. by means of the reflexive pronoun (III § 438 p. 370 ff.). *-sva* is the form which in Greek is the accusative, *ῥέ ῥε*.

(2) The 3rd sing. and pl. mid. in *-ām*.¹⁾ Skr. sing. *kṛ-ṇu-tām* pl. *kṛ-ṇv-ātām* from *kṛ-ṇō-ti* 'makes', sing. *dhattām* pl. *dadh-atām* from *dá-dhā-ti* 'places'. Skr. sing. *bhāra-tām* pl. *bhāra-ntām* from *bhāra-ti* 'fert', Avest. sing. *ver'zya-tam* from *ver'zye-iti* 'works', pl. *jase-ntam* (Skr. *gācha-ntām*) from *jasa-iti* 'goes', O.Pers. sing. *varnava-tām* beside Avest. *ver'-nav-a-itē* 'believes' (§ 649 p. 185).

The ending of these forms is connected with that of the Skr. 3rd sing. imper. mid. *duh-ām vid-ām śay-ām* and the 3rd pl. imper. mid. *duhr-ām*, which again can hardly be treated apart from the form *vidām* which is contained in *vidā cakāra* (§ 896 p. 445); thus we are drawn to see in them verbal nouns

1) *-ām* is also seen in Avest. *ūcam* 'should be proclaimed'. Since in Skr. *-ām* is found only with verbs whose 3rd sing. indic. shows the ending *-z* beside *-tē*, it is natural to assume (as my pupil Mr. E. Kleinhaus has pointed out to me) that, say, *duhām* beside *duhē* is due to the analogy of *dugdhām* beside *dugdhē*. *duhré* would then have suggested the 3rd pl. *duhrām* (§ 1078.)

used with the imperative meaning. Then e. g. *bhárutām bhárantām* may be a transformation of the injunctive *bhárata bháranta*, completed in proethnic Aryan, on the analogy of *duhām* etc. And, as we have seen already (§ 909 p. 458), the corresponding active forms *bhárat-u bhárant-u* are also based upon the Injunctive.

In Avestic *-tām* passed over to the Optative, as *d-yā-tām* from *dha-* 'to place' (Bartholomae, Ar. Forsch. II 63 ff.).

§ 969. Greek.

(1) The 2nd sing. act. of the *s*-aorist in *-σον*, as *δειξον* from *δειξα* 'I showed'. The Syracusan dialect has *-ον* in the thematic aorist as well: *λάβον* (not as Attic, *λαβε*). Its origin is obscure.

(2) Among the possible explanations of the 2nd sing. mid. of the *s*-aorist, as *δειξαι* *λέξαι*, two in particular deserve attention. (a) *λέξαι* ('lay thyself') may be the 2nd sing. mid. **λεκ-σ-σαι*, connected with *λέκτο* for **λεκ-σ-το* (§ 820 p. 357), and its primary personal ending may be compared with Ved. 2nd sing. act. *वृ-षी* 'come here' and like forms (§ 910 Rem. p. 459 f.). *λέξαι* would be to the injunctive *λέξο*, i. e. **λεκ-σ-σο* (also used for imperative), as Skr. *prá-si* 'fill thou' to the imper. injunct. *prá-s*. But since in the speaker's thought *λέξο* was associated with the system *λέκτο* *λέχθαι* etc., *λέξαι* because of its *α* was supposed to go with the *α*-forms *ἐλεξάμην* *ἐλέξατο* etc. (b) The other possibility is that this imperative was a Present form, that e. g. *ἔσσαι* (*√ sed-* 'sedere') was the middle to the Skr. imper. *sát-si* 'place thyself, sit', and *ῥμορξαι* the 2nd sing. to Skr. *mṛṣ-ṣṣ*. Association of these with the *s*-aorist was easy when they were so completely isolated. Perhaps — there is nothing to prevent this either — forms of both kinds have been united to form our Aorist Imperative.

§ 970. Germanic. Unexplained forms: Goth. *at-steigadau* 'καταβαίτω', *láusjadau* 'ἑνσάσθω', and *liugandau* 'γαμησάτωσαν'. The explanations offered for these may be seen collected by

Jellinek, Beitr. zur Erklärung der germ. Flexion, pp. 98 ff.; see further p. 507 footnote, and compare the medio-passive optative forms *bairái-zau -dau -ndau* in § 1052.

SIGNS OF THE PERSONS, AND OF MIDDLE AND PASSIVE VOICE.¹⁾

§ 971. The Personal endings served in the original language a double purpose: to distinguish Persons, and to distinguish the Active from the Middle or Passive Voice.

1) Fr. Müller, Sprachwissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Suffixlehre des idg. Verbums, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. II 351 ff. *Idem*, Zur Suffixlehre des idg. Verbums I, Sitzungsber. d. Wien. Akad. xxxiv 8 ff., II, *ibid.* lxvi 193 ff. G. Curtius, Zur Erklärung der Personalendungen, in his Stud. iv 211 ff. Begemann, Zur Erklärung der Personalendungen, in: Zur Bedeutung des schwach. Präteritums der german. Sprachen 1874 pp. 184 ff. The Author, Zur Geschichte der Personalendungen, Morph. Unt. I 133 ff. Sayce, The Person-Endings of the Indo-European Verb, Techmer's Zeitschr. f. allgem. Sprachw. I 222 ff. P. Merlo, Sulla genesi delle desinenze personali, Rivisti di filol. xii 425 ff., xiii 385 ff., xiv 369 ff. M. Haberlandt, Zur Geschichte einiger Personalausgänge bei den thematischen Verben im Idg., Wien 1882. Windisch, Personalendungen im Griech. und Sanskr., Ber. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. 1889 pp. 1 ff. Bezzenberger, Die idg. Personalendungen *-mā, -tā, -vā*, in his Beitr. II 268 f. E. Sibree, First and Second Persons of the Indo-European Verb, The Academy xxvii (1885) pp. 190 f. Stier, Die 3. plur. praes. indicativi des verbi substantivi, Kuhn's Zeitschr. vii 1 ff. Benfey, Über einige Pluralbildungen des idg. Verbum, Abhandl. d. Gött. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. xiii 39 ff. V. Henry, La 3^e personne du pluriel du parfait indo-européen, Mém. Soc. Ling. vi 373 ff. Windisch, Über die Verbalformen mit dem Charakter *r* im Ar., Ital. und Kelt., Leipz. 1887 (= Abhandl. der sächs. Ges. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Cl., x 447 ff.). Misteli, Über Medialendungen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xv 235 ff. 321 ff. A. Kuhn, Über das Verhältniss einiger secundären Medialendungen zu den primären, *ibid.* xv 401 ff. L. Parmentier, L'origine des secondes personnes *grée(n)u, λεί(n)ου, bhārasē, sequere*, Mém. Soc. Ling. vi 391 ff. H. C. von der Gabelentz, Über das Passivum, Abhandl. der sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. viii 449 ff. Steinthal, Über das Passivum, Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsych. u 244 ff. Herm. Müller, De generibus verbi, Greifsw. 1864.

What the meaning of each particular personal suffix may have been we are not in a position to decide. Some of them may originally have been a personal pronoun affix to the

Aryan. Bartholomae, *Arice: Zur Bildung der 1. sing. praes. act., der 1. plur., der 3. sing. perf. act., Zur Flexion des Coniunctivi, Zur Bildung der 3. plur. praet. act., der 2. und 3. du. med., Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxix 271 ff. Idem, Die 1. sing. opt. med. der thematischen Coniugation [of Aryan], Ar. Forsch. II 65 f. Th. Benfey, Über die Entstehung und Verwendung der im Sanskrit mit *r* anlautenden Personalendungen, Abhandl. der Gött. Ges. d. Wiss. xv 87 ff. J. Darmesteter, Des *désinences verbales en us et des désinences verbales qui contiennent un r en sanskrit, Mém. Soc. Ling. III 95 ff. A. Bergaigne, Des troisièmes personnes du pluriel en -ram, ibid. III 104 f. Bartholomae, Indisch *ai* in den Medialeausgängen des Coniunctivi, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxvii 210 ff. A. J. Eaton, The *Ātmanepada* in *Rigveda*, Leipz. 1884. Spiegel, Die 3. Person plur. des perf. red. med. im Altbaktr., Kuhn's Zeitschr. xx 155 f. Bartholomae, Suffix *ai°* und *āt°* in den 3. pl., das Personalsuffix *-tam* im Opt. [in Avestic], Ar. Forsch. II 61 ff.**

Greek. K. Burkhard, Die Personalendungen des griech. Verbums und ihre Entstehung, Teschen 1853. Bollensen, Über die 2. und 3. du. in den historischen Zeiten des Griech., Kuhn's Zeitschr. xliii 202 ff. J. Schmidt, Die Personalendungen *-α* und *-αν* im Griech., *ibid.* xxvii 315 ff. F. Misteli, Über die erste Pers. Sing. Opt. Act. des Griech., Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsych. xii 25 ff. V. Henry, La finale primaire de 2^e personne du singulier de voix moyenne en dialecte attique, *Mém. Soc. Ling. vi 200 ff. Poppo, De Graecorum verbis mediis, passivis, deponentibus recte discernendis ac de deponentium usu*, Frankf. a. d. O. 1827. Heurlin, *De significatione verbis Graecorum mediis propria iisdemque a deponentibus discernendis*, Lund 1852. L. Janson, *De Graecorum verbis deponentibus vetustissimorum poetarum epicorum usu confirmatis*, Festprogr. des Thorner Gymn., Thorn 1868. Kowaleck, Über Passiv und Medium vornehmlich im Sprachgebrauch des Homer, Danzig 1887.

Italic and Keltic. J. Rhys, The Passive Verbs of the Latin and the Keltic Languages, *Transact. of the Philol. Soc.* 1865 pp. 293 ff. H. Zimmer, Über das italo-keltische Passivum und Deponens, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxx 224 ff.

Italic. Corssen, Osservazioni sulle desinenze personali del verbo italico, *Rivista di filol.* iv 478 ff. *Idem*, Zur Gestaltung der Personalendungen italischer Verba, in: *Beitr. zur ital. Sprachk.* pp. 564 ff. Speijer, *tis* 2^e personne du pluriel, *Mém. Soc. Ling. v 189. Idem, Désinences moyennes conservées dans le verbe latin (Parfait en -i (-ei), Singulier de l'impératif en -re)*, *Mém. Soc. Ling. v 185 ff. Corssen, Zur ital. Passivbildung*, in: *Beitr. zur ital. Sprachk.* pp. 562 ff. Conway, The Origin of the Latin Passive, illustrated by a recently discovered

verb. Thus a connexion with ancient personal pronouns is in fact possible for the followings endings: in the 1st sing. *-m -mi*, cp. Skr. *mā* Gr. *μὲ* (III § 434. 2 p. 365); in the 1st dual Skr. *-vas -va*, cp. Skr. *vdm* Goth. *vi-t* Lith. *vè-du* (III § 436. 1 p. 367, § 457 p. 396); in the 3rd sing. *-t -ti*, cp. Skr. *tā-m* Gr. *ρό-ν* (III § 409 p. 327).

It is not necessary that given forms shall originally have had the meaning which they actually convey in any language. Just as the Lat. *-mīnī* in *sequimīnī* even in proethnic Italic was anything but a personal ending (see II § 71 p. 165), so many others which now do duty for personal endings may have had very different meanings originally. There is the highest probability in favour of what has been said in § 956 p. 496 f. regarding certain imperative suffixes. And again, it is hardly

inscription, Cambridge Philol. Society's Proceedings 1890, Dec. 4, pp. 16 ff. L. Ramshorn, *De verbis Latinorum deponentibus*, Leipz. 1830. J. G. Ek, *De verbis deponentibus Latinorum iidemque cum mediis Graecorum quodammodo comparandis*, Lund 1835. Nölting, *Das lat. Deponens*, Wismar 1859. A. W. Jahnsson, *De verbis Latinorum deponentibus*, Helsingf. 1872. H. Ebel, *Zur umbr. Conjugation*, Kuhn's Zeitschr. v 401 ff. M. Bréal, *La première personne du singulier en ombrien*, *Mém. Soc. Ling.* II 287 ff.

Keltic. Wh. Stokes, *Die Endung der 1. pers. sg. praes. indic. act. im Neuirischen*, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. II 131 ff. Thurneysen, *Der ir. Imperativ auf -the*, *Idg. Forsch.* I 460 ff. Wh. Stokes, *Zum kelt. Passivum*, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. VII 467. Loth, *La 2^e personne du singulier du présent de l'indicatif actif (gallois ydd, cornique yth, armoricain ez ou es)*, *Revue Celt.* X 348 f.

Germanic. R. Kögel, *Zum deutschen Verbum: Die Endung der ersten Person Pluralis und die Endung der zweiten Person Pluralis*, Paul-Braune's Beitr. VIII 126 ff. A. Ludwig, *Über die 2. sing. perf. ind. im German.*, *Sitzungsber. der böhm. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* 1884 pp. 52 ff. J. von Fierlinger, *Die II. ps. sg. perf. starker Flexion im Westgerm.*, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 430 ff. *Idem*, Ahd. *-mēs*, *ibid.* XXVII 189 f. J. Thorckelsson, *Personalsuffixet -m i første Person Ental hos norske og islandske Oldtidsdigtere*, *Ark. för nord. fil.* VIII 34 ff. H. Ebel, *Das got. Passivum*, *ibid.* v 300 ff. W. Uppström, *Über das got. Medium*, *Germania* XIII 173 ff.

Slavonic. The Author, *Altbulg. bereti* und *berati*, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 418 ff. Miklosich, *Die Personalsuffixe des Dualis [in Old Slovenian]*, *Sitzungsber. d. Wien. Akad.* LXXXI 125 ff.

possible to deny a connexion between the endings *-nt -nti -nto* etc. of the 3rd plural and the participial suffix *-nt-* (II § 125 pp. 394 ff., and IV p. 50 footnote 1).

§ 972. The etymological connexion of Middle and Active ending is quite obscure. What, for instance, is the connexion between 3rd sing. mid. Gr. *-ται* and 3rd sing. act. *-τι*?

Remark. It is probable *a priori* that the Active endings as a class are the oldest. For these characterise an action simply, without the secondary meanings which the Middle Forms convey over and above those of the Active. On this principle we may regard the **-medhai* or **-medhāi* of the 1st plural as an extension of the act. **-me*. **-so* **-to* **-nto* are doubtless extensions of the active **-s* **-t* **-nt*, and if a particle *i* were added to these, the former would become **-sai* **-tai* **-ntai* or **-sai* **-tāi* **-ntāi*, the latter **-si* **-ti* **-nti*. But in the 2nd pl. the middle Skr. *-dhve* *-dhvam* are obviously to be kept quite apart from the active *-tha* *-ta*. And who is to prove that **-sai* **-tai* did not become **-si* **-ti* by loss of accent, and **-so* **-to* become **-s* **-t* in the same way? This explanation is actually suggested by Begemann, *Zur Bedeutung des schwachen Präteritums der german. Sprachen*, p. 188, and Osthoff, *Morph. Unt.* iv 282.

For the Passive Voice there were originally no special and characteristic endings in the Indo-Germanic languages. All so-called passive forms in the verb finite are either middle or active.

§ 973. Each person, both Active and Middle, had in the parent language at least two endings.

Sometimes there is no possibility of tracing any connexion between these different endings, as between *-ti* and *-e* in the 3rd sing. active (Skr. pres. *ás-ti* and perf. *ás-a*). In particular, there were a number of special endings in the Perfect Indicative, whose origin, it would appear, was quite distinct from that of the endings in the other tenses and moods.

But the rest are obviously variant forms of the same thing. This is true of *-mi* and *-m* in the 1st sing. active, of *-tai* or *-tāi* and *-to* in the 3rd sing. middle. The *-i* which distinguishes the active endings 1st sing. *-mi* 2nd sing. *-si* 3rd sing. *-ti* 3rd pl. *-nti* from *-m* *-s* *-t* *-nt* in the same persons, may, I suggest, be an affix particle (perhaps implying present time). The same *-i*, forming a diphthong with a preceding *-a*-vowel, is seen in the middle endings 1st sing. *-ai* or *-āi* (Skr. perf. *tutud-ē*) and

-*ōi* (Skr. conj. *ky-nāv-āi*), 2nd sing. -*saī* or -*ṣaī*, 3rd sing. -*taī* or -*tāī*, 1st pl. -*medhaī* or -*medhāī*, 3rd pl. -*ntaī* or -*ntāī* beside 1st sing. -*ə* (Skr. pret. *á-dviṣ-i*) and -*o* (Skr. opt. *dviṣīy-ā*), 2nd sing. -*so*, 3rd sing. -*to*, 1st pl. -*medhə* (Skr. -*mahi* Gr. -*μεθα*), 3rd pl. -*nto*. Other differences distinguish the endings of the 1st pl. act. Skr. -*mas* (-*masi*) and -*ma*, the endings of the 2nd and 3rd dual act. Skr. -*thas* -*tas* and -*tam* -*tām*, and so forth.

§ 974. Leaving aside the endings peculiar to the Indic. Perf. Act., the other personal endings are divided into Primary and Secondary; the 3rd sing. for instance has primary endings -*ti* active and -*taī* (-*tāī*) middle, and secondary -*t* active and -*to* middle.

The Primary endings belong to the Indic. Pres. Active and Middle (Skr. *dāda-ti dat-tē*), and include the *sio*-future (Skr. *dāsyā-ti -tē*), and the Indic. Perf. Middle (Skr. *dad-ē*). But forms with a secondary ending (Injunctive) could also serve as indic. present, see § 909 p. 457.

The Secondary endings belong to the augmented Indic. Active and Middle (Skr. *á-da-t á-di-ta, á-dada-t á-dat-ta* etc.), to the series which has such wide and varied use, the Injunctive Active and Middle (Skr. *dā-t di-tá* etc.), and to the Optative Active and Middle (Skr. *dadyā-t dadī-tá* etc.)

The Conjunctive varies, and takes both kinds.

Remark. Some light may be had from Irish syntax to explain why the Augment required secondary endings. The augment was an independent adverb (§ 477 pp. 24 f.); and we find in Irish double forms, one for Conjunct and one for Absolute use, e. g. 3rd sing. *do-beir* for **bere-t* (secondary ending) and *berid* for **bere-ti* (primary). Probably the Irish usage in some degree reflects that of proethnic times, and we should suppose that in the parent language, while *bhère-ti* would be used alone, such a form as **pró bhère-t* would be used when the verb was coupled with a prefix. On this supposition, Skr. *prā bharati* is due to the analogy of independent *bhārati*, and vice versa Lat. *vēhis* to that of the compounds, as *dā-vehis*. But this kind of variation cannot be assumed for all tenses and moods in the parent language (of course the perfect indicative active is always excepted). It certainly was not found in the optative, which in the existing languages always shows secondary personal endings. And notwithstanding Skr. 2nd sing. imper. *vē-ṣi* and Gr. *λέξαι* (§ 910 Rem. p. 459 f.), we must not venture to allow it for imperative expressions.

§ 975. Amongst the suffixes of persons, *r* has a place to itself. It is found sometimes alone as a personal ending (as Skr. 3rd pl. *cakr-úr*), sometimes in conjunction with others (as Skr. 3rd pl. pres. *duh-r-atē* Lat. 3rd pl. *sequo-ntu-r*). As Italic and Keltic have it in almost all persons, and as the forms which contain it must be treated together, a special chapter will be given to it after the other endings have been discussed (§§ 1076 ff.).

ACTIVE ENDINGS.

1ST PERSON SINGULAR.

§ 976. Proethnic Indo-Germanic.

(1) *-mi*, Primary Ending for Unthematic Stems. **és-mi* 'I am': Skr. *ásmi* Arm. *em* Gr. *εἰμι* Alban. *jam* (for **em* **esmi*, § 493 p. 52) Goth. *im* Lith. *esmi* O.C.Sl. *jesmĭ*. Skr. *dáda-mi* Gr. *δίδω-μι* 'I give'. Skr. *śy-ñā-mi* 'I break to pieces' Armen. *baṛ-na-m* 'I lift' Gr. *δάμ-νῃ-μι* 'I tame' O.Ir. *glenim* 'I remain hanging' (for **gli-na-mi*) O.H.G. *gi-nō-m* 'I gape'. Most languages came indepently to use this ending with Thematic stems: Skr. *bhárāmi* Armen. *berem* O.Ir. *berim* 'fero' O.H.G. *wirdon* 'I become' Serv. *nesem* 'I bear'.

(2) *-ō*, the Primary Ending for Thematic Stems. **bherō* 'fero': Avest. Gath. *ufyā* 'I weave, extol' Gr. *φείρω* Lat. *ferō* O.Ir. *as-biur* 'effero, dico' Goth. *batra* Lith. *vešū* 'veho'. Future Avest. Gath. *vax-šyā* 'I will speak' Lith. *dā'-siu* 'dabo'. Conjunctive **es-ō* from indic. **es-mi*: Avest. Gath. *aṇhā* Skr. *bráv-a* 'dicam' Gr. *ἔω ὦ* Lat. (fut.) *erō*. *-ō* also in the Greek long-vowel Conjunctive, as *φείρω* (pl. *φείρω-μεν φέρον-τε*), and the Aryan *-ā* seems to be identical in the forms Skr. *árcā* (3rd sing. *árc-a-t*) Avest. Gath. *per'sā* (3rd sing. *per's-ā-itī*), see § 918 Rem. p. 466.

(3) *-m* (after sonants) and *-n* (after consonants) Secondary Ending for any Stem. **bhéro-m*: Skr. *á-bhara-m* Gr. *ἔ-φερο-ν* Lat. *su-m* O.C.Sl. *nesū* 'bore'. Conj. Lat. *fera-m* O.Ir. *do-ber*

O.C.Sl. *bera* (§ 929 p. 474). Skr. *á-yā-m* 'I went' Gr. *ἔ-δρα-ν* 'I ran' Lat. *era-m* O.Ir. *ba* 'fui' Goth. *i-ddja* 'I went'. (Opt. **s-(i)ǵē-m* 'sim': Skr. *syā-m* Gr. *εἴη-ν* Lat. *sie-m si-m*. **ēs-ŋ* 'eram' (before sonants also **ēs-ŋm*): Skr. *ās-am* Gr. *ἦ-α*. s-Aorist Skr. *á-cāiṣ-am* Gr. *ἔ-τεῖσ-α* from *✓qei-* 'pay a penalty, etc.'. Opt. **bheroǵ-ŋ*: Skr. *bhārēy-am*.

(4) *-a* in the indic. perf. **uoiǵ-a* 'I know': Skr. *véd-a* (Ir. *oǵ-a* O.Ir. *ro cecan* 'cecini' Goth. *vát*).

§ 977. Aryan. (1) *-mi*. Skr. *ás-mi* Avest. *ah-mi* O.Pers. *amīy*. Skr. *dádha-mi* 'I place' Avest. *dadā-mi*. Skr. *ky-ṇó-mi* 'I make' Avest. *ker'-nao-mi*.

(2) The ending *-ā* = Idg. *-ō* is regular in the Gatha dialect of Avestic for the indic. present, as *spasyā* 'conspicio, I watch' (Bartholomae, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxix 271 ff.). Independently both Sanskrit and later Avestic adopted the re-formation with *-mi* (§ 976. 1); as Skr. *bhārāmi dāsyāmi* late Avest. *barāmi* O.Pers. *dārayāmīy* (Skr. *dhārāyāmi*). The reason for this innovation was that there were often parallel forms, one thematic and the other unthematic, as Skr. *dā-dhā-ti* and *dā-dh-a-ti*, Avest. *da-dā-iti* and *da-p-a-iti*, and it was a recommendation for *-mi* with the thematic stem that by this the number of syllables became the same in all persons of the singular. Another thing which may have had some influence is that in the 1st sing. mid. indic. pres. of both classes the same ending (*-aḥ*) was used from the proethnic Aryan period.

(3) The short-vowel (or thematic) conjugation and the long-vowel both show the endings *-ā* and *-āni* side by side; the former was proethnic Idg. (§ 976. 2 p. 517): Skr. Ved. *bravā* Ved. and class. *brāvāni* (3rd sing. *brāv-a-t*) Avest. *mrava mrāvāni* (3rd sing. Gath. *mrav-a-iti*) beside indic. Skr. *brāv-ī-ti* 'speaks' 1st pl. *brū-mās*; Skr. Ved. *vōcā* (Gr. *(F)εἶνω*) Ved. and class. *vōcāni* (3rd sing. *vōc-a-ti*) beside indic. *á-vōc-a-t* (Gr. *ἔ-(F)εἶνε*) from *vac-* 'to speak', Avest. *per'sā* (3rd sing. *per's-a-iti*) beside indic. *per's-a-iti* 'asks', *azāni* beside indic. *az-a-iti* 'agit'.

The origin of *-ni* is obscure. Perhaps we should connect

it with the Ar. *-na* of Avest. 2nd sing. *bara-nā* and the ending of the 2nd pl. *-than-a -ta-na* (§ 600 p. 143, § 1010).¹⁾

(4) *-m*. Skr. *á-bhara-m* Avest. *barem* O.Pers. *abaram*. Skr. *á-dadhā-m* Avest. *dadā-m*. Optative Skr. *dadh-yá-m* Avest. *daiđya-m*.

(5) *-m* appears in Aryan regularly as *-am*, which we may consider the ante-sonant form (*-mm*). See I § 231 Rem. p. 196. *-am* seems to have been helped in beating **-a* = Gr. *-a* out of the field by various causes: in Skr. *á-han-am* and other such by the existence of thematic and unthematic variants together (cp. *á-han-a-t* § 498 p. 58); in *ás-am ád-am* by a wish to distinguish these from the perfect (*ás-a ád-a*); in the optative *bhárēy-am*, by a wish to distinguish active and middle (*bharēy-a*). Skr. *á-brav-am* Avest. *mraom* i. e. *mrav-em* 'I spoke'; Skr. *ás-am* O.Pers. *ah-am* 'eram'. Avest. *diđaēm* i. e. *diđay-em* beside *di-đaē-iti* 'sees'. Skr. *á-kṣār-ṣ-am* (Gr. *ῥ-φθιτο-α*) from *kṣar-* 'to flow, pass away'. Optative Skr. *bhárēy-am* (not found in Iranian).

(6) *-a* in the Perfect. Skr. *véd-a* Avest. Gath. *vaēd-ā* 'I know': Gr. *oīda*. On Skr. *dadhāu* see § 852 p. 402 f.

§ 978. Armenian. Perfect *-a* not found.

(1) *-m* = Idg. *-mi*. *em* 'I am' for **es-mi* § 501 p. 63. *mna-m* 'I remain, wait for' *jana-m* 'I take pains' § 581 p. 122. *ba-na-m* 'I open' § 601 p. 144. *jer-nu-m* 'I warm myself' § 642 p. 180.

This *-m* spread to the Thematic stems (§ 976. 1), as *berem* 'fero'; *e* before the *-m* comes from the 2nd and 3rd singular (as in Serv. *nesem*, § 983), partly from the analogy of *em*. The same innovation is seen in the 3rd pl. *beren*, § 1019.

(2) The history of Idg. *-m* and *-m* is not clear. The ending *-m* is believed to occur in e. g. *etu* 'I gave' *edi* 'I placed' *beri* 'I bore'. Compare Bartholomae, Stud. Idg. Spr. II 36 f.; Bugge, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxII 75.

1) What Mahlow suggests and Wiedemann approves (Lang. Voc. 162, Lit. Prät. 160) does not convince me in the least.

§ 979. Greek.

(1) *-μι*. εἶμι 'I go': Skr. *é-mi*. ἄη-μι 'I blow': Skr. *vd-mi*. Lesb. *τίμα-μι* 'I honour': cp. Armen. *jana-m* O.H.G. *salbō-m*.

(2) *-ω*. ἄγω: Lat. *agō*. Conjunctive εἰδέω *-ō* 'sciam': Lat. *vidēdō*. Conj. φέρω 'feram': cp. Skr. Ved. *ārcā*. In Homer the Conjunctive is extended by *-μι*, a re-formation: *κτείνω-μι* with indic. ἔκτεινα, ἐθέλω-μι indic. ἐθέλω, cp. ἐθέλῃσθα § 987 and ἐθέλῃσι § 995.

(3) *-ν* for *-m*. ἡγο-ν: Skr. *dja-m*. ἐ-τίθη-ν: Skr. *dadadhā-m*. Optative θείη-ν τιθείη-ν: Skr. *dadh-yd-m*.

-α for *-η*. Aorist ἔχε(F)-α 'I poured', ἔδειξ-α 'I showed'. The opt. form *φερο(κ)-α which Skr. *bhārēya-m* leads as to expect, is lacking. In its stead we find *φέροι-μι*, which is undoubtedly a re-formation (*-οιμι* : *-οις* like *τίθημι* : *τίθης*), and one or two cases in Attic of *φέροιν*, which stands to Skr. *bhārāya-m* as *ἔ-φῦ-ν* to *á-bhūv-am*.

(4) *-α* = Idg. *-a* in the Perfect. δέδορξ-α 'I have seen': Skr. *dadārś-a*.

§ 980. Italic. *-mi* and *-a* (Perfect) are not found.

(1) *-ō*. Lat. *agō*: Gr. ἄγω; Umbr. *sestu* 'sisto'. Lat. *plantō* for *-ā(ī)ō*, Umbr. *subocauu sobocau* 'adoro' (*-uu* and *-u* = *-ō*!). Conj. (fut.) Lat. *er-ō*: Avest. Gath. *aəh-ā*; cp. § 918 Rem. p. 466.

(2) *-m*. Lat. Osc. *s-u-m* § 528 p. 91; add Osc. *manafum*, if it means 'mandavi', see § 874 p. 423. Lat. *amā-bam*: O.Ir. *ba*. Conj. Lat. *ag-a-m*. Opt. Lat. *s-ie-m sim*. *-η* seems to be lost.

§ 981. Keltic.

(1) *-m* aus *-mi*. O.Ir. *cre-nim* 'I buy' Mod.Cymr. *pry-na-f* for **na-mi* § 604 p. 145. *scaraim* 'I separate, separate myself' for **scarā-mi*, *caram* 'I love' for **carā-mi* § 584 p. 125.

1) As the Umbr. inf. *stiplo(m)* 'stipulari' etc. shows the group *āo* contracted in unaccented syllables (§ 1094. 7), it apparently follows that *subocau* is a new form instead of **subocō* by analogy of *stahu* 'sto' and the like.

Forms like *lēcim* (beside *-lēciu*) and *berim* (beside *-biur*) are re-formed on the model of the verbs in *-mi* above mentioned. Compare § 976. 1.

Why is *-m* constantly doubled in Irish, thus shewing that the nasal was not spirant (*mh*) as in Cymric? This is no effect of the analogy of the Irish representative of Idg. **es-mi* 'I am' (with *mm* for *sm*); because *am* (never written *amm*) has no claim to be considered such (see § 506 p. 72). "Can it be true after all that Irish *-ām-* when following the accent became *-amm-?*" (Thurneysen.)

(2) Idg. *-ō*. *biu* 'I am': Lat. *fīō*. *no guidiu* 'I beg'. *-biur* 'I bear': Lat. *ferō*. *no charub* 'I will love': cp. Lat. *amā-bō*. See I § 90 p. 85.

(3) Idg. *-m*. *ba* 'fui' for **bhū-a-m*: Lat. *amā-bam* (§ 584 p. 125). Conj. *-ber* 'feram' for **bhera-m*; the absolute form *bera* is analogical, and no ground-form can be inferred for it.

Idg. *-ŋ* seems to be quite lost.

(4) Idg. *-a* in the Perfect. *ro sešlach* 'I struck down' for **se-slag-a*: cp. Goth. *slōh*.

§ 982. Germanic.

(1) Idg. *-mi* is common in West Germanic. Goth. *im* O.H.G. *b-im b-in* 'I am' for **es-mi* (§ 507 p. 73). O.H.G. *sestō-m* 'sisto, I arrange' (§ 545 p. 103), *salbō-m* 'I anoint' (§ 585 p. 126), *habē-m* 'I have' (§ 592 p. 133), *stā-m* 'I stand' (§ 708 p. 240), *ginō-m gei-nō-m* 'I gape' (§ 605 p. 146).

Goth. *salbō* doubtless has not the secondary Idg. *-m*, but gets its ending from *salbō-m -nd* by analogy of *batra*: *batra-m -nd*. On Goth. *haba* see § 708 p. 238 f.

(2) Idg. *-ō*. Goth. *batra* O.H.G. *biru* 'fero' O.Icel. *heito-mk* 'I call myself', Goth. *nasja* O.H.G. *neriu nerru* 'I save'; on forms like O.H.G. *hilfu* see I § 661. 2 p. 517. In High German dialects, especially Rhine Frankish, the *-n* of verbs in *-mi* has been spreading to the thematic class since the 11th century; e. g. *wirdon gihun* instead of *wirido gihu*, and so too O.Low Fr. *wirthon* (cp. § 976. 1).

(3) Idg. *-m*. Goth. *i-dǫja* 'I went': Skr. *á-yām*; Goth. *nasida* O.H.G. *nerita* 'I rescued' Norse Run. *tawido* 'I made'. No trace is left of **-un* = *-m*; it must have been once used in the opt. Goth. *bairau*; the origin of this form (O.Icel. *bera*) is very uncertain, see § 928 p. 474.

(4) Idg. *-a* in the Perfect. Goth. *vát* O.H.G. *weiz* 'I know': Skr. *véd-a* Gr. *oid-a*.

§ 983. Balto-Slavonic. *-a* (Perfect) is wanting.

(1) *-mi*. Lith. *es-mi* O.C.Sl. *jes-mī* 'I am': on Lith. *es-mi* see § 510 p. 75. O.C.Sl. *ima-mī* 'I have' (§ 586 p. 127); reformation with *-mī*, *bi-mī* etc., see § 727 p. 257.

It is true the Lith. reflexive ending *-mē-si* (*dūmē-si*, *velmē-s* § 511 p. 76) contains the middle ending *-mē* = Gr. *-μαί* (cp. Pruss. *asmai*),¹⁾ and by I § 664.3 p. 523 it follows that *-mē* becomes *-mī*. Still it does not follow that *-mi* must always come from *-mē*; active and middle endings must have existed side by side, and only in the *si*-reflexive was *-mē* made regular on the strength of 1st sing. *-ā-s* : *-ū*, 1st pl. *-mē-s* : *-me*. Compare § 991 on *dūsi* : *dūsē-s*.

In Servian *-m(ī)* runs through all conjugations: first, beginning with the 13th century, *-a-m*, as *čuva-m* 'I protect' (cp. O.C.Sl. *ima-mī*); then *-i-m*, as *hvali-m* 'I praise' (cp. O.C.Sl. *bi-mī*); lastly *-e-m*, as *nese-m* 'I bear', which should be compared with Armen. *bere-m* (§ 978 p. 519), only *mogu* 'I can' and *hoću* 'I wish' kept fast to the old ending. The same is true of Slovenian.

(2) Idg. *-ō* only in Baltic; Lith. *sukū* 'I turn' *sukū-s(i)* 'I turn myself' (I § 664.3 p. 523), *dū'siu* 'dabo'. On the spread of *-u* to stems in orig. *-ā* and *ē*, as *lindau*, see § 586 p. 127, § 593 p. 133 f., § 991.1.

(3) Idg. *-m* only in Slavonic. O.C.Sl. *vezū* 'I transported' for *-o-m*: Skr. *vāha-m*, *da-ch-ū* 'I gave' (§ 833 p. 370). Con-

1) No help can be got from O.C.Sl. *-mi* instead of *-mī*, which some might be inclined to regard as another instance of middle ending. Miklosich cites it as a very rare variant (Vergl. Gr. III² 63).

junctive *veza* = Lat. *veha-m* as indic. pres., see § 929 p. 474.
Idg. *-m* is quite gone.

2ND PERSON SINGULAR.

§ 984. Proethnic Indo-Germanic. On the imperative *-dhi*, and imperatives without any personal ending like Skr. *bhāra*, which we here disregard, see §§ 957 ff. pp. 497 ff.

(1) *-si*, Primary ending. **ei-si* 'is': Skr. *ē-ṣi* Gr. *ἐῖ* for **ēi-(σ)ι*. Skr. *bhāra-si* O.Ir. *beri* for **bere-(s)i* Goth. *bairi-s* 'fers'. Conj. Skr. *bhār-a-si*. O.Ir. *cari* 'amas' for **cara-(s)i*, Goth. *salbō-s* 'thou anointest'.

From *√es-* 'esse' two forms. 1. **esi*: Skr. *ási* Gr. *ἐῖ* for **ēi-(σ)ι* Alban. *jē* for **e(si)* (G. Meyer, M. Hertz zum 70. Geburtstag, 1888, pp. 86 f.). 2. **es-si*: Armen. *es* Gr. Hom. *ἐσ-οῖ*: On the relation of the two Idg. forms, see III § 356 Rem. p. 258. On Goth. *is* see § 990.1; on Lith. *esi* O.C.Sl. *jesi*, § 991.

(2) *-s*, Secondary ending. **e-stā-s* from *√stā-* 'stare': Skr. *á-sthā-s* Gr. *ἐ-στη-ς*; Skr. *á-yā-s* Goth. *i-ddjē-s* 'wentest'. **bhēre-s*: Skr. *á-bhara-s* Gr. *φῑρε-ς ἱ-φῑρε-ς* Lat. *ag-i-s* O.Ir. *do-bir* O.C.Sl. *veze*; Goth. *ōg-s* 'fear thou'. Opt. **bheroī-s*: Skr. *bhārē-ṣ* Gr. *φῑροι-ς* Goth. *bairái-s* Pruss. *imai-s* 'take thou' O.C.Sl. *beri*; **s-(i)jē-s*: Skr. *syā-s* Gr. *εῖη-ς* Lat. *siē-s* *st-s* Goth. *vitei-s* 'scias'.

(3) *-tha* in the ind. perf.: Skr. *vēt-tha* Gr. *οἶσθα* 'knowest', O.H.G. *gi-tars-t* 'darest'.

§ 985. Aryan.

(1) *-si*. Skr. *vák-ṣi* Avest. *vaṣi* beside 3rd sing. Skr. *váṣ-ti* Avest. *vaṣ-ti* 'desires'. Skr. *dádha-si* 'placeth', Avest. *daḍa-hi*. Skr. *bhāra-si* Avest. *bara-hi*. Conj. Skr. *bhāra-si*, Avest. *barā-hi* (also *barāi* with *h* dropt) O.Pers. *vainā-hy* 'videas'. Imperative Skr. *sát-si* 'place thyself, sit' see § 910 Rem. p. 459 f.

Skr. *ási* Avest. *ahi* Goth. *ahy* 'thou art', see § 984. 1.

(2) *-s*. Skr. *dhā-s á-dhā-s* Avest. *dā* from *√dhē-* 'to place', Skr. *ákar* for **a-kar-ṣ* 'madest', Avest. *var-š* 'didst work' ground-form **yerk-s*, *sqs* 'didst say' ground-form **kens-s* (§ 493

p. 52). Skr. *á-dadha-s* Avest. *daddā*. *s*-Aorist Skr. *ájaiṣ* for **á-jaiṣ-ṣ*, *íchān* for **a-chānt-s-s* see § 816 p. 354. Skr. *bhára-s á-bhara-s* Avest. *barō* O.Pers. *gaudaya* 'didst hide' (I § 558.4 p. 415). Conj. Skr. *ás-a-s* Avest. *aṇh-ō*, Skr. *bhár-a-s* Avest. *bar-dā*. Opt. Skr. *bhárē-ṣ* Avest. *barōi-ṣ*, Skr. *dadhyā-s* Avest. *daiṣyā*.

(3) *-tha* in the Perfect. Skr. *véttha* Avest. Gath. *vōista* (I § 475 p. 351), Skr. *dadhd̐-tha* Avest. Gath. *dada-ṣa*.

§ 986. Armenian. *es* 'art': Gr. *ἐσ-σι*. Hence *beres* 'fers', like *berem* following *em* (§ 978 p. 519).

Remark. The ending *-r* found in many tenses and moods Bugge thinks he can explain as *-s* + particle **ra* = Gr. *ῥα*, e. g. aor. *ar-ar-er* (pres. *ar-ne-m* 'I make') = Gr. *ῥε-αῖ-ε-ς ῥα* (Beitr. zur etym. Erläut. der arm. Spr., Christiania 1889 pp. 44 ff.). This particle he sees in the ending of the 3rd sing. imperf., as *berer alair toloir*. However, it is not found elsewhere in Armenian.

§ 987. Greek.

(1) *-si*. Only left in Hom. and Syrac. *ἐσ-σι* 'thou art', with a variant *εἶ* for **ἐ(σ)ι*, and in *εἶ* 'wilt go' for **ἐ(σ)ι*. When the secondary ending *-ς* was added to these forms on the analogy of *φη-ς* 'sayest' and the like, arose the Hom. and Herod. *εἶ-ς* or *εῖ-ς* 'thou art' and Hesiod's *εἶ-ς* 'thou wilt go'; in the same way was produced 2nd sing. *ἐλθεις-ς*, § 966 p. 507.

φέρεις 'fers' either for **φερ(σ)ι* = Skr. *bhára-si* with secondary *-ς* added (see the Author's Gr. Gr.² p. 145, and Fay in the Amer. Journ. Phil. xi 219 f.); or for Idg. **bherēi-s* (by I § 611 p. 461), a form like Skr. *áj-ai-ṣ* (see footnote to page 61). The latter view, on which *φέρεις* is really injunctive, is to my mind likelier, because it explains at the same time the 3rd sing. *φέρει* in the simplest way (§ 995). The conjunctive *φέρης* sprang up by the side of *φέρεις* because of the existence of *φέρητε* beside *φέρετε*.

(2) *-s*. *ἔ-βλη-ς*: Skr. *á-gla-s* (§ 587 p. 127). *ι-τίθη-ς*: Skr. *á-dadha-s*. *ἤγε-ς*: Skr. *ája-s*. Opt. *ῥέροι-ς* *εἴη-ς*. Observe the injunctive forms with indicative present use, Dor. Cypr. *φέρε-ς* Att. *φής-ς* *τίθη-ς* Lesb. *qίλη-ς* etc., § 909 p. 457.

(3) *-tha* in the Perfect. Only two original forms are left: — *ολθα*: Skr. *vēthta* 'knowest' and *ῆσ-θου* from *ἐσ-* 'to be'. The latter, which was afterwards used as imperfect (§ 858 p. 407), was the origin of many analogical forms, for instance *ἐφησθα ἤμισθα τίθησθα* conj. *ἐθέλησθα* opt. *βάλουσθα εἴησθα*. *ολθα-ς ῆσθα-ς* are of very doubtful authority before the Alexandrian age; *ολθα-ς* occurs in Herodas II 55. In the indic. perf. *-α-ς* was usual instead of *-θα*, e. g. *τέτροφ-α-ς*, also *ολδας* beside *ολθα*; this ending came from the aorist, and was recommended by the ease with which it could be added to consonant stems (§ 844 p. 386).

§ 988. Italic.

(1) *-si* cannot be traced. But since in the 3rd sing. **-tī* seems very early to have become *-t* (§ 996), nothing prevents our deriving Lat. *es* 'art' and *ēs* 'eatest' from **essi* and **ētsi*.

(2) *-s*. Lat. *vī-s* (§ 505 p. 69), *vel* for **vel-s* (loc. cit.); but in *fer-s* the *-s* is due to analogy. *nā-s nē-s plantā-s vidē-s, amā-bās. agi-s farcī-s*, Umbr. heris heri heri 'vis, vel' (p. 68 footnote, and § 715 p. 248). Conjunctive Lat. *er-i-s vider-i-s, ag-a-s ag-ē-s*. Optative Lat. *siē-s sī-s*, Umbr. *sir 'si sei 'sis*.

(3) Idg. *-tha* in the Perfect. Lat. *vīdis-ti* (inscr. also *-tei*) got its *-ī* either from the 1st sing. with the middle suffix *-ī*; or else the middle ending existed in Italic in the 2nd person too (**-sī* for pr. Lat. **-saī*) and *-tī* got its *-ī* from this, in the same way as *-ši* in O.C.Sl. *berēši* is a mixture of active Idg. **-si* and middle Idg. **-saī* or **-sai* (§ 991).

§ 989. Keltic. *-tha* (Perfect) is lost. The ending of *cechan* 'cecini' is obscure.

(1) *-si*. O.Ir. *beri* 'fers' for **bere-si* (I § 576 p. 431).

(2) *-s*. Injunct. *comēir* 'get up' for **cóm-ecs-rec-s-s* (§ 826 p. 363) *-bir* 'fers' for **bere-s* (I § 576 p. 431, § 657.5 p. 508).

In the *a*-conjunctive, *berae bere* and *do-berae -e* for a supposed **berāsi*; remember that even in the indicative the primary *-i* kept on intruding more and more into the conjunct flexion: only a few verbs, as *-bir*, kept clear of it.

§ 990. Germanic.

(1) *-si*. O.Icel. *ber-r* = pr. Germ. **biri-zi*, O.H.G. *biris* = pr. Germ. **biri-si*; similarly O.Icel. *tem-r* 'tamest' *kalla-r* 'callest' pr. Germ. **-zi*, O.H.G. *zemi-s salbō-s* pr. Germ. **-si*. Whether Goth. *batri-s gatamji-s salbō-s* have **-zi* or **-si* cannot be made out, as both pr. Goth. *-z(i)* and *-s(i)* must needs become *-s* (I § 660.5 p. 516). The breathed *-s* in West Germanic is thus explained: — in O.H.G. *tuos gā-s*, in O.H.G. and A.S. *bis* (ground-form **bhγ-i-si*, with *i* dropt on the analogy of forms like *tuos biris*, cp. I § 661 pp. 516 ff.), and in the present of Class II *B* (§ 532 p. 93), the vowel before *s* had the word-accent. Still the breathed *s* would probably not have become general even so, but that the pronoun **þā* 'thou' so often adhered to the verb form, as in O.H.G. *biristu*, see I § 661 Rem. p. 519. Compare pr. Germ. *-þi* and *-ði* in the 3rd singular, § 998.

Whether Goth. *is* 'thou art' be Idg. **esi* or **essi* is not clear (§ 984. 1).

(2) *-s*: Goth. pr. Norse *-z*, pr. W.Germ. *-z* and *-s*. Goth. *gatamidēs* O.Icel. *tamðer* O.H.G. *zemitōs* A.S. *temedes*. O.H.G. *zigi* pret. 'thou didst accuse': Skr. *á-diś-a-s* § 893 p. 441, *nī curi* 'noli' § 909 p. 458. Goth. conj. *ōg-s* (fear thou) § 917 p. 465. Opt. Goth. *bairái-s* O.H.G. *berē-s* A.S. *bere*; O.H.G. *sī-s* 'mightst be', Goth. *bitei-s* O.H.G. *bizzi-s* A.-S. *bite* 'mightst bite', see § 893 p. 441. The constant use of affixt **þā* 'thou' partly caused the secondary ending to be kept in West Germanic.

The O.H.G. compounds *biris-tu tuos-tu* (see under 1.) *zemitōs-tu sīs-tu bizzi-s-tu* were misunderstood, and in the 9th century people began to regard them as *birist + du* (*thu*) and so forth. This was due to *kanst* beside *kanstu*. Some part of this mistake is due to *bist*, which got its *t* earlier from the preterite-presents. In the same way we explain A.S. *birest* beside *bires*, and the like.

(3) Idg. *-tha* in the Perfect. Goth. *las-t* 'thou didst pick' (pres. *lisa*) *slōh-t* 'didst strike' (pres. *slaha*) O.H.G. *gi-tarst*

'darest' (1st sing. *gi-tar*). By their analogy Goth. *váist* O.H.G. *weist* 'knowest' (1st sing. *váit weiz*), Goth. *qast* 'didst say' (pres. *qīpa*) with *st* instead of regular *ss*. Further, Goth. *bar-t* 'didst bear' *skal-t* A.S. *scealt* 'shalt' instead of **bar-p* etc. See I § 553 p. 406. The sole example of pr. Germ. *-pa* = *-tha* is A.S. pres. *ear-ā ar-ā* 'art', which must therefore be a transformat of pres. mid. **ar-pēs* = Skr. *ir-thās* (§ 509 p. 75).

In West-Germanic and Norse *-t* spread from the preterite present to the Present: O.H.G. *bis-t* O.Icel. *es-t* 'thou art', *wil-t* 'wilt, wishest'.

In West-Germanic, the Perfect as an historic tense exchanged the form with *-tha* for that of the thematic aorist, as O.H.G. *zigi* = Skr. *ā-diś-a-s*, whence followed intermixture with the optative perfect; see § 893 pp. 441 f.

§ 991. Balto-Slavonic. *-tha* (Perfect) is wanting.

(1) Idg. *-si*. Lith. *ei-si* 'goest', *dūsi* 'gives' for **dū-t-si*. Whether Lith. *esi* is to be compared with Skr. *ási* or Gr. *ἐσ-σι* (§ 984 p. 523) is still uncertain.

Starting from *esi*, *-i* spread to the other verbs. *dū'di* instead of *dūsi* beside *dū'(d)-mi dū'd-u*, *degi* beside *degmi degù*, *sukti* beside *sukù*, *verti* for **verti* beside *verczü*, fut. *dū'si* for **dūsi* beside *dū'-siu*. Further, **lindō-i*, which became *lindai*, beside 3rd sing. *lindo* which drew after it the 1st sing. *lindau* = **lindō-u*; this adoption of *i* and *u* by *a*-stems took place first in the present, whence it passed to the preterite *a*-stems because both had the same ending in the 3rd sing. and in the plural and dual (e. g. *būvo* 'he was' like *lindo*); from the *a*-preterite, *-i* and *-u* then proceeded to the preterite with *ē*. See § 586 p. 127, § 593 p. 133, § 983. 2 p. 522. Another thing may have aided the change of *dūsi* to *dū'di*; — *dūsi* was also the 2nd sing. future,¹⁾ and thus also the present **lindō-si* (cp. O.C.Sl. *ima-ši*) may have been exchanged for **lindō-i*, because the former agreed with the 2nd sing. future.

1) *elsi* 'is' and *elsi* 'ibis' are distinguished by accent.

The Reflexive in Lithuanian has always the middle endings -*sė* -*ė*, as *desė-s* (1st sing. *dė(d)-mi* § 546 pp. 103 f.), *sukė-s vertė-s* (for **vertiė-s*, cp. *te-vertė* § 954 p. 494); similarly the old books have *essie-gu* i. e. *esė-gu* (-*gu* is a particle). In the same way we have Pruss. *assai assei essei* 'thou art' *seggē-sai* 'thou doest'. Still, although -*ė* had to become -*i* anyhow by rule, we must not assume that all instances of -*i* in the 2nd singular come from -*ė*. The truth is no doubt that both active and middle endings were in use together, and it was only in the *si*-reflexive, as we saw was the case with the 1st sing. -*mi*, that the middle ending became the rule; cp. § 983.1 p. 522.

Proethnic Slavonic had -*ši* = Idg. -*si*, e. g. in **bere-ši* 'fers': Little Russian, Mod.Sloven., Serv., and Czech *berěš*. Along with this it had the middle -*si* = Idg. -*sai* -*sai* in verbs with -*mi*: O.C.Sl. *jesi* 'art' *jasi* 'eatest' *dasi* 'givest', Little-Russ. *jesy jisy dasy* Mod.Slov. *si* 'art', Serv. *jesi* 'art', Czech *jsi* 'art'. By contamination of -*ši* and -*si*, O.C.Sl. *bere-ši ima-ši* etc.

(2) Idg. -*s* can no longer be traced in Lithuanian, but in Old Prussian it can, — opt. *imai-s* 'take thou'. O.C.Sl. aor. *veze*: Skr. *vāha-s*, opt. *vezi*: Skr. *vāhē-ṣ*. As regards *da* 'gavest' for **dō-s-s* see p. 830 p. 367, where also the origin of the 2nd sing. *dastū* instead of *da* is treated.

3RD PERSON SINGULAR.

§ 992. Proethnic Indo-Germanic.

(1) -*ti* Primary ending. **es-ti* 'est': Skr. *ās-ti* Gr. *ἔσ-τι* Lat. *es-t* O.Ir. *is* Goth. *is-t* Lith. *ēs-ti ēs-t* O.C.Sl. (Russ.) *jes-ti*. Skr. *dāda-ti* Gr. Dor. *dāda-ri* Lith. *dā's-t(i)* O.C.Sl. (Russ.) *das-ti* 'dat'. Skr. *vā-ti* Gr. *ᾠ-σι* 'blows' Lat. *ne-t planta-t* O.Ir. *carid* 'loves' Goth. *salbō-p* 'anoints' O.C.Sl. (Russ.) *ima-ti* 'hat'. Skr. *śy-nd-ti* 'breaks to pieces', Armen. *baṛ-na-y* 'lifts', Gr. *δαμ-νῃ-σι* 'tames', O.Ir. *lenid* 'catches hold' (for **li-na-ti*) O.H.G. *gi-no-t* 'gapes'. **bhere-ti* 'fert': Skr. *bhāra-ti* Armen. *berē* Lat. *agi-t* O.Ir. *beri-d* Goth. *batri-p* O.C.Sl. (Russ.) *bere-ti*. Conj. Skr. *ās-a-ti* 'sit' Lat. (fut.) *er-i-t*.

(2) *-t* Secondary ending. **ēs-t* 'erat': Skr. *ās* Gr. Dor. *ἦς*; **e-gem-t* 'he went': Skr. *á-gan* Arm. *e-kn*; **e-dhē-t* 'he placed': Skr. *á-dhā-t* Armen. *e-d*. Skr. *á-dadhā-t* Gr. *ἐ-τίθη* 'he placed'. Skr. *á-ya-t* Goth. *i-ddja* 'he went'. s-Aor. Skr. *á-jāi-š* 'he conquered' for **-š-ť*, O.Ir. *for-tē* 'he must help' for **steigh+s+t*, O.C.Sl. *da* 'gave' for **dō-s-t*. **bhēre-t*: Skr. *bhāra-t á-bhara-t*, Gr. *φέρει ἔ-φερε*, Osc. *kúmbened* 'convēnit', O.Ir. pres. *-beir* O.C.Sl. *veze* 'vexit'. Conj. of s-Aor. Skr. *jé-š-a-t* O.Ir. *tēs tēis*; long-vowel Conj. Skr. *bhār-ā-t*, Arcad.-Cypr. *φέρ-η*, Osc. *deiva-i-d* 'iuret' heriia-d 'velit', O.Ir. *do-bera*. Opt. Skr. *s-yā-t* Gr. *εἶη* O.Lat. *sied* O.H.G. *sī wizzi*; Skr. *bhārē-t* Gr. *φέρει* Goth. *bairái* Lith. *te-sukē* 'turn' O.C.Sl. *beri*.

A combination of *-t* with the particle *u* produced the personal ending *-tu*. Skr. *ās-tu* 'esto' O.C.Sl. (Bulg.) *jestū* 'est', Skr. *bhāra-tu* 'ferto' O.C.Sl. (Bulg.) *beretū* 'fert' (§ 909 p. 458). Cp. *-ntu* in the 3rd pl., § 1017.

(3) *-e* in the Perfect. Skr. *vēd-a* Gr. *οἶδ-ε* Goth. *vát* 'he knows'. Skr. *ja-ghān-a* 'he struck, killed' O.C.Sl. *ro ge-guin* 'vulneravit, trucidavit'.

§ 993. Aryan.

(1) *-ti*. Skr. *ás-ti* Avest. *asti* O.Pers. *astiy*. Skr. *dádha-ti* Avest. *daḍa-iti*. Skr. *bhāra-ti* Avest. *bara-iti*, O.Pers. *tarsa-tiy* 'he fears'.

(2) *-t*. Skr. *á-dha-t* Avest. *dā-ḥ* O.Pers. *a-da*. Skr. *ās* Avest. *ās* 'erat' pr. Ar. **ās-t*. Skr. *á-kar* Avest. *cor'-ḥ* 'made', Avest. *cōiš-t* 'announced' from *ciš-*. Skr. *á-tyñat* = **a-tyñat-t* beside pres. *tyñat-ti* from *tard-* 'to pierce', Avest. *cinas* beside pres. *cinas-ti* 'teaches' (§ 626 p. 162). s-Aor. Skr. *á-jāi-š* 'he conquered' = **a-jāi-š-ť*, *ábhar* 'he brought' = **a-bhār-š-ť*. Skr. *á-bhara-t* Avest. *bara-ḥ* O.Pers. *abara*. Opt. Skr. *han-yā-t* Avest. *janyāḥ* O.Pers. *janiyā*, Skr. *bhārē-t* Avest. *barōi-ḥ*.

For the laws which apply where a word ends in two or more consonants, see I §§ 647 ff. pp. 491 ff. When combined with *-u* (§§ 992. 2) the *-t* is always kept, cp. Skr. *ás-t-u*

Avest. *as-t-u* with Skr. *ās* Avest. *as*, Skr. *gán-tu* Avest. Gath. *jan-tū* with Skr. *á-gan*, Skr. *prṇák-tu* with *á-prṇak*, iṣ-Aor. *aviṣ-tu* (§ 839 p. 376).

(3) *-a* = Idg. *-e* in the Perfect. Skr. *ās-a* Avest. *āh-a* from *✓es-* 'to be'. On Skr. *pa-prā pa-prāu* Avest. *da-đa* see § 852 p. 402 f.

§ 994. Armenian. *-e* (Perfect) is wanting.

(1) The *t* of *-ti* becomes *i* after vowels (Hübschmann, Arm. St. I 74, above I § 360 p. 276).¹⁾ *berē* 'fert' for **bere-i* **bere-ti*, *baṛna-y* 'lifts' for **baṛna-ti*, *alay* 'grinds' for **ala-ti*, *xausi* 'loquiter' for **xausi-i -ti*.

(2) *e-d* 'he placed': Skr. *á-dha-t*. *e-kn* 'he came': Skr. *á-gan*, Idg. **e-gem-t*.

The *-r* of the 3rd sing. imperf., as *berēr*, is obscure; see § 986 Rem. p. 524.

§ 995. Greek.

(1) *-ti*. *ἔσ-τι, ἄρ-σι*, Dor. *δίδω-τι* Att. *δίδω-σι*.

(2) *-t* dropt off (I § 652.5 p. 498). Dor. Arcad.-Cypr. *ῆς* 'erat'. *ἔ-τιθῆ*. Injunctive *τιθῆ* serves as indic. present in Lesbian, cp. 2nd sing. Att. *τιθῆ-ς*. *ἔ-φερε*. Optative *ἔη*, *φέροι*. Conjunctive Arcad.-Cypr. and other dialects *φέρη*, like Skr. *bhára-t*.

The explanation of *φέρει*, which cannot be derived from **q₁re-τι*, depends on that of the 2nd sing. *φέρεις*. If *φέρεις* = **q₁re(σ)₁+ς*, *φέρει* has been coined as complementary on the model of *φέροι* : *φέρεις*, *ἔφερε* : *ἔφερεις*. But if *φέρεις* is a form like Skr. *ájāi-ṣ*, which I have preferred as more probable, *φέρει* must go parallel to Skr. *á-śarāi-t* 'he broke to bits'; then **bherēḡ-t* was the ground-form. In any case it follows that *φέρει* had the secondary ending. Conj. *φέρη* is an ad-formate of *φέρει*, as *φίρης* of *φέρεις*. Compare § 987.1 p. 524. In Epic dialect *-σι* spreads from the unthematic indicative to the

1) Not so Bartholomae (Stud. Idg. Spr. II 27 f.), who holds that *t* just simply disappears between vowels.

last named conjunctive form, e. g. *ἐθέλῃσι* instead of *ἐθέλῃ*, cp. *ἐθέλω-μι* § 979. 2 p. 520, *ἐθέλῃσθα* § 987. 3 p. 525.

(3) *-e* in the Perfect. *οἶδ-ε*, *γέ-γον-ε*.

§ 996. Italic. *e* (Perfect) is wanting.

The endings *-ti* and *-t* are nowhere left unchanged. It is assumed that in all Italic dialects they became *-t* and *-d*: these remain in Oscan; in Umbrian *-t* remains (but the spelling varies, and we sometimes find *-t* and sometimes nothing, just as happens with other final consonants), while *-d* is dropt; in Latin, *-t* became the only ending, although instances of *-d* are found in old inscriptions. But an explanation has yet to be found why the *-i* of *-ti* (as of *-nti* in the 3rd plural) has disappeared without leaving a single trace. Compare I § 655. 7 p. 504.

(1) *-t* representing Idg. *-ti*. Lat. *es-t* Umbr. *est* Osc. *est* 1st. Lat. *agi-t ama-t*. Umbr. *tišit* 'deceit' *trebei-t* 'versatur' habe *habe* 'habet'; Osc. *faama-t* 'habitat' *stai-t* 'stat', Marruc. *fere-t* 'iēret', Vestin. *dide-t* 'dat'.

(2) *-d* representing Idg. *-t*. Thematic Preterite (§ 867 p. 414 f.): Lat. inscr. *vhevhave-d* 'fecit' *fece-d*; Umbr. *řeře* Osc. *dede-d* 'dedit' Osc. *kúm-bene-d* 'convēnit' *aamanaffe-d* 'mandavit' (§ 874 p. 422). Optat.: Lat. inscr. *sie-d*; Umbr. *si si -sei* 'sit', Osc. *da-di-d* 'dedat' Marruc. *-si* 'sit'. Long-vowel Conj. (cp. Skr. *bhára-t*, O.Ir. *-air-ema* § 997. 2): Umbr. *fašia* 'faciat' *kuraia* 'curet' Osc. *heriia-d* 'velit', Umbr. *heriiei* 'velit' Osc. *deivai-d* 'iuret' Osc. *fusi-d* 'foret'; Osc. *tadait* like Skr. *bhára-ti*, and Lat. *mitat* in the Duenos inscr., beside *sied feced* (unless we should read with Conway, Amer. Journ. Phil. x 452, *mita(n)t*).

In Latin *-t* early becomes the sole ending, *fui-t amā-bat sie-t si-t*, like *-nt* in the 3rd pl. Something may be ascribed to sentence-position, which would sometimes cause a change of *-d* to *-t* (e. g. *fui-t tum* for *fuid tum*).

§ 997. Keltic.

(1) Idg. *-ti*, whose vowel disappeared by I § 657. 1

p. 506 f. O.Ir. *is* 'is' for **es-ti* (I § 516 p. 377). *berid* 'fert' for **bere-ti*. *caraid* 'amat' O.Bret. *crihot* 'vibrat' for *-ā-ti*.

(2) Idg. *-t* dropt (I § 657.9 p. 509). *co-tī* 'donec veniat' for **-t(o)-incs-t* (§ 826 p. 364). *no beir* 'fert' for **bere-t*, *no chara* 'loves' for **carā-t*, *hin-glen* for **-gli-na-t* (cp. absol. *glenaid* 'remains hanging' for **gli-na-ti*). Conj. *tēs tēs* 'eat' for **steiks-e-t*, *-air-ema* 'suscipiat' for **-emā-t*, *ro-chara* 'amet' for **carā-t*.

(3) Idg. *-e*: *ro cechuin* 'cecinit' for **ce-can-e* (I § 657.1 p. 505 f.

§ 998. Germanic.

(1) *-ti*. Goth. O.H.G. *is-t*. After sonants, liquids and nasals pr. Germ. *-þi* or *-đi* according to the position of the word accent (I § 530 p. 386). Gothic has only *-þ*, which may represent both *-þ(i)* and *-đ(i)* (I § 660.5 p. 516), e. g. *trudiþ* 'steps' Class II *B* like Skr. *tudā-ti*, *batriþ* 'fert' = Skr. *bhāratī*. West Germanic has both forms, O.H.G. using *-t* = pr. Germ. *-đi* always, whilst A.S. has usually *-đ* = pr. Germ. *-þi*; O.H.G. *biri-t hevi-t* and the like (§ 720 p. 251) are regular and *tuo-t* analogical, A.S. *dāđ đize-đ* (loc. cit.) regular and *bire-đ* analogical.

(2) *-t* dropt in all Germanic dialects (I § 659.6 p. 513). Goth. *i-ddja* 'he went': Skr. *á-ya-t*. Goth. *nasida* O.H.G. *nerita* 'he preserved'. Optative Goth. *batrái* O.H.G. *bere* pr. Germ. **bérai-đ*; Goth. *vaurþi* O.H.G. *wurti* 'he would become' pr. Germ. **urđi-þ*.

(3) *-e*, pr. Germ. *-i* in the Perfect. Goth. *skat-skáiþ* O.H.G. *sciad* 'he separated': Skr. *ci-chēda*. In Gothic *-i* disappeared by universal rule. O.H.G. *was nam* and the like follow the lead of *bant* etc. (I § 661.2 p. 517). That the lost vowel had *i*-quality is still indicated, according to W. van Helten (P.-B. Beitr. xiv 282 f.), in the *ē* of words like O.Fris. *wēt* 'he knows' = Goth. *vāit*, which is due to mutation.

§ 999. Balto-Slavonic. *-e* (Perfect) is wanting.

(1) *-ti* in Baltic occurs only with a few unthematic stems;

in Old Russian both with these and with the thematic. Lith. *ēs-ti ēst* Pruss. *ast* (*astits* = *asti tas* 'est hic') O.C.Sl. (Russ.) *jes-tŭ* 'is'. Lith. *eĩ-ti eĩt* Lett. *i-t* 'goes' Pruss. *zit*. Lith. *dũ'sti* reflex. *dũ'sti-s* O.C.Sl. (Russ.) *dastŭ* 'dat'. O.C.Sl. (Russ.) *bere-tŭ*: Skr. *bhāra-ti*.

(2) *-t* dropt in both branches (I § 663.3 p. 521). O.C.Sl. aor. *veze*: Skr. *vāha-t*, *s*-aorist *-ē* 'ate' for **ēts-t* (1st sing. *-ēsŭ*). Lith. injunctive used for indic. pres. and preterite: *sāko* 'says' *būvo* 'was', *tūri* has'. Optative Lith. *te-vežē* O.C.Sl. *vezi*: Skr. *vāhē-t*. Another example is Lith. *vėža* 'vehit' for **veža-t*. The *a* of this form, and of the 2nd pl. *vėža-te* and the 2nd dual *vėža-ta*, came in from the 1st pl. *vėža-me* and displaced *e*; this levelling was helped by present stems which had *i* all through, and those which had *o* in the plural, dual, and 3rd singular (*tūri-me* etc., *sāko-me* etc.); cp. O.H.G. Alemann. 2nd pl. *bera-t*, § 1015.

In Baltic the 3rd singular of all verbs served also for 3rd plural and 3rd dual. According to J. Schmidt (Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxv 595), the form *yrà* 'est' (from the *✓* of Skr. *īr-tē*, § 497 p. 57) was originally a substantive used predicatively ('existentia'), which did for all numbers; when this idiom became familiar, the 3rd singular of real verbs got to be used for all numbers alike. To my mind it seems likelier that the idiom is derived from that idiom of proethnic speech which allowed a neuter plural or dual subject to have a verb in the singular (cp. Homer's *δοῦρα σείσηνε* and *ᾠσσέ δειδήει*): this rule held in proethnic Baltic, and led by and by to using of the masculine or feminine plural in the same way.

In Lithuanian and Prussian, another ending besides these is found, namely *-ai*. Present Lith. *pa-vystai* 'withers' = *pa-výst(a)* and conjunctive (see § 909.3a p. 457) *te-lystai* 'let him grow haggard' = *te-lýst(a)*, Pruss. *swintinai* 'he sanctifies' = *swintina* (also *-ei -e* instead of *-ai*) *turrei* 'has' = *turri*. *s*-Future Lith. *su-gausai* 'he will or must get' = *su-gaũs*, *turėsai* 'he will or must have', in Prussian always used as conjunctive, as *boūsai* 'be he' *dāsai* 'let him give' (also *-ei* or

-e instead of -ai). All these forms with -ai can be used for the plural. I regard -ai as something originally independent which has attached itself to the verb, the same which appears in the nom. sing. *tasai* as compared with *tàs* (III § 414 p. 336). Perhaps, however, it was not -ai but -sai (see *loc. cit.*).¹⁾ In this case we must assume that it was first added to the future, which seems to have ended with -s = -s-t in proethnic Baltic (injunctive of the s-aorist), cp. § 828 p. 365 f.; and after the double s was thinned (**būs-sai* becoming **būsai*), -ai was mentally abstracted and then added to the present.

In Old Bulgarian we find instead of -tī the ending -tū i. e. -t + particle *u* (§ 909 p. 457), e. g. O.Bulg. *jestū beretū*, cp. 3rd pl. *sātū beratū*. Perhaps proethnic Slavonic had *jestī* and *beret(ū)* corresponding to Lith. *ēsti* and *vēža*, and levelling took different directions in the dialects.

In Old Bulgarian -tū spread from the present to the aorist, and thus we have *pri-jetū* instead of -jē; these aorist forms then came to be used for the 2nd singular. See § 830 p. 367.

1ST PERSON PLURAL.

§ 1000. Proethnic Indo-Germanic. The different languages show a vast number of endings, the original distribution of which can only be partly made out. Judging from Sanskrit, with its primary -masi -mas, and secondary and perfect -ma; from Old Irish, with -mi -me in absolute flexion, -m in conjunct; and from Old High German, whose -mēs properly belonged to the indic. present (with -m in indic. preterite and the optative), we should regard the forms with a characteristic s as being the primary of proethnic speech. Whether the vocalic suffixes and those ending in a nasal

1) This -sai may be identified with the Goth. *sái* O.H.G. *sē*, which Osthoff connects with Skr. *séd* = *sá id* 'that same' (P.-B. Beitr. viii 311).

(such as Lith. *-me* and Gr. *-μεν*) represent Idg. secondary and perfect suffixes respectively, is not clear.

(1) Primary Forms.

(a) *-mēs -mos*. Perhaps originally *-mēs* e. g. **i-mēs* 'imus', but *-mos* e. g. **bhéro-mos* 'ferimus', cp. III § 228 p. 111 f. on the endings of the gen.-abl. sing. *-es* and *-os*. Skr. *i-más bhára-mas*, Gr. Dor. *ἱ-μες φέρο-μες*, Lat. *i-mus feri-mus*, O.H.G. *tuo-mēs bera-mēs*. Perhaps we should add O.Ir. *do-bera-m* (for **-mos*), Czech *js-me nese-me* (for **-mes*) Serv. *jes-mo plete-mo* (for **-mos*).

(b) *-mesi -mosi*, possibly for *-mes -mos* extended on the analogy of the other primary endings in *-i*. Skr. Ved. *s-mási bhára-masi*. O.Ir. *ammi* 'sumus' for **esmesi* or **s-es-mesi*, *berme* for **beromi* **beromesi*; but phonetic law would permit us to assume for this language **-mēsi* (cp. above O.H.G. *-mēs*).

(2) Secondary or Perfect forms.

(a) *-mē -mō*. Skr. *á-bharā-ma bhārē-ma* perf. *vid-má*; Ved. also *-mā*. Osc. *manafu-m* comes in too, if it is 1st pl. ('mandavimus'), see § 874 p. 422. Goth. *vitum* O.H.G. *wizzum*, opt. Goth. *batrái-ma vitei-ma* (for **-mē* or **-mō*). Lith. reflex. *sùko-mė-s*, with variant *sùko-me*. Perhaps also O.Ir. *do-bera-m* (for **-mo*), Czech *js-me nese-me* Serv. *jes-mo plete-mo*.

(b) *-mem -mom* or *-men -mon*.¹⁾ Gr. *ἰ-φέρο-μεν φέρο-μεν ἰδ-μεν*, O.C.Sl. aor. *neso-mŭ*. Perhaps also O.Ir. *do-bera-m* (for **-mom* **-mon*); but there is no trace of a final nasal. O.C.Sl. *neso-my* may be derived from *-mōm -mōn*.

§ 1001. It is a difficult question how far the *-m-* of our ending, and likewise that of the middle ending Skr. *-mahē* Gr. *-μεθα*, had a sonant pronunciation (*-ṃ-*) in the parent language.

1) *-mem -mom* appear to deserve the preference to judge from Skr. *-tam* beside Lith. *-ta* O.C.Sl. *-ta* in the 2nd dual (§ 1031), and Skr. *-āam* beside O.C.Sl. *-ie -ta* in the 3rd dual (§§ 1038 and 1040).

The following are cited from Avestic by Bartholomae (Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxix 273 ff.): 1st pl. aor. *jim-ama* from √*gem-* 'go', 1st pl. pres. *hišc-amaidē* beside 3rd sing. act. *hi-sax-ti* (§ 540 p. 101), opt. *jam-y-ama* (§ 941 p. 486). For the Perf. examples are Avest. *-ama* in *daiḍy-ama*, Gr. *-αμεν* Goth. *-um* Lat. *-imus* O.Ir. *-ammar*, see § 844 p. 386. Lastly, for the Sigmatic aorist, Gr. *-σαμεν -σαμεθα* Lat. *-simus*, see § 820 p. 356, § 823 p. 361.

§ 1002. Aryan.

(1) Primary *-mas* and *-masi*. Both are kept in Sanskrit, but in Iranian only the latter is found. Skr. *s-mās s-māsi* Avest. *mahi* O.Pers. *a-mahy* 'sumus'. Skr. *bhārā-mas -masi* Avest. *barā-mahi* O.Pers. *ḡahyā-mahy* ('dicimur').

(2) Secondary and Perfect *-ma*, whose Vedic variant *-mā* may be compared with Goth. *-ma* Lith. *-mė(-s)*. Skr. *á-dhā-ma* Avest. (Gath. *dā-mā* from √*dhē-* 'to place', Skr. *á-kar-ma* O.Pers. *a-kū-mā* from √*ger-* 'make'; Avest. *jim-ama* (§ 1001). Opt. Skr. *syā-ma* Avest. *x'yā-ma jam-y-ama* (§ 1001), Skr. *bhārē-ma* Avest. *baraē-ma*. Further, the Aryan conjunctive always has *-ma*, by which the ind. and conj. pres. of thematic stems were distinguished): Skr. *bhārā-ma* Avest. *barā-ma*. Perfect *śu-śru-mā su-sru-ma* from √*kṣey-* 'hear'; Avest. *daiḍy-ama* (§ 1001).

As in other languages, so in Sanskrit, the difference of primary and secondary endings was not strictly kept in the later language; thus we have in the Mahā-Bhārata imperf. *a-paśyāmas* 'we saw' and pres. *paśyāma* 'we see', and similarly 1st dual *syāvas* instead of *syāva* 'we both would be'.

§ 1003. Armenian. The ending of the indic. present suffix *-mē* is not clear; examples are *ta-mē* 'damus' *bere-mē* 'ferimus'; Bugge (Beitr. zur etym. Erl. der arm. Spr., Christiania 1889, p. 44) derives *-mē* from *-mes + v* (the particle *u*), cp. III § 313 p. 212 on the case-suffix *-ē* in *dsterē meē* etc. Still more obscure is the *-ē* of other tenses, as of aor. *tuaē* 'they gave'.

Remark. In explaining the endings of the 1st and 2nd plural (§ 1011) we must not forget the possibility of a personal pronoun being affixt, cp. Mod.Cymr. 1st pl. *carwn* Alban. 1st pl. *jena* § 1006. 2, O.Ir. 2nd pl. *adib* (§ 506 p. 72 f.). In considering the -*ik* of the 2nd plural, where *i* seems to come from *t* for -*te*, we must also remember that the 2nd pl. may have imitated the ending of the 1st plural, cp. O.Ir. *berthi* Lith. *sūkātė-s* §§ 1014, 1016. Compare Hübschmann, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxiii 12.

§ 1004. Greek. In Doric, -*μες* (primary) becomes universal. E. g. *φέρο-μες* *ἴω-μες* *ἐ-στάσαμες* *ἀπ-εστάλακκαμες*. Elsewhere -*μεν* (secondary), as *γέρο-μεν* etc.

§ 1005. Italic. Latin has always -*mus* for *-*mos* (primary), as *t-mus* *agi-mus* *sī-mus* *momordimus*. Examples of this person in the other Italic dialects are wanting, unless indeed Osc. *manafum* is 1st plural (see § 1000. 2 a p. 535).

§ 1006. Keltic.

(1) Primary. O.Ir. -*mi* for *-*mesi* (or -*mēsi*): *ammi* 'sumus' for **esmesi* or **s-esmesi* (§ 506 p. 72 f.), *guidmi* 'we beg' (1st sing. -*guidiu*). -*mi* became -*me* when the preceding syllable had no palatal vowel (1st and 2nd conjugations); thus *berme* for **bero-mi* **bero-mesi*, *carme* for **carā-mi* **carā-mesi*. Then comes confusion of various kinds; *guidme* beside *guidmi*, and *tiagme* beside *tiagmi*.

(2) Secondary. O.Ir. -*m* for *-*mo* or *-*mos*, hardly for *-*mom* *-*mon* (§ 1000. 1. a, 2. a and b., p. 535). Indic. pres. *do-beram*, *no charam*, *do-lēcem*, and so in the *a*-conjunctive, -*beram* -*caram*.

The primary ending -*mi*, as the frequent spelling -*mmi* -*mme* shows, had a hard, not a spirant *m*. This was irregular in forms with orig. vowel before the personal ending, and is due to the analogy of *ammi*, where *mm* = *sm*.¹⁾ But Cymric shows -*wn* in the pres. indicative, as *carwn* ('we will love'),

1) On the same principle, we find in Pali *dadamha* following *amha* for *asma* 'sumus', Prakrit *cifṭhamha* -*mho* following *amha* -*mho*; and in Prakrit there is a 1st sing. *gacchamhi* instead of *gacchāmi*. As regards the 1st plural something may be put down to the influence of the *s*-aorist ending (Skr. -*s-ma*), cp. Pali *apacamhā* beside *apacimhā* (E. Kuhn, Beitr. zur Pāli-Gramm., 109; Torp, Die Flexion des Pāli, 47).

i. e. *-wf* + the personal pronoun *n*-,¹⁾ and therefore had the regular spirant *m*; however, *ym* 'sumus' has hard *m*, for *sm*.

Of the secondary ending *-m* the reverse is true. *-m* in O.Ir. *do-beram* and the like is never written *-nm*, and therefore was spirant. Cymric however has *-m*, not *-f*, except in the indic. present; as conj. *carom*. As regards this Cymric *-m* Thurneysen writes: "It is possible that other forms with *-sm-* (*s*-aorist and injunctive) may have had something to do with the matter. There are many traces of *s*-forms in British dialects, which have not yet been properly explained".

§ 1007. Germanic.

(1) O.H.G. *-mēs* = Idg. **-mēs* must, as the breathed *-s* shews, have originally belonged to the pr. Germ. unthematic present stems (cp. *gā-mēs*). It very soon spread to the hortative Injunctive, as *bera-mēs* (with variant *bera-m* like Goth. *baítra-m*, see § 909 p. 458), and then to the Indic. preterite, *bārumēs*, and then to the Optative, *bārīmēs*. Compare Braune, Ahd. Gramm.² pp. 223 f., and the works there cited.

(2) Goth. *-m* = Idg. *-me* or *-mo* in *vitum bērum baítra-m*. Goth. *-ma* = Idg. *-mē* or *-mō* in the optative: *baíraí-ma bērei-ma*. The West-Germ. *-m*, O.H.G. *wizzum bārum bera-m berē-m bārī-m*, may be equivalent either to *-m* or to *-ma* in Gothic (I § 661.2 pp. 517 ff.).

§ 1008. Balto-Slavonic.

Lith. *-mė* = Idg. *-mē* (§ 1002.2. a) before the reflexive *-si* and *-s*: *sūko-mė-s sūka-mė-s*. The *-me* of *sūko-me sūka-me ei-mė* 'eamus' *eī-me* 'imus' may come from *-mē* by I § 664.3. p. 523. Perhaps however Idg. **-me* and **-mē* have run together into *-me*. The suffixes *-ma -mo-s* found in a few instances as variants of *-me* and *-mė-s* (Bezzenberger, in his Beiträge, II 268), and Lett. *ei-ma* 'we go' and 'let us go', are a re-formation in agreement with the dual *-va -vo-s* (§ 1030);

1) The personal pronoun is added in this way in the Albanian dialect of Škodra; e. g. *jena* 'sumus' instead of *jemi*. See G. Meyer, M. Hertz zum 70. Geburtstag, 1888, p. 89.

so too in the 2nd plural there is contamination with dual forms (§ 1016). Lett. *-mī(-s)* is to be connected with Pruss. *-mai* (*as-mai* 'we are' *turri-mai* 'we owe, should'), as also 2nd pl. *-tī(-s)* with Pruss. *-tai -tei -ti* (*as-tai es-tei as-ti* 'ye are' *druwē-tai* 'ye believe' *turri-ti* 'ye should'): the diphthong comes from the 1st and 2nd singular (§ 983 p. 522, § 991 p. 528).

The following endings may be regarded as proethnic Slavonic.

(1) *-me* = Idg. *-mes* or *-me*. Mod.Bulg. *sme* 'sumus' aor. *nesoh-me*. Little-Russ. dial. (in the Carpathians) *vydy-me*. Czech *js-me* 'sumus' *jíme* 'edimus' *nese-me* opt. *nesme*.

(2) *-mo* = Idg. *-mos* or *-mo*. Little-Russ. with the ind. present in *-mī*, *ješ-mo jimo*. Serv. and Mod.Sloven. also in other stems: Serv. *jes-mo ijemo* Mod.Slov. *s-mo jěmo*, Serv. and Mod.Slov. *plete-mo* opt. *pleti-mo*.

(3) *-mŭ* = Idg. *-mom* or *-mon*. In O.C.Sl. this is the usual ending: *jes-mŭ damŭ nese-mŭ* aor. *neso-mŭ* opt. *nesě-mŭ dadi-mŭ*. So in Great-Russ.: *nese-m dadi-m* 'damus'; Little-Russ. *nese-m* opt. *neši-m*; Pol. *niesie-m* (see below); Czech aor. *nesecho-m* imperf. *nesjěcho-m*.

(4) *-my* either from *-mōm* or *-mōn* (I § 92 p. 86 f.), or else modelled after *my* 'we' (cp. 1st dual *-vě*, as *jes-vě*, with *vě* 'we both', § 1030). O.Bulg. e. g. *věmy* beside *věmŭ*, *vidi-my* beside *vidi-mŭ*. Pol. *wiemy*, *niesiemy* beside *niesie-m*. East-Sorb. and Mod.Sorb. *věmy*.

It is uncertain how these endings were distributed in proethnic Slavonic. As regards *-mo* it should be observed that the accents justify an inference that it at first belonged, as it still does in Little-Russian, only to the indic. Present of verbs in *-mī*, and that it is only their analogy which produced Serv. *plete-mo* etc. The forms we find in modern dialects have been often affected by the fact that *-mŭ* ran into one with the *-mī* of the 1st singular; hence in Polish while *niesiem* exists beside *niesiemy* (1st sing. *niose*), we have only *wiemy* (1st sing. *wiem*) and *działamy* (1st sing. *działam*).

Thematic. O.C.Sl. pres. *nese-mŭ nese-vě* as against aor. *neso-mŭ neso-vě*. The former follow the analogy of *jo*-stems such as *znaje-mŭ -vě*, where *e* is regular for *o* (I § 84 p. 80). In the aorist *o* remains, because there were no *jo*-stems in the aorist.

2ND PERSON PLURAL.

§ 1009. Proethnic Indo-Germanic. Only in Aryan do we see a pair of endings, one primary and the other secondary, Skr. *-tha* and *-ta* (cp. 2nd dual *-thas* and *-tam*). All the forms of European languages can be derived from the single one Idg. *-te*. Still it must be admitted that much darkness still hangs over the *tenuis aspiratae* in European languages (cp. I § 553 pp. 405 ff., II § 81 Rem. 2 p. 243, Bartholomae Stud. Idg. Spr. I 44).

Again Aryan, and Aryan alone, shows a special perfect ending, *-a*, which may be related to the Gr. *-τε* as Skr. *-ē* to Gr. *-ται* in the 3rd sing. perf. middle, and may possibly be identical with the *a* of the Sanskrit endings 2nd dual *-á-thur* 3rd dual *-á-tur* (§ 1038).

(1) Primary Skr. *-tha* Gr. *-τε* etc. Skr. *s-thá* Gr. *ἔσ-τε* Lith. *ēs-te* O.C.Sl. *jes-te*. Skr. *bhára-tha* Gr. *πέρι-τε* O.Ir. *do-beri-d* Goth. *batrī-þ* Lith. *vėža-te* O.C.Sl. *bere-te*.

(2) Secondary Skr. *-ta* Gr. *-τε* etc. Pret. Skr. *á-vida-ta* Gr. *ἔιδε-τε* O.C.Sl. (aor.) *nese-te*. Hortative Injunct. Skr. *bhára-ta* Gr. *πέρι-τε* Lat. *agi-te* O.Ir. *beri-d* Goth. *batrī-þ*. *s*-Aor. Skr. *á-dhā-s-ta* Gr. *ἔδεῖξα-τε* Lith. (injunct. as fut.) *dė-s-te* O.C.Sl. *dě-s-te*. Opt. Skr. *bhārē-ta* Gr. *πέποι-τε* Goth. *batrái-þ* O.C.Sl. *berě-te*.

(3) Perfect Skr. *-a* Gr. *-τε* etc. Skr. *vid-á* Gr. *ἴσ-τε* O.Ir. *gegnaid* Goth. *vitū-þ*.

§ 1010. Aryan.

(1) Primary ending pr. Ar. *-tha*. Skr. *bhára-tha* Avest. *bara-þa*. Skr. *s-thá* Avest. Gath. *s-ta* (cp. *vōistā* = Skr. *vēttha* I § 475 p. 351).

(2) Secondary ending pr. Ar. *-ta*. Skr. *á-bhara-ta* Avest. *bara-ta*. Opt. Skr. *bhārē-ta* Avest. *baraē-ta*.

In Vedic we also meet with *-thana* and *-tana*, the latter very common with hortative forms: e. g. *s-thána váda-thana i-tana puni-tána*. *-na* is a particle, which, if my conjecture be right, is contained in other forms, namely 2nd sing. imper. Avest. *barana* and Skr. *gṛhāná* (§ 600 p. 143), and which may be akin to the *-ni* of the Aryan 1st sing. conj. in *-ani* (§ 977. 3 p. 518).

(3) Pr. Ar. *-a* in the Perfect. Skr. *ca-kr-á* (3rd sing. *ca-kār-a* 'he made'), Avest. *hañhān-a* from *han-* 'to present, earn' (§ 852 p. 402).

§ 1011. Armenian. All tenses and moods have *-ē* final; e. g. *berēk* 'fertis' for **bere-ik*, *alaiē* 'molitis', aor. *ediē* 'ye placed'. The *i* of *-ik* appears to be the same as *t* in *-te*; for further discussion refer to the Remark to § 1003, on page 536.

§ 1012. Greek. Always *-τε*: *ἔσ-τε φέρε-τε φέροι-τε ἴστε τετρόφα-τε*.

Remark. The *-θε* of the Perfect forms Hom. ind. *πέποσθε* (Aristarchus *πίπασθε*) imper. *ἐγγήγοσθε ἄνωχθε* is not the Skr. *-tha*, but a middle ending.

§ 1013. Italic. In Latin *-te* only in the hortative Imperjunctive (Imper.): *fer-te agi-te*.

Elsewhere *-tis*: *es-tis agi-tis agā-tis sī-tis vīdis-tis*. That the relation of *agite* to *age* produced *agitis* beside *agis* (Osthoff, Zeitschr. f. österr. Gymn., 1880, p. 70), is less probable than that *-tis* (earlier **-tes*) is really a dual ending (Skr. *-thas* Goth. *-ts*). Outside the imperative the forms with *-te*, which often elided their vowel, became too much like those of the 3rd singular; and so by the time that dual and plural had got confused and the feeling for the special dual sense of the endings in question was dulled, *-tis* was preferred to *-te* because it was clearer. Of course the relation of *agite* to *age* may have made it easier to use *agitis* as a plural of *agis*. In Lettic also, where as in Latin the dual number was discarded, the 2nd dual *ei-ta* remained in use as a plural form: 'ye go' and imper. 'go ye'. Compare further under § 967 p. 509, § 1034 on Umbr. *futu-to* 'estote', and § 1015 on O.H.G. *beret* 'fertis'.

On Pelign. *leze*, which is apparently 2nd plural, see Thurneysen Rhein. Mus. XLIII 352.

§ 1014. Keltic. Ir. *-d* for *-te* in conjunct inflexion: *do-berid* 'datis', conj. of *s*-aorist *for-tēsid* 'succurratis, succurretis'. So in the imperative: *berid* 'ferte'.

The absolute forms have *-thi* for their ending (*-the* for *-thi* in the 2nd conjugation, as in 1st pl. *-me* for *-mi*, see § 1006 p. 537); e. g. *ber-thi* for **berethi*, *lēcthi* for **lēč-thi*, *carthe* for **carā-thi*; by levelling, *berthe* (with a glance at *berme* too) *lēcthe*. This ending *-thi* is an imitation of *-mi*, as in Lithuanian *sūka-tė-s* imitates *sūka-mė-s* (§ 1016).¹⁾ On *udib* 'estis', see § 506 p. 72 f.

§ 1015. As far as the Germanic sound-laws go, either *-the* or *-te* may be taken as the form to start from. The consonant fared precisely like that of the 3rd sing. ending *-ti*, see § 998.1 p. 532. Goth. indic. pres. *baíri-þ* perf. *bēru-þ* opt. *baíraí-þ* *bērei-þ* like the 3rd sing. pres. *baíri-þ*. O.H.G. *ga-sihi-t* 'ye behold' (Monsee or Mondsee "Fragments", see Braune Ahd. Gr.² p. 1) perf. *bāru-t* opt. *berē-t* *bārī-t* like 3rd sing. pres. *biri-t*.

In the indic. present O.H.G. originally had *-i-* for its thematic vowel; and this remains in *ga-sihit* and a few other forms from the authority just cited. Alemannic *bera-t* with *-a-* following the 1st and 3rd plural (cp. Lith. *vėža-te* § 999.2 p. 533), which served to distinguish 2nd plural from 3rd singular.

The commonest in O.H.G. is the form *beret*. With Kögel (P.-B. Beitr. VIII 138) we may regard this as a dual form, either **bhere-thos* (Skr. *bhāra-thas* Goth. *baíra-ts*), or **bhere-tom* (Gr. *τέρε-ρον*), or **bhere-tā* (O.C.Sl. *bere-ta*); cp. §§ 1031 ff.

§ 1016. Balto-Slavonic.

Lith. *-te* and *-t*, as *ės-te* *vėža-te* (on *-a-* instead of *-e-*, see § 999.2 p. 533) pret. *vėžė-te*. The ending *-tė-s* in the reflexive

1) Just in the same way **faiz* **diz* became *faites dites* in Old French by analogy of *faines* and *dimes* (Neumann, Zeitschr. für rom. Phil., XIV 581, 584).

follows *-mé-s* beside *-me* in the 1st pl. (cp. § 1014). The endings *-to-s*, sometimes found in place of *-té-s*, and *-ta* in Lett. *ei-ta* 'ye go' or 'go ye', are dual; just as *-ma* and *-mo-s* in the 1st plural of Lith., which sometimes take the place of *-me* and *-mé-s*, and in Lett. *ei-ma*, have the dual vowel (§ 1008 p. 538 f.). On Lett. *-ti-s* and Pruss. *-tai -tei -ti*, see the same place.

Slavonic: *-te: jes-te nese-te aor. nese-te dě-s-te opt. nesě-te.*

3RD PERSON PLURAL.

§ 1017. Proethnic Indo-Germanic. We here deal with the *nt*-suffix only. On Skr. perf. *vid-úr* and like forms see §§ 1076 f. and 1079.

(1) After Consonants *-énti -ént* and *-ṇti -ṇt*, which appear to be related in the same way as *-és* and *-s* of the genitive singular. Compare footnote to page 50.

(a) *-énti* and *-ént*.

Primary *-énti*. **s-énti* 'are': Skr. *s-ánti* (Armen. *en*, cp. § 1019), Gr. Dor. *ἐντι* Att. *εἰσι*, Umbr. *s-ent* Osc. *s-et s-et*, O.Ir. *it* O.Cymr. *int*, Goth. *s-ind*. **d-énti* 'they eat' √ *ed-*: Skr. *ad-anti* O.C.Sl. (Russ.) *jad-ěti*. **mṛ-n-énti* beside 3rd sing. **mṛ-ná-ti* 'crushes, grinds to dust' (§ 598 p. 141): Skr. *mṛ-n-ánti*. **ṛ-nṇ-énti* beside 3rd sing. **ṛ-néṇ-ti* 'excites' (§§ 638 f. pp. 176 f.): Skr. *ṛ-nv-ánti*.

Secondary *-ént*. **s-ént*: Skr. *s-án ds-an* (cp. *gm-án á-gm-an*), with the particle *u*, *s-ánt-u*, Gr. Dor. *ἦν* for **ḥ(σ)-εν*, O.Bulg. *jad-ět-ŭ* with the particle *u* (but cp. § 1026). Skr. *á-śṛ-ṇ-an*, *á-su-nv-an*. Opt. **s(ḡ)-ént* 'may they be': Gr. *ἔιν* O.Lat. *si-ent*; of the same kind, apparently, is Skr. *duh-ty-án*, see § 941 p. 486, § 951 p. 493.

(b) *-ṇti* and *-ṇt*.

Primary *-ṇti*. **dé-d-ṇti* from √ *dō-* 'give': Skr. *dád-ati* O.C.Sl. (Russ.) *dad-ěti*. In Greek *-ᾶσι* for the Perfect, as *λε-λόγγ-ᾶσι*.

Secondary *-ṇt*. The type **dé-d-ṇt* is preserved in Aryan only as embodied along with the particle *u* in the Skr. *dád-d-at-u*.

In other cases **-at* in Sanskrit is replaced by *-ur* (*á-da-d-ur*), in Avestic by *-an* (*da-d-en*). Another form which comes in place here is the O.Bulg. *dad-ēt-ŭ* 'dant' (but cp. § 1026), and another is O.Sax. *ded-un* 'they did' from *√dhē-*, if it be a reduplicated imperfect (§ 545 p. 103, § 886 p. 433, § 1025). Then again some forms of the thematic aorist appear to have had *-ŋt* originally, as we are led to believe by Skr. part. nom. sing. *dhákṣat*;¹⁾ and so perhaps O.C.Sl. *-s-ę*, as *daṣę*, belongs to the same group, and O.H.G. *wiṣsun* if it is rightly compared with Gr. *ῥῶν* (§ 827 p. 365, § 907 p. 455). Lastly, our suffix should be claimed for the *oī*-optative: **bhéroī-ŋt*, instead of which we have in Skr. *bhárēy-ur* Avest. *baray-en* Gr. *φέρου-εν* Goth. *batrái-na*.

(2) After Sonants, *-nti* and *-nt*.

Primary *-nti*. **uē-nti* 'they blow': Skr. *vānti* Gr. *ἄεῖσι*; Armen. *ala-n* 'they grind', Lat. *ple-nt ama-nt*, O.Ir. *carit* 'they love', Goth. *salbō-nd*, O.C.Sl. (Russ.) *imāŋt* 'they have'. Long-vowel Conjunctive: Avest. *patā-nti* Gr. Dor. *φέρω-ντι* Att. *φέρουσι*. **bhero-nti* 'ferunt': Skr. *bhāra-nti* Armen. *bere-n* Gr. Dor. *φέρω-ντι* Lat. *feru-nt* O.Ir. *berit* Goth. *baira-nd* O.C.Sl. (Russ.) *beraŋtŭ*.

Secondary *-nt*. Gr. *ἔ-μυγε-ν ἔγνω-ν*, O.Bulg. *imāt-ŭ* 'they have' (with the particle *u*). Long-vowel Conj.: Skr. *bhāra-n*, Osc. *deica-ns* 'dicant'. **bhéro-nt*: Skr. *bhāra-n á-bhara-n*, Gr. *φέρω-ν ἔφερο-ν*, O.C.Sl. *bq* for **bhŷo-nt* (§ 525 p. 88) aor. *nesq*.

§ 1018. Aryan.

(1) After Consonants Idg. *-énti -ént* and *-ŋti -ŋt*.

(a) *-énti* and *-ént*.

Primary *-énti* = pr. Ar. *-ánti*. Skr. *s-ánti* Avest. *h-enti* O.Pers. *h-atiy*. Skr. *y-ánti* Avest. *y-ēinti*. Skr. *grbh-ṇ-ánti* Avest. *ger^hu-n-enti*. Skr. *yuñj-ánti* Avest. *mer^hnc-inti* (I § 94 p. 89). Skr. *kṛ-ṇv-ánti* Avest. *ker^hnv-anti*.

Secondary *-ént* = pr. Ar. *-ánt*. Skr. *s-án ds-an* Avest. *h-en* O.Pers. *ah-a*, Skr. *áy-an* O.Pers. *ay-a*. Aor. Skr. *gm-án*

1) For the 3rd plural of the *s*-Aorist with vowel gradation (§ 811 p. 348 f.), it is necessary to assume the ending **-s-ént*.

á-gm-an Avest. *g'm-en*; with *ā*-stems of our Classes I and X Sanskrit adopted the ending *-ur*, as *á-sth-ur á-g-ur* from *stha-* and *gā-*; but in Vedic there remain a few examples of *-an*, as *vy-asthan* (Bartholomae, Stud. zur idg. Sprachg. I 32 ff., II 64 ff.). Skr. *á-śy-ṇ-an á-yuñj-an á-kṛ-ṇv-an*. An Optative form of this kind is apparently Skr. *duhīy-án*; otherwise we have Skr. *s-y-úr* and Avest. *h-yān* = **s-yā-nt*, no. (2).

(b) *-ṇti* and *-ṇt*.

Primary *-ṇti* = pr. Ar. *-ati*. Skr. *dá-dh-ati* Avest. Gath. *da-d-aiti*, Skr. *sa-śc-ati bí-bhr-ati dávi-dyut-ati*. Cp. part. nom. pl. *dá-dh-at-as* II § 126 p. 400. In the Avesta, *-ati* is usually exchanged for *-anti*, which showed the plural mark more clearly, as *da-ḥ-enti* (similarly in the part. *da-ḍ-ant-* instead of **da-ḍ-at-*); cp. mid. *-antiḥ* instead of *-aitḥ* § 1067. 1.

Secondary *-ṇt* = pr. Ar. *-at*, which remains in *-at-u* as Skr. *dá-d-atu* 'danto', and also seems to be represented in its unextended shape by four Avestic examples from the Gathas, viz. *da-d-aḥ za-z-aḥ jī-ger'z-aḥ daidy-aḥ* (Bartholomae, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxix 280 ff., 291 f.), but elsewhere it is lost. It should be remembered that whilst *-ati* corresponds to *-anti* and *-nti*, *-at* stood in sharp contrast to *-an* and *-n*; and therefore *-at* did not suit the general types of 3rd pl. in the Aryan verb. In Sanskrit this is replaced by *-ur*, as *á-da-dh-ur á-bi-bhar-ur*,¹⁾ *s-aorist á-mats-ur á-tāriṣ-ur á-yāsiṣ-ur* (cp. § 1017. 1. b), opt. *bhārēy-ur*. But in Avestic we have *-an*, in the same way as we have *-anti* instead of *-ati*: *da-ḥ-en* (cp. *da-ḥ-enti*) opt. *baray-en*.

(2) After Sonants, Idg. *-nti* and *-nt*.

Primary *-nti*. Skr. *vā-nti* Avest. *vā-nti*. Skr. *bhāra-nti* Avest. *bara-inti* O.Pers. *baratiy*, Skr. *bhārāya-nti* Avest. *baraye-inti*. The long-vowel Conjunctive in Avestic has *-nti* and *-n*, as *patā-nti* and *patān*, but only *-n* in Sanskrit — *pāta-n*.

Secondary *-nt*. This form retains its *-t* before the particle

1) Ved. *abibhran* I regard as *a-bi-bhr-a-n*, i. e. as a thematic form (§ 539 p. 99).

u: Skr. *bhāra-ntu* Avest. *bara-ntu* 'ferunto' (§ 909 p. 458). Elsewhere *-n*. Skr. *á-bhara-n* Avest. *bare-n* O.Pers. *a-bara*. The short-vowel conjunctive always has this ending: Skr. *ás-a-n* Avest. *arəhen*. In place of **a-gā-n* (= Gr. *ἔ-βᾶ-ν*, beside 3rd sing. *á-gā-t* ἔ-βῆ) Sanskrit has *á-g-ur*, and similarly *á-y-ur* instead of **a-yā-n* (3rd sing. *á-yā-t*), answering to the form *á-dh-ur* = Avest. Gath. *d-ar̥*. But Avest. *dan* beside *d-ar̥* makes us infer such forms as **gān* = *βᾶ-ν* (Idg. **gā-nt*) — *dan* : *dā-ma* following **gān* : *gā-ma* — as in the optative, beside 1st pl. Gath. *x-yā-mā* was coined 3rd pl. *x-yē-n* = late Avestic *h-yān* (compare with this *h-yā-r̥*, also with strong form of optative suffix).

As regards the 3rd pl. with *-r* (Skr. *-ur* Avest. *-ar̥ -ar̥š*), see §§ 1076 f.

§ 1019. Armenian. The 3rd plural has *-n* always; this seems to represent a coincidence of *-nti* and *-nt*.

ala-n 'they grind' for **ala-nti*: cp. Lat. *juva-nt. en* 'sunt' for **s-enti*, but this must have been influenced by other forms of the paradigm (*em es* etc.), for by I § 63 p. 50 **in* was to be expected (cp. Bugge, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxii 71). *beren* 'ferunt' follows *en* like 1st sing. *berem* : *em* § 978. 1 p. 519.

etūn 'they gave', *edin* 'they placed', cp. Avest. *dā* § 1018. 2 above. But why not **etn* **edn* by I § 651. 1 p. 497?

§ 1020. Greek.

(1) After Consonants Idg. *-énti -ént* and *-ῃti -ῃt*.

(a) *-énti* and *-ént*.

Primary *-énti*. Dor. *ἐντι* Att. *εἰσι* instead of **ἐντι* = Idg. **s-énti* with smooth breathing following *εἰμι* etc. 1)

Secondary *-ént*. Doric and other dialects *ἦν* 'erant' for **ḡ(σ)-εῖν*: Skr. *s-án ás-an*; cp. § 502 p. 65 on the 3rd sing. *ἦεν ἦν*. *ἦ*-Optative *ἦ-εῖν εἰδεῖ-εῖν τιθεῖ-εῖν*; O.Lat. *si-ent*; on El. *συι-ἔαν* refer to § 944 p. 487.

(b) *-ῃti* and *-ῃt*.

Primary *-ῃti* = Gr. *-ᾷτι*. Instead of **ḡστ-ατι* **τιθ-ατι*

1) *εἰσι* 'eunt' in Theognis 716 is too uncertain to make it a ground for assuming pr. Gr. **ἔ-εντι* = Skr. *y-dnti*. See Osthoff, *M. U.* iv 288 f.

**δίδ-ατι* (Skr. *bībhr-atī dādḥ-atī*) we find (Dor.) *ἴστα-ντι τιθε-ντι* *δίδο-ντι*, as in (2). But *-ατι* is preserved in the perfect, as Dor. *ἐθάκ-ατι* (Hesych.), Phoc. *ἐρητεύκ-ατι* Hom. *λε-λόγγ-ασι*, and I may suggest that this ending was taken from reduplicated present stems (cp. § 555 p. 108).

Secondary *-ητ* = Gr. *-α* is lost; all examples of secondary 3rd pl. took *-ν*. *ε-τι-θε-ν* *ε-δι-δο-ν* like *τί-θε-ντι*. Similarly **ἑῖπ-α(τ)* 'they said' = **μῆ-μῃ-ητ* gave way to *ἑῖπαν*, thus following no. 2 (§ 557 p. 109). Again, *-αν* got into the *s*-aorist, where originally either *-ént* (with roots that had gradation), or *-ητ*, seems to have been the ending; e. g. *ἴσ-αν* *ῥ-δεῖξ-αν* (instead of **ἴσσο-εν* **ῥ-δεῖξ-εν*?) **ἑἰδε-αν* (instead of **ἑἰδε-α*?); on the last see § 1021. The *οἰ*-optative took over the ending of the *ἰξ*-optative: *φέρει-εν* instead of **φέρειοκ-α* following *εἰεν* (El. *-οιαν*, e. g. *παρ-βαίνοιαν*, seems to have arisen by regular change from *-οιεν* as *συν-έαν* *ἐπι-θεῖαν* from **-εεν* *-θεῖεν*); side by side with which Delphic has *φέρει-ν*, analogical like mid. *φέρει-ντο* (§ 1068).

(2) After Sonants Idg. *-nti* and *-nt*.

Primary *-nti*. *ἄεισι* 'they blow' for **ἄφη-ντι*: Skr. *vd-nti*; Lesb. *φιλεσι* 'they love' *διψασι* 'they thirst': Lat. *ple-nt vide-nt juva-nt*. Conj. Dor. *φέρω-ντι* Att. *φέρουσι* (§ 923 p. 471). Dor. El. N.-W. Gr. *φίρο-ντι* Att. *φέρουσι*.

Secondary *-nt* = Gr. *-ν*. *ἔ-δρᾶ-ν* *ἔ-τλᾶ-ν* *ἔ-γγο-ν* *ἔ-μυγε-ν* *ἔ-γγωνσθε-ν* for **ἔ-δρᾶ-ντ* etc., whence also *ε-φῦ-ν*.

The vowel before the personal ending is sometimes long instead of short. The reason is undecided. Examples are Hom. *μῶνθην* Cret. *διελέγην* Hom. *ἐφῦν*.

Remark. In Morph. Unt. i 72 f., I assumed in agreement with G. Meyer and others that the long vowel was taken from other forms of the paradigm, as for instance it must be explained in *πλήντο ἄντα* and other like them. Solmsen now tries to make out a case for believing that *-ην* *-ων* etc. arose at the sentence-end, and that *ἔλεγεν* replaced the regular in-sentence form **ἔλεγετ* on the analogy of *ἔλεγην* (Bezz. Beitr. xvii 329 ff.).

These endings *-ντι* and *-ν* spread to all stems with

gradation that ended in *-a*, *-ē*, or *ō*. *τί-θε-ντι* *ἔ-τι-θε-ν* *ἔ-θε-ν*¹), *δί-δο-ντι* *ἔ-δι-δο-ν* *ἔ-δο-ν* (cp. 1. *b*). Dor. *φα-ντι* Att. *φᾶσι*, *φά-ν*. *δάμνασι* (*δαμνασι*) for **δαμ-να-ντι* instead of **δαμ-ν-εντι*. By analogy *ῥήγνυσι* (*ῥηγνυσι*) for **φρηγ-νυ-ντι* instead of **φρηγ-νυ(φ)-εντι*.

§ 1021. The ending *-αν*, which developed first in Greek (§ 1020. 1. *b*), spread widely and was the model for many innovations.

(1) *-αν* instead of *-εν* and instead of *-α* became usual in the Indicative of stems which did not end in *-ā*, *-ē*, *-ō*. Some have been already mentioned: *ἐλπ-αν*, *ἴπ-αν* *ἔ-διξι-αν* **φειδε-αν* (by analogy, the ind. perf. *γέ-γον-αν* § 844 p. 386). So Boeot. *παρ-εῖαν* for **-η(σ)-αν* (I § 72 p. 63) from *✓es-* 'to be', Hom. Aeol. *ἔχευ-αν* (§ 504 p. 67 f.) and others. Also opt. *δεῖξιαν* instead of **δεῖξει-εν* as we should expect (§ 944 p. 489).

In the tendency which exchanged *-εν* for *-αν* the middle ending *-ατο* may have had some influence, e. g. in *ἔχεναι* (instead of **ἔ-χυν-αν*), beside which there once was a 3rd pl. middle **ἔ-χυν-ατο* (cp. 3rd sing. *ἔ-χυν-το*).

That *-εν* remains in the Opt., as *τιθεῖ-εν*, must be put down to the strong stem *τιθειη-* (cp. *ἔμιγεν* : *ἐ-μιγη-*, *ἔτιθεν* : *ἐ-τιθη-*). Then *τιθει-εν* propped up *φέροι-εν* despite the mid. *φεροί-ατο*.

(2) **ῆ-αν* 'erant' (Boeot. *παρ-εῖαν*) under the influence of *ῆσ-τε* *ῆσ-τον* *ῆσ-την* became *ῆσ-αν*, which may be compared with *ἔσ-μην* (§ 502 p. 65). Similarly *φείδεσαν* *ῆδεσαν* depend upon a lost **φείδεσ-τε* (§ 836 p. 372); the form was once **φείδε-αν* (cp. § 1020. 1. *b*). Then the ending *-σαν* became familiar, and was detached as a type, beginning partly with these, and partly with *σ*-aorists of the form *ἔπηξαν* (to whose system once belonged **ἔπακμεν* **ἔπακτε*, see § 820 p. 357); examples are *ἔφα-σαν* *ἐ-τίθε-σαν* *ἔ-θε-σαν* *ἔ-γνω-σαν* *ἐ-μίγη-σαν* *ἐ-δικασθη-σαν* (Hellenistic also *ἐλάβοσαν* *εἵπασαν* and the like),

1) Although we must assume Idg. **dh-nti* **é-dh-ent*, we can hardly venture to say that the Greek form is derived straight from this ground-form.

plpf. *ἔ-σαν-σαν*, opt. *εἴη-σαν*, imper. *ἔστω-σαν*. The wider use of *-σαν* was assisted by a wish to make the number of syllables the same in 1st 2nd and 3rd plural (*ἔφασαν* : *ἔφαμεν ἔφατε*).

(3) On the analogy of *ἵστα-ν* to *ἵστα-ντι*, *ἔ-τιθέ-ν* to *τίθε-ντι*, *ἔ-δίδο-ν* to *δίδο-ντι*, a primary *-αντι* sprang up as complement to *-αν*. Beside **ἦαν* 'erant' then stands the pres. Ion. *ἔασι*; we also have *ἱάσι* 'eunt', *ῥηγνύ-ασι*. Beside *ἴσαν*, the pres. (perf.) *ἴσασσι ἴασσι* 'sciunt' Dor. *ἴσαντι* (§ 863 p. 411). Also perf. *δε-δί-ασι τε-τράφ-ασι* Dor. *τε-θέκ-αντι*.

Doubtless something is due to the analogy of the middle *-αται*, as *ῥηγνύ-ασι* : **ῥηγνύ-αται* (like *εἰρύ-αται* § 1068.1. a), *τετράφ-ασι* : *τετράφ-αται*. For the Perfect cp. also the ending *-ατι*, § 1020.1. b.

(4) Following *ἔ-ασι* beside *ἔ-μεν*, *ῥηγνύ-ασι* beside *ῥήγνυ-μεν*, *δεδί-ασι* beside *δέδκ-μεν* sprang up *τιθέ-ασι δίδο-ασι *ιστά-ασι* *ιστῶσι* as 3rd pl. to *τίθε-μεν δίδο-μεν ἵστα-μεν*, Hom. *βεβᾶ-ασι* Hom. Att. **ἔστᾶ-ασι*¹⁾ *ἔστᾶσι* to *βέβα-μεν ἔστα-μεν*, Boeot. *δεδό-ανθι* (on the θ see § 1068). Similarly Boeot. *ἀν-ί-θταν* (*ἔθειαν ἔθιαν*), by which form the number of syllables in the 3rd plural was made to agree with the 1st and 2nd plural (as with *-σαν*, see no. 2. above).

Remark. Thess. imperf. *ἔν-σπαρίσασεν* aor. *ἰδοῦσεν ἀν-εθελῶν ἔταξέν* are not yet properly explained. If their *-εν -ιν* = pr. Gr. *-εν*, their model must have been **ἦ-εν* 'erant' (§ 1020.1. a) *ἔ-εν* *ῥήγνυ-εν*; if again *-εν (-ιν)* is regular in Thessalian for *-αν* (Prellwitz, De dial. Thess., 9), they fall into line with Boeot. *ἔθι-αν* mentioned above. Solmsen conjectures that the endings *-ον -αν* were pronounced *-οφ -αφ*, to get an equal number of syllables with the 1st and 2nd plural, and that *-ον -αν -αιν* are various attempts to write these sounds (Bezz. Beitr. xvii 336).

Late Greek new forms in the 3rd pl. are treated by Buresch in the Rhein. Mus., XLVI 193 ff.

§ 1022. *Italic*. In Umbro-Samnitic the endings **-nti* and **-nt* become *-nt* and *-ns* respectively, and are thus kept distinct. But in Latin the primary ending *-nt* was made universal in

1) This uncontracted form is wanting in Epic, because it did not suit the dactylic metre.

prehistoric times in the same way, though earlier, as the primary *-t* can be seen before our eyes usurping the place of the secondary *-d* (§ 996 p. 531). The form *quotiens*: Skr. *ktyat* (III § 225 'p. 106) makes it probable that Latin once had Umbr.-Samn. *-ns* = Idg. **-nt*.

The complete disappearance of *-i* from *-nti* in Italic is remarkable; the same thing is seen with the ending *-ti* (§ 996 p. 531).

Along with *-ns* Latin must once have had a sentence doublet *-n*, if Johansson is right in saying that O.Lat. *danunt* is really **dan* + the ending of *legunt* which it took by analogy (Akadem. afhandl. til Prof. S. Bugge, pp. 29 ff.); compare § 1023 on *seder-unt*, and the O.H.G. and A.S. *sind-un* instead of *sind*, § 1025. Similarly *ex-plēnunt prōd-inunt* would stand for **plen *in* (cp. the form *int* beside *eunt*, formed complementary to *imus itis* as *sint* was to *sīmus sītis*, instead of *sient*). The same *-n* may perhaps be the ending of Umbr. *staheren* 'stabunt'.

Remark. I will not pass unmentioned Danielsson's conjecture (in Pauli's Altital. Stud. III 148) that *-ns* originally belonged to the indic. perfect only, and that *-s* is the same as we see in Avest. *-ar^{as}* (§ 1077). Compare further Johansson, Bezz. Beitr. XVIII 49.

(1) The post-consonantal Idg. *-ēnti -ēnt* and *-ṛti -ṛt* run together into *-ent(i) -ens* in Italic.

(a) *-ēnti* and *-ēnt*.

Primary *-ēnti* = Ital. *-ent(i)*. Umbr. *s-ent* Osc. set *set* 'sunt'.

Secondary *-ēnt* = Ital. *-ens*. Opt. Lat. *si-ent* instead of **si-ens*; new form *sint* following *sī-mus sīt-tis*, so also Umbr. *sins* *sis* with the secondary ending kept. Lat. *vidērint* like *sint*.

(b) *-ṛti* and *-ṛt*.

Primary *-ṛti* = Ital. *-ent(i)*. Since in Umbr.-Samn. the orig. *-o-nt(i)* has disappeared and given place to *-ent(i)* (see below), we may assume as 3rd pl. to *di-d-e-t* 'dat' (§ 553 p. 107) the form **dident*, which would be a parallel to Skr. *dā-d-ati*.

Secondary *-ṛt* = Ital. *-ens* seems to be lost.

(2) After Sonants *-nti* or *-nt*.

Primary *-nti* Ital. *-nt(i)*. Lat. *ple-nt fla-nt vide-nt ama-nt*, Umbr. *furfant* 'februarant'. Hence by analogy Lat. *da-nt* like Gr. *ἔ-δο-ν* § 1020 p. 548, *i-nt* (beside *eu-nt*). Lat. *feru-nt su-nt*: Skr. *bhāra-nti* O.Russ. *sqtī*. Thematic Conjunctive Lat. *eru-nt*.

Secondary *-nt* = Ital. *-ns*, instead of which Latin has the primary *-nt*. Osc. *fu-fa-ns* 'erant' Lat. *ama-ba-nt*. Conj. Umbr. *dirsa-ns dirsas* 'dent' Osc. *deica-ns* 'dicant', Lat. *dīca-nt*; Osc. *herri-ns* 'caperent' *trībarakattī-ns* 'aedificaverint', Lat. *age-nt agere-nt*. Also, with *-n* for *-nt*, Lat. *ex-plēn-unt* etc. according to Johansson's explanation, for which see above p. 550.

In Umbr.-Samn. often *-ent*, where *-ont* is expected. Osc. *fiiet* 'fiunt'. Thematic Conjunct. of the *s*-Aor.: Umbr. *furent* 'erunt' Osc. *censazet* 'censebunt' (§ 824 p. 362), and these served as the model for fut. pf. Umbr. *benurent* 'venerint' Osc. *trībarakattuset* 'aedificaverint' (§ 872 p. 421). Of the same kind are perhaps Umbr. *eitipes* 'decreverunt' Osc. *prufattens* 'probaverunt', cp. the thematic 3rd sing. *prufatted* (§ 867 p. 416, §§ 872 f. pp. 420 ff.). The spread of *-ent* (*-ens*) was probably not due to the solitary form *sent*; probably there also existed **ed-ent* 'they eat' O.Russ. *jad-ētī*, forms of the XIIth Present Class in *-n-ent* = Skr. *-n-ānti*, of the XVIIth in *-ny-ent* = Skr. *-no-ānti* (*-nuv-ānti*), and again the form **did-ent* = Skr. *dād-ati* (see above, 1. b).

§ 1023. The Perfect in Latin shows the endings *-erunt* *-ērunt* and *-ēre*; to which we must add from inscr. *ded-rot ded-ro* C. I. L. 1 173, 177, and some other forms which have been gathered by Deecke (De redupl. Lat. lingu. praeterito, pp. 17 f.). Though it is natural enough to derive *-erunt*, beside *-is-tis* *-is-tī*, from **-is-ont(i)* (§ 841 p. 378), still the *r* of these 3rd pl. endings is doubtless connected in some part at least with the Skr. *-ur*, Avest. *-ar*, Skr. mid. *-rē*, and others of like nature (§§ 1076 ff.). With the extension of the *-r*-form by *-ont* compare Skr. *-r-anta* *-r-atē* *-r-ata* (on the form *-r-an*,

which looks as though it were most closely connected, refer to § 1078.8). That there is no doubt of its being a middle *-r*-form extended by the active *nt*-suffix is shewn by the 1st sing. *tutud-t* (§ 1044), which has the middle ending. For further conjectures I refer to Osthoff, Perfect 210 ff., 609 f.; Windisch, Über die Verbalformen mit dem Charakter *B*, pp. 47 f.; Henry, Mém. Soc. Ling. vi 373 ff.; Zimmer, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxx 281 ff.; Schweizer-Sidler and Surber Lat. Gramm. i² 139; Stolz, Lat. Gr.² 372 f.; Bartholomae, Stud. Idg. Spr. II 195 ff.

§ 1024. Keltic.

Primary Ending. Idg. *-énti* remains in O.Ir. *it* O.Cymr. *int* 'they are' for pr. Kelt. **s-enti*, see footnote to II p. 196 (in the light of which I § 243.3 p. 202 must be corrected). Elsewhere only Idg. *-nti*. O.Ir. *berit*: Gr. *φέρο-ντι*. *carit* for **carā-nti*: cp. Lat. *ama-nt*. Conjunctive *berit*: Lat. *fera-nt*; cp. Mid.Cymr. *gwelo-nt* 'videant'. *lenit* 'they hold' for **līna-nti*, as Gr. *δαίναμι* (*δαμνάμι*) for **δαμ-να-ντι* (§ 1020 p. 548), instead of Idg. **-n-énti*.

Side by side runs the Conjunct inflexion: indic. *do-berat*, in the oldest glosses *-ot* is still found, as *tu-thegot* = later *do-thiagat* 'they go away'; *no charat* 'amant'; conj. *do-berat*. Whether these are descended straight from forms in Idg. *-nt* (**bero-nt* **cara-nt* **berā-nt*), or are middle forms with the Idg. ending *-nto*, has not been made out (see I § 657.1 p. 506, and § 82.1 p. 76); the second alternative however seems better. Zimmer, who identifies *-berat* with Gr. *φέρο-ντο*, explains the active function of this form by supposing that *berit* represents a confluence of two, **bero-nti* and **bero-ntai* (Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxx 236).

§ 1025. Germanic.

(1) After Consonants, *-énti* *-ént* and *-yti* *-yt*.

(a) Primary *-énti* = pr. Germ. *-inþi*. Goth. *sind* O.H.G. *sint* 'they are' for pr. Germ. **sindi*, which is either the unaccented form of the word (cp. I § 669 p. 534) or has taken the place of the regular **sinþi* = Goth. **sinþ* O.H.G.

**sind* on the analogy of *batrand berant*; O.H.G. also *sint-un sind-un* (O.Sax. and A.S. *sind-un*) with an additional ending following 1st pl. *birum* 2nd pl. *birut*. Secondary *-ént* is quite lost.

(b) Primary *-pti* is lost. Secondary *-pt* = Germ. *-un* is perhaps original in O.Sax. *ded-un* 'they did' O.H.G. *wissun* 'they knew' (§ 1017. 1. b p. 544). *-un* is always found in the 3rd pl. of both strong and weak Perfect, and also sometimes in the Present: e. g. Goth. *skatiskaid-un bër-un* O.H.G. *sciad-un bār-un*, Goth. *nasidēd-un* O.H.G. *nerit-un*, Goth. *vit-un* O.H.G. *wizzun* (§ 508 p. 74), O.Icel. *er-o er-u* 'they are'. Perhaps these endings have been under the influence of the middle **-undaṣ* **-unda* = Idg. *-ptai -pto*, which we may assume to have lasted down to protoethnic Germanic.

(2) After Sonants *-nti* and *-nt*.

Primary *-nti*. Goth. *salbō-nd* O.H.G. *salbō-nt*, O.H.G. *habē-nt*. Goth. *baira-nd* O.H.G. *bera-nt*; instead of the latter, Frank. *berent*, formed doubtless like the 1st pl. *beremēs* (instead of *beramēs*) under the combined influence of the 2nd plural *beret* (§ 1035) and present stems with *-jo-* (*suoche-mēs -nt*).

Secondary *-nt*. Perhaps it is old in O.H.G. conj. *salbō-n* like O.Ir. *-carat* 'ament' (§ 930 p. 476). Further, **-nt*, but not original, in all optatives, as O.H.G. *s-ī-n bār-ī-n*, which are to be compared with Lat. *s-i-nt* instead of *s-i-ent* (it is hardly likely that *sīn* is for **s-ij-inp* = Idg. **s-ij-ént*), and O.H.G. *berē-n* (instead of Idg. **bhéroi-nt*), which falls in line with Gr. *φέρου-ν* (§ 1020. 1. b p. 547). Gothic in the optative shows *-na*, *salbō-na bērei-na bairái-na*; and the *-n* of Old Swedish must come from *-na* (cp. Kock, P.-B. Beitr. xv 244 ff.), while the W.-Germ. *-n* may possibly have once been followed by a vowel, now lost. This *-na* displaced *-n* = Idg. **-nt* on the analogy of the 1st plural *-ma* (§ 1007. 2 p. 538). I suggest that in the 1st plural of these forms there were first two parallel suffixes *-ma* and *-m*, and that this fact produced *-na* beside *-n*; then the fuller form won the day in all persons.

§ 1026. Slavonic¹). The variation of (O.Russ.) *-nti*

1) In Baltic, the 3rd singular did for 3rd plural too; see § 999 p. 533.

and (O.Bulg.) *-ntü* (= *nt* + particle *u*) ran parallel to that of *-ñ* and *-t-ü* in the 3rd sing., see § 999 p. 532 f.

(1) After consonants, *-énti -ént* and *-ñti -ñt*, both running into *-etñ -e*.

(a) Primary *-énti* = *-etñ*. O.C.Sl. (Russ.) *jad-etñ*: Skr. *ad-anti*. Secondary *-ént* in O.Bulg. *jad-et-ü* (but cp. below).

(b) Primary *-ñti* = *-etñ*. O.C.Sl. (Russ.) *dad-etñ*: Skr. *dád-ati*. Secondary *-ñt* in O.Bulg. *dad-et-ü* like Skr. *dád-at-u* (but cp. below) and perhaps in the *-e* of *s*-Aorists, as O.C.Sl. *daše* (§ 1017. 1. b p. 543 f.

(2) After sonants, *-nti* and *-nt*.

Primary *-nti*. O.C.Sl. (Russ.) *imaññ* beside 3rd sing. *ima-ñ*, *beraññ saññ znajaññ*.

Secondary *-nt*. Aor. O.C.Sl. *nesq*, injunct. *bq* for **bhñ-o-nt* (§ 523 p. 87), *badaq* (§ 909 p. 458). With the particle *u*, O.Bulg. *imaññ beraññ saññ znajaññ*.

On *smrñdeññ -etñ* for **-inti *-int-u*, see § 637 Rem. p. 176.

If in proethnic Slavonic the *mi*-presents had *-ññ*, the rest *-ntü* (*jadetñ — beraññ*), and if levelling took place in different directions in the several dialects (cp. § 999 p. 534 on *-ñ* and *-tñ* in the 3rd singular), O.Bulg. *jadetñ* could not be brought in evidence for Idg. *-ént* (1. a), nor O.Bulg. *dadetñ* for Idg. *-ñt* (1. b).

1ST PERSON DUAL.

§ 1027. Proethnic Indo-Germanic. The suffix began with *u-* and shows in its ending some kinship with the 1st plural suffixes beginning with *m-*. It can only be traced in Aryan, Germanic, and Balto-Slavonic.

(1) Primary forms *-yes -yos* and *-yesi -yosi*. Skr. *s-vás bhára-vas*, Avest. Gath. *us-vahñ* (3rd sing. *vaš-tñ* 'wishes'). Also doubtless Goth. *batrōs salbōs*, cp. § 1029.

(2) Secondary or Perfect forms *-uē -uō*. Skr. *á-bhara-va*. Goth. opt. *batrdi-va*; perf. *beru* for **beru-u(i)* or *-u(a)*, possibly for **ber-uñi* or *-uñ* with a form of suffix that makes a parallel to *-ñme -ñmo* (= Goth. *-um?*); cp. § 1001 p. 535. Lith. pret. *sùko-va* refl. *-ro-s*, O.C.Sl. aor. *vezo-vě* (but cp. § 1030).

§ 1028. Aryan. In Sanskrit only *-vas* and *-va*, in Avestic only *-vahī* and *-va* are found. That Sanskrit has no *-vasi*, Avestic no *-vō*, may be considered an accident. For examples see § 1027; I add Avest. injunct. *jvāva* i. e. *jvā-va* from Ar. *jīv-* 'to live' (Bartholomae Handb. § 91a Anm. 4, p. 40).

§ 1029. Germanic.

The primary form appears to occur in Goth. *batrōs* (3rd sing. *batrī-p*) *salbōs* (3rd sing. *salbō-p*), cp. 1st pl. O.H.G. *-mēs*. *salbōs* perhaps for **salbō-ys* (cp. Streitberg, Die germ. Compar. auf *-ōz-*, p. 9 as against I § 181 Rem. p. 159). Instead of *bairōs* we should expect **batráus*. To assume an Idg. ground-form **berōues* on the strength of Goth. *bairōs*, as Streitberg does (Zur germ. Spr., 108) seems to me to be open to criticism.

Secondary forms. Opt. Goth. *batrái-va* like 1st pl. *batrái-ma*. Perf. *bēru* see § 1027; similarly Norse Run. *waritu* for **writ-u* 'we both scratched, or wrote'.

A neat conjecture is that of van Helten (P.-B. Beitr. xv 472), who sees a 1st dual injunct. aorist in O.Sax. *wita* 'come along, very well' orig. 'tendamus', for **wita-w-*. Compare 1st pl. A.S. *wuton* 'come along' § 532 p. 94.

§ 1030. Balto-Slavonic.

Lith. *ēs-va sùka-va* reflex. *sùka-vo-s*, cp. 2nd dual *sùka-ta sùka-to-s*. *-vō* is a secondary ending like *-mē* (*-mē-s -me*) in the 1st plural. But *-vō* is doubtless not = Idg. **-uō* (for which we ought rather to have *-vū*), but a transformation of the Idg. secondary endings on the analogy of the 2nd dual (cp. Slav. *-va* below).

O.C.Sl. *-vě*: *jes-vě veze-vě* aor. *vezo-vě* opt. *vezě-vě*. As representing Idg. **-uē* we expect *-vi* (cp. *mati* 'mother' I § 76 p. 66). There seems therefore to have been an imitation of *vě* 'we two' (cp. § 1008 p. 539 on 1st pl. *-my*). The ending *-va*, rare in O.C.Sl., more common in Mod.Slov. and Czech, I prefer to regard as an imitation of *-ta* (2nd dual) than as representing Idg. **-uō* (cp. above Lith. *-va*). In Mod.Slovenian, which has *-vě* and *-va* both, a difference of gender has developed between them, because it so happened that there were feminine words

like *racē* (III § 286 p. 194) and masculines like *vlūka* (III § 285 p. 193), and *vē* and *va* were grouped accordingly (cp. what is said of *-tē* in § 1036).

2ND PERSON DUAL.

§ 1031. Proethnic Indo-Germanic.

(1) Primary ending something like **-thes* **-thos*; observe that the aspirate rests on the authority of Aryan only; the same is true of the 2nd plural (§ 1009 p. 540). Skr. *s-thás bhára-thas*. Lat. *es-tis agi-tis* (cp. § 1034). Goth. *batra-ts* (cp. § 1035).

(2) Secondary or Perfect forms.

(a) *-tā*. Lith. pret. *sūko-ta* reflex. *-to-s*, O.C.Sl. aor. *veze-ta*. And, no doubt, Umbr. *futu-to* 'estote' (§ 1034).

(b) *-tom* (also *-tem*?). Skr. *á-bhara-tam*. Gr. *ἐ-φέρε-ρον*.

§ 1032. Aryan. Skr. primary *-thas*: *s-thás bhára-thas*; secondary *-tam*: *ás-tam á-bhara-tam*. The Avestic forms in *-pō* and *-tem*, which answer to these, are used for the 3rd dual.

On Skr. *-áthur* in the Perfect, see § 1038.

§ 1033. Greek. The secondary ending *-ρον* drove out the primary in prehistoric times (cp. the levelling out of all but *-μεν* in the 1st plural, § 1004 p. 537): pret. *ἦσ-ρον ἐ-φέρε-ρον*, pres. *ἔσ-ρὸν φέρε-ρον*.

A consequence of the use of *-ρον* for both 2nd and 3rd dual in primary tenses was that the same was done in historic tenses, where *-ρον* belonged properly to the 2nd dual and *-σαν* (Ion.-Att. *-την*) to the third. Thus we get *ἐφέρερον* for both persons, and by similar reasoning *ἐφερέτην* for both also.

§ 1034. Italic. Lat. *es-tis agi-tis agē-bātis st-tis* are probably dual forms; see § 1013 p. 541.

The secondary ending *-tā* may have taken plural use in Umbrian forms like *futu-to* 'estote', for which see § 967 p. 509, and § 1040.

§ 1035. Germanic. The primary ending is represented by Goth. *-ts*, which at the same time acted as secondary:

baira-ts (-a- instead of -i-, cp. O.H.G. 2nd pl. *bera-t* § 1015 p. 542) perf. *beru-ts* opt. *vilei-ts*. On the -t of -ts — for which *-ps would be expected — see I p. 406 footnote 1, Kluge in Paul's Grundr. I 324 (§ 10. 1. b), and Johansson Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxx 554 f.

The O.H.G. 2nd pl. *bere-t* 'fertis', which cannot be explained as being for Idg. **bere-t(h)e*, may be a dual form. As far as sound-laws go, it may be compared with any of these three, Skr. *bhāra-thas bhāra-tam* or O.C.Sl. *bere-ta*, see § 1015 p. 542.

§ 1036. Balto-Slavonic.

Lithuanian has the secondary ending -ta (reflexive -tō-s) = Idg. -ta as its only form: *sūko-ta*, *sūka-ta* (instead of **suke-ta*, see § 999. 2 p. 533), *ēs-ta*.

So also Slavonic: aor. *veze-ta* opt. *vezē-ta* pres. *veze-ta* *jes-ta*. A few instances of -tē are found, as also in the 3rd dual, probably in imitation of -vē in the 1st dual; so by reverse attraction -va is found instead of -vē (§ 1030 p. 555). -tē in the 2nd and 3rd dual is used where the subject is feminine, as we saw in the case of -vē (loc. cit.).

3RD PERSON DUAL.

§ 1037. Proethnic Indo-Germanic. This person is only preserved in Aryan, Greek, and Slavonic (as regards Lithuanian see § 999 p. 532 f.), which makes it difficult to determine what suffixes were used in the parent language. The only thing certain is that -tām is nothing but secondary: Skr. *ās-tām* Gr. ἤσ-την.

§ 1038. Aryan.

Primary ending pr. Ar. -tas: Skr. *bhāra-tas* Avest. *bara-tō*. Avest. *yūidyā-pō* 'they both fight' shows the 2nd dual ending.

Secondary, pr. Ar. -tām. Skr. *ā-bhara-tām*. In Avestic always -tem, the ending of the 2nd dual, as *ai-tem* 'they both went', just as in Greek we see -ρον in place of -ραν (§ 1039).

In the Perfect pr. Ar. -atyr, Skr. -átur Avest. -atar^o: Skr. *ca-kr-átur sēd-átur da-d-átur*; Avest. *yaft-atar^o* (from *yat-* 'to stretch, strive to reach'), beside this Gath. *vaocātar^o* (from *vac-*

'to speak'), where *a*, we may conjecture, comes from the middle suffix *-aitē* (*maman-aitē*). The *r*-ending is undoubtedly borrowed from the 3rd pl. in *-r* (Skr. *-ur* Avest. *-ar*^o, § 1077), and the Skr. *-áthur* of the 2nd du., e. g. *cakr-áthur*, is due to the use of both *-thas* and *-tas* (cp. O.C.Sl. *pri-jetŭ* as 2nd and 3rd Person § 830 p. 367). The *a* of *-atur* appears to be that of the 3rd sing. and 2nd plural perfect.

§ 1039. Greek. Primary *-τον*: ἑσ-τόν φέρε-τον. Secondary *-ταῦν* and *-τον*: ἡσ-την ἐ-φερέ-την and ἡσ-τον ἐ-φερέ-τον. Cp. § 1033 p. 556.

§ 1040. Slavonic. *-te* and *-ta* are variants without any distinction: O.C.Sl. pres. and aor. *veze-te* and *-ta*, opt. *vezě-te* and *-ta*. *-te* may be derived from **-tes*, cp. Skr. *-tas*. Whether *-ta* originally belonged to the 3rd dual or was the ending of the 2nd dual is not clear. Perhaps *-ta* must be identified with Umbr. *-ta* in *etu-ta* 'eunto', see § 967 p. 508. As regards a third form *-tē* (used with a fem. subject), see § 1036 p. 557.

MIDDLE ENDINGS.

1ST PERSON SINGULAR.

§ 1041. Protoethnic Indo-Germanic.

(1) Primary endings there appear to be two:

(a) *-mai* or *-māi* in unthematic stems: Gr. ἵστα-μαι *δίδο-μαι*, Lith. reflex. *vel-mė-s(i)* Pruss. *as-mai* 'sum'.

(b) *-ōi* in thematic stems (vgl. *-ō* in the active). Skr. thematic Conjunct. *kṛ-nāv-āi* (3rd sing. *kṛ-nāv-a-tē*). Norse Run. *haite* O.Icel. *heite* 'I bid, call'. The same ending in the long-vowel Conj.: Skr. *bhārāi* (cp. § 918 Rem. p. 466).

(2) The Secondary endings are quite obscure:

(a) Unthematic Stems. Skr. *á-dviṣ-i* doubtless for *-ā* (*á-dviṣ-i*: *dī-dviṣ-ē* = 1st pl. *-mahī* Gr. *-μεθα*: *-mahē*), but opt. *dviṣīy-ā* *bhārēy-a*. Gr. ἐ-δó-μην δι-δοί-μην φεροί-μην (Dor. *-μᾶν*), recalling the Suffix of the 2nd sing. *-thēs* beside act. *-tha*.

(b) Thematic Stems. Skr. *á-bhar-ē*. Gr. ἐ-φερό-μην.

(3) *-ai* or *-āi* in the Perfect, is doubtless connected with

the *-a* of Skr. *dviṣīy-á* and the *-i* = *-ə* of Skr. *á-dviṣ-i* (cp. § 1054.3). Skr. *tutud-é*. Lat. *tutud-ī*. O.C.Sl. *věd-ě*.

§ 1042. Aryan.

(1) Primary ending. The *-ai* of the thematic Conj. is old: Skr. *mán-ai* Avest. Gath. *mēn-ai* beside indic. Skr. *á-ma-ta*, *s-Aor.* Skr. *mā-s-ai* Avest. Gath. *mēnagh-ai* beside indic. Skr. *á-mā-s-ta*, Skr. *kṛ-ṇāv-ai* beside indic. *kṛ-ṇu-tē*. Also *-ai* in the long-vowel Conj.: Skr. *bhārāi* Avest. *barāi*. So there was once indic. pres. **bharāi* (cp. active indic. Avest. *ufyā* Gr. *φείω* like conj. Avest. *aəha* Gr. *ἔω* Lat. *erō* and conj. Skr. *ārcā* Gr. *φείω* § 976.2 p. 517), which was exchanged even in pr. Aryan for **bharaī* = Skr. *bhārē* Avest. *barē* following the *-ai* of the unthematic Indicative, and the analogy of *-sai* *-tai* etc., for the purpose, I would suggest, of distinguishing the conj. and indic. moods.

Instead of *-ai* in the conj. Avestic has sometimes *-anē*, a new formation based upon the active *-āni* and its termination imitating the middle *-t* as compared with act. *-ti* etc., e. g. *var'sanē* beside 3rd sing. *var's-a-itē* (*s-aorist* of *varz-* 'to work'), *yazānē* (beside *yazāi*) with 3rd sing. *yazā-itē* (from *yaz-* 'to offer').

Aryan *-ai* in the non-thematic indic. present: Skr. *bruv-ē* Avest. *mruyē* i. e. *mruv-ē* beside 3rd sing. *brū-tē* *mrū-itē*, Skr. *duh-ē*, Avest. *γν-ē* (*√ghen-* 'strike, slay'). This *-ai* I regard as borrowed from the perfect in place of orig. **-mai* (vice versa we have in Greek perf. *ἴδο-μαι* following pres. *ἴδο-μαι*), just as in the 3rd sing. Skr. *-ē* (§ 1055), and in the 3rd pl. Skr. *-rē* (§ 1078.1), came from the perfect to the non-thematic present.

(2) Secondary ending. Thematic Skr. *á-bharē* Avest. *a-barē* O.Pers. *a-takšaiy* (from *takš-* 'to shape, make all right').

Unthematic. In the Indicative Ar. *-i* for *-ə*: Skr. *á-duh-i* *á-kr-i*, Avest. Gath. *aoj-ī* (from *aoj-* 'to speak'), *s-aorist* Skr. *á-ruts-i*, O.Pers. *a-darš-iy* (from *dar-* 'to hold'). But in the Optative Ar. *-a*: Skr. *tanvīy-á* Avest. *tanuya* i. e. *tanviy-a* from *tun-* 'to stretch' (§ 940 p. 485), Skr. *bhārēy-a* Avest. Gath.

vāuray-ā (from *var-* 'to choose'), Avest. *mainya* for **manyay-a* (I § 643 p. 482) = Skr. *mānyēy-a*.

(3) Pr. Ar. *-aḡ* in the perfect: Skr. *śu-śruv-ē* Avest. *susruyē* i. e. *su-sruv-ē* from *√kleṃ-* 'hear'.

§ 1043. Greek. Primary *-μαι*; on the analogy of *δίδομαι ἄρνυμαι* we get *φέρω-μαι φέρω-μαι* and perfect *δέδομαι τέτυγ-μαι*, etc.

Secondary (Dor.) *-μᾶν*: *ἐδιδό-μην ἐδεικνί-μην ἐείξα-μην τετύγ-μην τιθεί-μην φεροί-μην*.

§ 1044. Italic. Only the perfect Idg. *-aḡ* or *-oḡ* remains, but it loses its middle meaning: Lat. *tutud-ī*: Skr. *tutud-ē*, *ded-ī*: Skr. *dad-ē* (§ 867 p. 414). Perhaps we should explain *revertī* beside *revertor*, *assēnsī* beside *assentior* as due to the originally middle force of *-ī*.

§ 1045. Germanic. Idg. *-ði* (§ 1041. 1. b) in O.Icel. *heite heiti* 'I bid, call', beside Goth. *hāita*.

Remark. I cannot agree with Jellinek's conjectures in his *Beitr. zur Erklärung der germ. Flexion*, 1891, pp. 70 ff.

In Gothic the 3rd sing. *hāitada* does duty for the 1st sing. too; so also A.S. *hatte* is 3rd and 1st sing., cp. Goth. 3rd and 1st pl. *hāitanda*. On this use of the 3rd person for the 1st see Jellinek in the work just cited, pp. 103 ff.

§ 1046. Balto-Slavonic.

In Baltic Idg. *-mai* or *-māi* remains: Lith. reflex. *velmẽ-s(i)* (§ 511 p. 76), Pruss. *as-mai* 'I am'. Cp. § 983 p. 522.

The perfect *-aḡ* or *-oḡ* occurs in the single form O.C.Sl. *věd-ě* 'I know'.

2ND PERSON SINGULAR.

§ 1047. Protoethnic Indo-Germanic.

(1) Primary ending *-saḡ* or *-səḡ*. Skr. *bhāra-sē*, Gr. *φέρεαι φέρεη*, Goth. *batra-za*; thematic Conj. Skr. *maq-s-a-sē* Gr. *βιή-σ-ε-αι* (Theogn.), long-vowel Conj. Skr. *bhār-ā-sē* Gr. *φέρηαι φέρεη*. Skr. *da-t-sē dha-t-sē*, Gr. *δί-δο-σαι τί-θε-σαι*, Lith. *dāsi desē-s* O.C.Sl. *dasi*.

The same ending in the Perfect: Skr. *da-di-śē ri-rik-śē*, Gr. *δέ-δο-σαι λέ-λειπαι*.

(2) Secondary endings *-so* and *-thēs*, the latter connected with perf. act. *-tha* (§ 984.3 p. 523), and recalling Gr. *-μῶν* (§ 1041.2 p. 528). Originally it would seem that *-so* belonged only to thematic and *-thēs* only to unthematic stems.

(a) *-so*. Avest. *bara-ŋha*, Gr. *φέρσο φέρου ἐ-φέρτο ἐ-φέρου*, Lat. *sequere*. Possibly also Idg. *-se*, see § 1082.1.

(b) *-thēs*. Skr. *á-di-thās*, Gr. *ἐ-δό-θης*. *s*-Aor. Skr. *á-śramiṣ-thās* from *śram-* 'to grow tired' Gr. *ἐ-κρεμάσθης* from *κρέμα-μαι* 'I hang'. O.Ir. *cluín-te* 'exaudi'.

§ 1048. Aryan. On *-sya* in the imperative see § 968 p. 510.

(1) Primary ending, pr. Ar. *-saj*. Skr. *bhára-sē* Avest. *bara-ŋhē*. Conj. Skr. *pychā-sē* Avest. *per'sā-ŋhē*; on *-sai* in the Skr. conjunctive, see § 922 p. 470. Skr. *brā-ṣē ky-ṇu-ṣē*, Avest. *raosē* beside 3rd sing. injunct. Gath. *raostā* (from *rud-* 'to grow'). Perfect Skr. *dadi-ṣē*.

(2) In the Secondary endings Sanskrit and Avestic do not go together; the former has only pr. Ar. *-thās*, the latter only pr. Ar. *-sa*. Skr. *á-ky-thās á-dhat-thās á-dhūnu-thās janiṣ-thās*, opt. *vāyrdhī-thās bhārē-thās*, pret. *á-bhara-thās*. Avest. *a-yasa-ŋha* (cp. Skr. *á-yacha-thās*), Gathic *aoyēā* beside 3rd sing. *aog'dā* (I § 482 p. 356), *dā-ŋha* (but Skr. *á-dhi-thās*), opt. *daiḍī-ša baraē-ša* (but Skr. *dadhī-thās bhārē-thās*).

§ 1049. Greek.

(1) Primary ending *-σαι*. ἦσαι 'thou sittest' for *ἦσ-σαι (§ 494 p. 54), *δίδο-σαι δάμ-να-σαι*. *φέρσαι φέρη,*¹⁾ conj. *φέρηαι φέρη*. Perf. *γέγραπαι δέδο-σαι μέμνη-σαι*. That the 2nd sing. imper. of the *s*-Aorist, as *λέξαι*, comes in here, we saw in § 910 Rem. p. 460, § 969.2 p. 511.

(2) Of the two secondary endings, *-θης* holds its ground in the Present of Classes I and X and in the *s*-Aorist, as *ἐ-δό-θης* = Skr. *á-di-thās* (3rd sing. *ē-do-ro* = Skr. *á-di-ta*) *ἐ-κτά-θης* = Skr. *á-kṣa-thās* (3rd sing. *ē-kṣa-ro* = Skr. *á-kṣa-ta*), *ἐ-βλή-θης*

1) On the supposed middle forms in *-ει*, see Meisterhans Gramm. d. att. Inschr.² 131, the Author, Gr. Gr.³ p. 147.

(3rd sing. ἔβλη-το), ἐ-μείχθης (3rd sing. ἔ-μεικτο for *ἐ-μεικ-σ-το. On these forms is founded the whole "Weak" passive aorist ἐ-δόθη-ν etc. See § 589 pp. 130 f.

The only suffix which remained in living use was -σ; and this, as in Avestic, spread to unthematic stems. ἐ-φέρει-ο ἐ-φέρου, injunct. imper. φέρε-ο φέρον. ἔ-θρε-ο ἔθου (beside ἐ-τέ-θης), injunct. imper. θέ-ο θού, ἦσο for *ἦσ-σο, ἐ-δίδο-σο, ἐ-γέγραψο ἐ-δέδο-σο, ἐ-δεῖξα-ο (ἰδεῖξω Dor. ἐδεῖξα), opt. θεί-ο φέροι-ο.

The σ of -σαι and -σο of course dropt in pr. Greek after vowels (I § 564 p. 420 f.). In Attic on the analogy of forms such as γέγραψαι ἐγέγραψο, the σ was restored in the perfect, pluperfect, and unthematic present and imperfect, with a very few exceptions of which one is ἐδύνω : δέδοσαι δίδουσι ἐδέδωσο ἐδίδωσο ἴστασαι etc. Homer has still the unrestored forms, βέβληαι plpf. ἔσσο διζῆαι ἐμάρναο imper. παρ-ίσταο, side by side with δύνουσαι παρ-ίστασαι imper. ἴστασο. The aorist everywhere kept clear of this tendency: Att. ἔθου ἐδείξω.

In later times, the vulgar dialect used -σαι with thematic stems as well, e. g. in the N.Test. πίσειαι.

§ 1050. Italic. Latin keeps -so in the form -re (I § 81 p. 73): — *seque-re*: Gr. ἔπε-ο, *rē-re vidē-re fabulā-re*, conj. *sequā-re*.

Side by side with -re there is a variant -ris, found everywhere except in the imperative; e. g. *sequeris*. The reason for this formation, which is analogical, is that *agis* and *age* were associated as being both second person. In the older language, -re is still commoner than the other.

As regards *sequere sequeris* the student may further compare the remarks in § 1082 on Osc. *vincer*.

Inscriptions also have -rus, as *spatiārus ūlārus*. I offer the following conjecture as to this ending. We may suppose that at the time when **spatiā-so* was the form, a suffix *-so-r arose answering to *-to-r -tur in the 3rd singular,¹⁾ and that

1) *-so-r *-rur beside *-so -re like O.Ir. -the-r beside -the (§ 1051).

*-*rur* changed to -*rus* following -*ris*. This I think more probable than supposing that -*ris* changed to -*rus* on the analogy of -*ur* and -*tur*. Compare further p. 577 footnote.

§ 1051. Keltic. Irish retains Idg. -*thēs*.

-*the* for *-*thēs* in the injunctive with imperative function, as *cluinn-te* 'exaudi'; this is found almost exclusively with verbs which are altogether or mostly deponent in flexion. See § 909 p. 458.

-*ther*, made up of -*the* + the deponent suffix -*r*, appears in the conjugation of deponents; e. g. pres. indic. -*sechther* 'sequeris' conj. -*sechther* 'sequeris'. In the s-aorist *-*s-thēs* became -*sse*, and with -*r* -*sser*; as *ro-sudigser* from *sudigim* 'pono', like Skr. *janiṣ-ṭhas*.

§ 1052. Germanic. Here only -*saī* can be traced, Goth. -*za* (cp. III § 263 Rem. p. 165 f., Hirt, Idg. Forsch. I 217): *salbō-za* cp. Gr. perf. *τε-τίμη-σαι* Lat. injunct. pres. *amā-re*; *baīra-za* (*a* as the thematic vowel, as in 3rd sing. *baīra-da*, comes from the plural *baīrandā* in all probability): cp. Gr. *πέπε-αι*.

The ending -*zau* in opt. *baīrdi-zau* is, like -*dau* in the 3rd sing. and -*ndau* in 3rd plural, obscure. Compare imper. *at-steigadau liugandau*, § 970 p. 511.

§ 1053. Balto-Slavonic. Here also the only suffix is -*saī*, with active meaning.

In Lithuanian, it occurs with unthematic verbs, as *desē(-s)* for **det-sē*: Skr. *dhatsē*; Pruss. *seggē-sai* 'thou doest'. See § 991 p. 528.

In Old Church Slavonic, also with verbs in -*mi*, as *dasi* 'givest' for **dō-t-saī*: Skr. *datsē*. See *ibid*.

3RD PERSON SINGULAR.

§ 1054. Proethnic Indo-Germanic.

(1) Primary ending -*taī* or -*tāī*. Skr. *ās-tē* Gr. *ἦσ-ται*. Skr. *ṛ-ṇu-tē* Gr. *ῥρ-vv-ται*. Gr. *ᾶη-ται* Lesb. *ποίη-ται* *τίμᾶ-ται* Goth. *salbō-da*. Skr. *bhāra-tē* Gr. *πέπε-ται* Goth. *baīra-da*.

Thematic Conjunct.: Skr. *kar-a-tē mā-s-a-tē* Gr. *φθί-ε-ται ἀμείψ-ε-ται*. Long-vowel Conjunct.: Skr. *manyā-tē* Gr. *μαίνη-ται*.

(2) Secondary ending *-to*. Skr. *á-di-ta* Gr. *ἔ-δο-το* Lat. *da-tu-r*. Skr. *á-stō-ṣ-ṭa* Gr. *ἔμεικτο* for **ἔ-μεικ-σ-το*. Opt. Skr. *dadhī-tá* Gr. *τιθεῖ-το* Lat. *du-tu-r*, Skr. *bhárē-ta* Gr. *φέροι-το*. Skr. *á-bhara-ta* Gr. *ἐ-φίρε-το* Lat. *agi-tu-r*. Conj. Lat. *ferā-tu-r* O.Ir. *do-berthar*.

-to also in Venetian: *zo-to* 'ἔδοτο', *zonas-to* 'ἐδωρήσατο, donavit'. See p. 53 footnote 2. In Armenian Bugge (Idg. Forsch. I 440) sees *-to* in the *-v* of the 3rd sing. aor. II mid., as *cnav* 'natus est' for **genā-to*, cp. 3rd pl. *cna-n* § 1066. I also conjecture *-to* in such forms as Lith. *rims-ta*, see footnote to p. 216.

On the strength of Osc. *-ter* beside Lat. *-tur* = *-to + r*, e. g. *vincter* 'vincitur', we should perhaps assume another Idg. form *-te* beside *-to* (and similarly in the 3rd pl. *-nte* beside *-nto*), see § 1082.

(3) *-ai* or *-ei* in the Perfect: Skr. *ca-kr-é da-dh-é*.

In § 1041.3 p. 560 I said that *-ē* in Skr. 1st sing. *dī-dviṣ-ē* is doubtless connected with *-i* = *-ə* in the 1st sing. *á-dviṣ-i*. If so, we must connect *-ē* in 3rd sing. *didviṣ-é* with *-i* in 3rd sing. aor. mid. pass., as ai. *á-vāc-i*; all the more because the root-vowel so strikingly recalls the Skr. 3rd sing. perf. act. (*u-vāc-a*). Compare § 905 p. 453.

§ 1055. Aryan. As regards *-am* and *-tām* in the Imperative, see § 968.2 p. 510.

(1) Primary ending Ar. *-taij*. Skr. *vás-tē* Avest. *vas-tē* (from *vas-* 'to clothe oneself'), Skr. *dhattē* Avest. Gath. *dazdē* (I § 482 Rem. 1 p. 356). Skr. *bhára-tē* Avest. *baraitē* O.Pers. *gauba-taiy* 'is called'. Conj. Skr. *yam-a-tē* Avest. *yamaitē* (from *yam-* 'cohibere'), Skr. *yáj-ā-tē* Avest. *yazaitē* O.Pers. *gaubā-taiy*; on *-tāi* in the Skr. Conj. see § 922 p. 470.

(2) Secondary ending Ar. *-ta*. Skr. *á-bra-ta* Avest. Gath. *mrū-tā*, Skr. *á-ha-ta* O.Pers. *a-ja-tā*. s-Aor. Skr. *á-praṣṭa* Avest. Gath. *fraṣṭā* from $\sqrt{\text{prek-}}$ (§ 814 p. 352). Skr. *á-bhara-ta* Avest. *bara-ta* O.Pers. *a-naya-tā* 'was led'.

Opt. ai. *bruvī-tá* Avest. Gath. *mrvi-tā* Skr. *dadhi-tá* Avest. *daiṣti-ta*, Skr. *bhárē-ta* Avest. *baraē-ta*.

(3) Perfect Ar. *-aḫ*. Skr. *da-dhr-ē* Avest. Gath. *dā-dr-ē*, Skr. *da-dh-ē* Avest. *daiḍ-ē*. The *-i* of Skr. *á-vāc-i* Avest. Gath. *a-vāc-i* may be regarded as in some degree the secondary ending of this *-aḫ*; see § 1054. 3.

It is not uncommon to find Ar. *-taḫ* and *-aḫ* interchanging, in consequence of the close connexion between Present and Perfect. Thus on the one hand we have Skr. *īṣ-ṭē* instead of *īṣ-ē* (Avest. *is-ē*, Goth. act. *dih*, § 848. 1 p. 391).¹⁾ On the other hand, Skr. *bruv-ē* Avest. *mruyē* i. e. *mruvē* instead of *mrū-tē* *mrūitē*, Skr. *śṛuv-ē* instead of *śṛnu-tē*. There is the same confusion in the 3rd pl. (§ 1078. 1). Compare also act. *nō-nav-a* beside *nō-navi-ti* § 850 p. 398. There is nothing to prevent forms like Skr. *bruv-ē* from being called an unreduplicated perfect.

§ 1056. Greek. On the imper. *-σθω* see § 966 p. 506 f.

(1) Primary ending *-ται* (Boeot. *-τη* Thess. *-ται* I § 96 p. 90). *ἴστα-ται φέρε-ται*, conj. *ἀμείψε-ται φέρη-ται*. Arcad. *-τοι* instead of *-ται*, but (notwithstanding O. Hoffmann, Die griech. Dial. I 180 f.) this comes from the analogy of *-το*.

Even in pr. Greek perf. *δέδο-ται πέπυσται* following the present (cp. Skr. *īṣ-ṭē* instead of *īṣ-ē* § 1055. 3), just as *δέδο-μαι* follows *ἴδο-μαι* (§ 1043 p. 560).

(2) Secondary ending *-το* (Cypr. *-rv* I § 80 p. 71): *ἴστα-το ἐ-φάρε-το*, opt. *τιθεῖ-το φέροι-το*.

§ 1057. Italic. Here we have *-to* with *-r*. Lat. *da-tu-r*: Gr. *δό-το*. *sequi-tu-r*: Gr. *ἔπε-το*. As to Osc. *-ter* see § 1054. 2 p. 564, § 1082.

§ 1058.²⁾ Keltic. Probably only *-to*.

First in the 3rd sing. of the *t*-preterite, as O.Ir. *as-bert*

1) Compare the change of Upper-Germ. *er weiss* to *er weisst* and of O.Fris. *āch* 'he has' (= got. *dih*) to *ācht*.

2) Whoever assumes with Zimmer that the 3rd pl. act. *berit* represents both **beronti* and mid. **berontai* (see § 1024 p. 552) may also regard 3rd sing. *sechidir* and 3rd pl. *sechitir* as representing *-tai+r* and *-ntai+r*.

dixit', which is followed by 1st sing. *-burt* etc. after *-t* became part of the stem; see § 506 pp. 72 f.

Next, in the middle ending *-thar* for *-to+r*, as conj. *doberthar*: Lat. *ferā-tur*.

§ 1059. Germanic. Only *-tai* remains. Goth. *háita-da* A.S. *hätte* for **haita-ðai*, Goth. *salbō-da*. See § 1045 p. 560. *-a-* is the thematic vowel, as in the 2nd sing. *háita-za* § 1052 p. 563.

The ending *-dau* in Goth. opt. *bairái-dau* (also used as 1st sing.) is obscure. Compare *bairái-zau*, loc. cit.

1ST PERSON PLURAL.

§ 1060. Proethnic Indo-Germanic. We may suppose that *-medhai* or *-medhəi* = Skr. *-mahē* is the Primary, and *medhə* = Skr. *-mahi* Gr. *-μεθα* the Secondary ending, e. g. pres. Skr. *bhārā-mahē* pret. Skr. *á-bharā-mahi* Gr. *ἐ-φερό-μεθα*. Compare § 973 p. 515 f.

Goth. *bairanda* is doubtless 3rd pl. and not for **bira-mda* **-midai* (§ 1071).

As to *-mmedhai* (Avest. *hišc-amaiðē*), answering to act. *-mmes*, see § 1001 p. 535 f.

§ 1061. Aryan. Skr. *-mahē -mahi* with *h = dh* is to be explained like the imper. ending *-hi* beside *-dhi*, see § 960 p. 503.

(1) Primary ending Skr. *-mahē* Avest. *-maiðē*. Skr. *bhārā-mahē* Avest. *barā-maiðē*. Conj. Skr. *saniṣā-mahē* Avest. *cinapā-maiðē* (beside *cinas-ti* 'he teaches' § 626 p. 163); on Skr. conj. forms like *yājāmahāi* see § 922 p. 470.

The same ending in the Perfect: Skr. *mumuc-māhē*.

(2) Secondary ending Skr. *-mahi* Avest. Gath. *-maiðī*. Skr. *á-yuj-mahi*, s-Aor. Skr. *á-ga-s-mahi* (from *gam-* 'to go') Avest. *a-mēhmaidī* (from *man-* 'to think', § 815 p. 353). Opt. Skr. *bhārē-mahi* Avest. *barōi-maiðī*.

In late Avestic *-maiðē* is also used as secondary (just the opposite in Greek, § 1062), e. g. opt. *barōi-maiðē*.

§ 1062. Greek. Only *-μεθα*, the secondary ending, is kept, and used for both primary and perfect suffix as well as secondary. *ὀρ-νί-μεθα φερό-μεθα, ἐ-φερό-μεθα, φερού-μεθα*, perf. *πεπύσμεθα*.

Homer. *-μεσθαι* with *σ* by analogy of *-σθε -σθον -σθην*.

Remark. V. Henry (*Mém. Soc. Ling.* vi 73 f.) thinks that Greek once had in the active *φέρουμε*: **ιφερομε*, and at this period the type *φερόμεσ-θα* was produced on the analogy of *ιφερούμε-θα*; after that *-μεσθα* was employed as secondary as well as primary.

Aeol. *-μεθεν*, only known through the grammarians, appears to be modelled upon *-μεν* (*-μεθεν*: *-μεν* = *-σθε*: *-τε*). Compare 3rd pl. Thess. *-νθει-ν* § 1068.

2ND PERSON PLURAL.

§ 1063. Proethnic Indo-Germanic. All that can be fairly inferred from Ar. *-dhyaī* (primary) *-dhvam* (secondary) and Gr. *-σθε* (both) is that the original ending contained *dh*. It is phonetically possible to derive Gr. *-σθε* from **-σθφε*. The original ending of the suffix may perhaps be that shewn by Aryan. It is possible that Gr. *-σθον* was orig. 2nd plural (*-σθον* = Skr. *-dhvam*), and turned into a dual because of the dual meaning of *φέρετον*; after which *-σθε* was made for the plural to match *-τε*.

Remark. The *σ* of *-σθε* is the most obscure part of this suffix. Three explanations are possible.

(1) The suffix originally began with *-zdh-*, which became Gr. *-σθ-*. In Aryan *z* dropt between consonants, and the type thus produced became general.

(2) It orig. began with *-dh-*. Then Gr. *ῥσ-θε πέπυσ-θε* come straight from it. In mentally analysing these forms, *σ* was conceived to be part of the suffix; whence *φέρε-σθε* etc. On this supposition it remains doubtful whether such forms as *ἔπαρθε ἔσταλθε περύλαχθε* still have the orig. suffix, without the intrusive *σ*, or whether they once had *σ* and it disappeared as it regularly would.

(3) There was a double suffix, with initial *-zdh-* or *-dh-*; and each of the two types was preferred by certain languages.

Compare Bartholomae, *Rhein. Mus.* XLV 153.

§ 1064. Aryan. On Skr. *-dhvad* imper., see § 965 p. 506.

(1) Primary ending Ar. *-dhyaī -dhuyai*: Skr. *-dhvē*, also *-dhuvē* in Vedic, Avest. *-duyē* i. e. *-duvē*. Skr. *anag-dhvē*

(from *anák-ti* 'he smears, anoints') Avest. Gath. *mer'rag'-duyē* (from *marc-* 'to destroy', § 626 p. 162). Conjunctive Skr. *kāmāyā-dhvē*; as regards *-dhvāi* in the conj., see § 922 p. 470.

The same ending in the Perfect: *bubudhi-dhvē*.

(2) Secondary ending. Ar. *-dhyam -dhuṣam*: Skr. *-dhvam*, also *-dhuvam* in Vedic, Avest. *-āwem -dūm* (I § 159 p. 142). Skr. *á-bhara-dhvam* Avest. *bara-āwem*. Avest. *s-aorist* Gath. *brā-z-dūm* from *trā-* 'to push through' (§ 813 p. 351).

§ 1065. Greek. Always *-σθε*, see § 1063. *φέρεσθε ἡσθε* *ἐ-φέρε-σθε* *φέρου-σθε*. Perfect *πέπυσθε*.

Perf. *πέφανθε* beside 1st sing. *πέφασμαι* 3rd sing. *πέφανται* is doubtless a transformation of **πέφασθε* on the lines of *ἔσπαρθε* beside *ἔσπαρθαι*; see § 862 p. 411.

3RD PERSON PLURAL.

§ 1066. Proethnic Indo-Germanic.

(1) After consonants *-ntai* or *-ntāi* and *-nto*.

(a) Primary ending *-ntai* or *-ntāi*. Skr. *ds-atē* Gr. Hom. *ἦ-αται*, Skr. *dá-dh-atē pu-n-atē ta-nv-atē*.

(b) Secondary ending *-nto*. Skr. *ds-ata* Gr. Hom. *ἦ-ατο*. Skr. *á-kṛ-ṇv-ata*, *s-Aor. á-dṛkṣ-ata*. Opt. Gr. *γερσί-αρο*.

(2) After sonants *-ntai* or *-ntāi* and *-nto*.

(a) Primary ending *-ntai* or *-ntāi*. Skr. *bhára-ntē* Gr. *φέρο-νται* Goth. *baira-nda*. Thematic Conj. Skr. *mā-s-a-ntē* Gr. Hom. *ἐπ-εντίνο-νται* (*ἐπ-εντίνω* 'I arrange'). Long-vowel Conjunctive Avest. *hacā-ntē* Gr. *ἔνω-νται*. Gr. *ἄλζη-νται* Lesb. *πρo-νόη-νται τίμω-νται* Goth. *salbō-nda*.

(b) Secondary ending *-nto*. Skr. *á-bhara-nta* Gr. *ἐ-φέρο-ντο* Lat. *feruntu-r* O.Ir. *do-bertar*. Conj. Lat. *fera-ntu-r* O.Ir. *do-bertar*. Gr. *ἔμ-πλη-ντο* Lat. *im-ple-ntu-r planta-ntu-r*.

-nto is conjectured by Bugge (Idg. Forsch. i 440) in the *-n* of the Armen. 3rd pl. aor. II mid., as *cna-n* 'nati sunt' for **gēnā-nto*.

On account of Oscan forms of the 3rd plural like *karanter* 'pascuntur' beside Lat. *-ntur* = *-nto+r*, we should perhaps

assume an Idg. form *-nte -nte* beside *-nto -nto* (similarly in the 3rd sing. *-te* beside *-to*), see § 1082.

(3) Perfect. What connexion there is between the Aryan forms, as Skr. *du-duh-rē ja-gm-i-rē*, and O.Ir. *do-mēn-atar* (Gr. *τεράφ-αται*) is still a riddle. See §§ 1076 ff.

§ 1067. Aryan. On the Imperative in *-atām -ntām* see § 968 p. 510.

(1) After sonants Ar. *-atai -ata*.

(a) Primary ending *-atai*. Skr. *vās-atē, indh-atē indh-ātē*, Avest. *mer^{nc}-aitē*.

(b) Secondary ending *-ata*. Skr. *á-gm-ata á-tanv-ata*, Avest. Gath. *dar's-atā* (✓ *derk-*).

In Avestic *-aitē -ata* as a rule gave way to *-antē -anta*, which mark the plural number better; cp. act. *daṭ-enti* as contrasted with Skr. *dádih-ati* § 1018. 1. b p. 545. E. g. *ārahantē dadentē ver^{nc}nvaintē* (Skr. *ās-atē dádih-atē vṛnv-ātē*), *mravanta* (3rd sing. *mrāo-tā mrū-ta*), opt. *barayanta*.

As regards O.Pers. *ahatā* 'erant' it is impossible to say whether it ought to be spelt with a nasal or not (I § 197 Rem. p. 166).

(2) After sonants Ar. *-ntai -nta*.

(a) Primary ending *-ntai*. Skr. *bhāra-ntē*, Avest. *bara-ntē*. Short-vowel Conjunctive Skr. *nā-s-a-ntē* (from *nam-* 'to bend, bow oneself'), long-vowel Avest. *yazd-ntē*. On *-ntai* in the Skr. Conjunctive see § 922 p. 470.

(b) Secondary ending *-nta*. Skr. *á-bhara-nta*, Avest. *yaze-nta* O.Pers. *a-baratā* (read *abarantā*).

(3) In the Perfect we have an *r*-ending, Skr. *-rē* Avest. *-rē*, see § 1078. 1. Observe that in Sanskrit this ending crept into the Present like the *-ē* of the 3rd sing. (§ 1055. 3 p. 565). e. g. *duh-rē sunv-i-rē*.

§ 1068. Greek. On imper. *-σθω -σθων -σθωσαν* see § 966 p. 506 f.

(1) After consonants *-αται -ατο*.

(a) Primary ending *-αται*. Hom. *ῆ-αται* for **ῆσ-αται*,

κέ-αται for *κελ-αται (variant κείαται with κει- following κεί-μαι etc., see I § 130 p. 117 f.), εἰρύ-αται.

(b) Secondary ending -ατο. Hom. ἦ-ατο κεί-ατο εἰρύ-ατο. Opt. Hom. and elsewhere γενό-ατο ἐπι-φρασσά-ατο ἐπι-σταί-ατο, whose diphthongs οι and αι are to be explained like κεί-αται (a), δαινό-ατο = -νυ-ατο (§ 944 p. 487).

-αται -ατο are special favourites in the Perfect system, where they occur even in Attic prose; e. g. τετεύχ-αται γεγράφ-αται ἐ-τετάχ-ατο (cp. § 898 p. 446).

Instead of *τιθ-αται *διδ-αται (Skr. dá-dh-atē) we have τίθε-νται δίδο-νται (2), as act. τίθει-ντι instead of *τιθ-αται (§ 1020. 1. b p. 547).

(2) After sonants -νται -ντο.

(a) Primary ending -νται. φέρο-νται. Conj. φέρω-νται. δίζη-νται Lesb. προ-νόη-νται.

(b) Secondary ending -ντο. ἰ-φέρο-ντο. πλη-ντο = *πλᾶν-το pres. πλάζω, ἔμ-πλη-ντο from plē- 'fill'.

Of the same kind are perf. μέμνη-νται δεδούλω-νται ἰ-μέμνη-ντο.

Wherever a long vowel precedes -νται -ντο it was previously short, as it should be (I § 611 p. 461). Compare opt. -πλήτο μεμνήμην § 944 p. 488. With φέρονται cp. act. φέροντι § 923 p. 471.

Both -αται -ατο and -νται -ντο overstep their proper boundaries in one or more dialects. In Ionic the former pair are applied to stems in α, ε, or ο; as Hom. βεβλή-αται βεβλή-ατο instead of βέβλη-νται βέβλη-ντο, late Ion. πιπονέαται (for -ηαται) and τιθέ-αται διδό-αται, cp. act. τιθέ-ασι (§ 1021. 4 p. 549). On the other hand, -νται -ντο are added to stems in ι and υ in Attic and elsewhere, sometimes in Ionic itself; e. g. κεί-νται ἔκει-ντο λύ-ντο ἄγνυ-νται (should be *ἀγνυ-αται, cp. Skr. aśnuv-atē) εἰρυν-το, opt. γίνοι-ντο τιθεῖ-ντο, with which compare 1st sing. ἔφϋ-ν (§ 979. 3 p. 520) and opt. 1st sing. φέροι-ν (*ibid.*) and 3rd pl. φέροι-ν (§ 1020. 1. b p. 547). Further, ἦνται ἦντο beside ἦαται ἦατο, since ἦμαι ἦμεθα (for *ἦσ-μαι *ἦσ-μεθα) were regarded as similar in structure to ἄη-μαι etc.

Boeotian and Thessalian have ϑ in place of τ in the 3rd plural endings, as Boeot. $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\rho\sigma\tau\epsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\vartheta\eta$ (= Ion. $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\iota$) $\acute{\epsilon}\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\nu\vartheta\omicron$ Thess. $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\nu\vartheta\omicron$; and Boeotian has ϑ in the active endings too, $\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu\vartheta\iota$ $\delta\iota\delta\acute{\omicron}\alpha\nu\vartheta\iota$. It may be suggested that ϑ came in from the middle endings $-\mu\epsilon\vartheta\alpha$ and $-\sigma\vartheta\epsilon$, and in Boeotian had spread from the 3rd pl. middle to the 3rd pl. active.

In Thessalian we get $-\nu\vartheta\epsilon\iota-\nu$ as a primary ending, in which $-\nu$ probably came from the active; cp. § 1062 p. 567 on $-\mu\epsilon\vartheta\epsilon\nu$. Example: $\acute{\epsilon}\varphi\alpha\nu\gamma\rho\acute{\epsilon}\nu\vartheta\epsilon\iota\nu$.

§ 1069. Italic. Here we have $-nto + -r$. Lat. *feru-ntur ama-ntur*, Umbr. *ema-ntur* 'emantur'. On Osc. *kara-nter* see § 1066. 2. *b* p. 568.

§ 1070.¹⁾ Keltic. Here too we have $-nto + r$, as O.Ir. *do-bertar* 'dantur': Lat. *feru-ntur*. Beside this $-nto$ without $-r$ is possibly contained in *do-berat* 'dant', see § 1024 p. 552.

§ 1071. Germanic. $-ntai$ or $-ntæ$ in Goth. *batra-nda salbō-nda*, used for both 1st and 2nd plural (cp. § 1060 p. 566).

An obscure form is $-ndau$ in the opt. *batrái-ndau* (also used for both 1st and 2nd plural); cp. § 1052 p. 563.

PERSONS OF THE DUAL MIDDLE.

§ 1072. 1st Person. Aryan alone has any special suffix; Skr. prim. $-vahē$ sec. $-vahi$, which if we judge by $-mahē$ $-mahi$ will be derived from $*-medhai$ or $*-medhæ$ and $*-medhə$. E. g. *bhāra-vahē* opt. *bhārē-vahi*; on $-vahai$ in Conjunctive forms like *sacāvahai* see § 922 p. 470.

Greek. $-\mu\epsilon\vartheta\omicron\nu$, only found in rare instances and questionable at that, is doubtless a transformation of $-\mu\epsilon\vartheta\alpha$ made to match the ending of $-\sigma\vartheta\omicron\nu$.

§ 1073. 2nd and 3rd Person. Here there is hardly anything to do but to present the facts. Aryan alone shows suffixes that can have any claim to be regarded as original.

§ 1074. Aryan. Skr. primary 2nd dual $-athē$ 3rd dual $-atē$,

1) See footnote 2 to § 1058 p. 565, above.

secondary 2nd dual *-āthām* 3rd dual *-ātām* in unthematic stems. Indic. pres. *diviṣ-āthē -ātē*, imperf. *á-diviṣ-āthām á-diviṣ-ātām*. It has the primary endings in the Perfect, *cakr-āthē -ātē*. In Avestic the same stems have the secondary 3rd dual *-ātem* = pr. Ar. **-ātam*: *a-sru-ātem* von *sru-* 'hear'. In Vedic are other secondary endings, *-īthām -ītām*: 2nd dual injunct. aor. *trā-s -īthām* 3rd dual indic. aor. *á-dh-ītām*.

Skr. primary 2nd dual *-ēthē* 3rd dual *-ētē*, secondary 2nd dual *-ēthām* 3rd dual *-ētām* in thematic stems. Indic. pres. *bhárēthē bhárētē*, imperf. *á-bharēthām á-bharētām*. On the Conjunctives *bhárāithē bhárāitē* see § 922 p. 470. In Avestic there is a 3rd dual indic. pres. *vaenōipē*, answering to the form of the Skr. 2nd dual; but injunct. 3rd dual *jasātem*.

Rarely Skr. *-thē* etc. without any preceding vowel in the ending itself. Skr. 2nd dual indic. perf. *ci-ké-thē*, 3rd dual indic. pres. *patya-tē* conj. aor. *yam-a-tē*, 2nd dual injunct. *dī-dhī-thām*. Similarly Avest. 3rd dual indic. perf. *dazdē* = **dha-dh-tai*.

See further details in Bartholomae, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxix 283 ff.; Jackson, Amer. Or. Soc. Proceed., Oct. 1889, p. CLXV.

§ 1076. Greek. Indic. pres. 2nd dual *φέρε-σθον* 3rd dual *φέρε-σθον*, imperf. 2nd dual *ἐ-φέρε-σθον* (*ἐ-φερέ-σθην*) 3rd dual *ἐ-φερέ-σθην* (*ἐ-φέρε-σθον*) answering to the active *φέρε-τον* etc., see § 1033 p. 556, § 1039 p. 558. Possibly *φέρε-σθον* was originally 2nd plural (§ 1063 p. 567), and caused *-σθων* to be made on the model of *-τῶν*.

ARYAN, ITALIC, AND KELTIC ENDINGS WITH R.¹⁾

§ 1076. In this section we discuss those endings of the Aryan, Italic, and Keltic branches which consist of, or contain, the suffix *-r*.

Remark. It is not impossible, but certainly it is unlikely, that the *r* which we noticed in the 2nd and 3rd singular in Armenian has the same origin (§ 986 Rem. p. 524).

1) These have been more fully treated by Windisch and Zimmer in their essays cited on pages 512 and 513.

Italic and Keltic are very much alike in these endings. Aryan is quite different; and it has not yet been shewn which best represents the parent language, or how the present variation came about. Perhaps *r* was originally a perfect suffix; for the perfect has peculiar endings in other of its persons. But whether *r* properly belonged to the 3rd plural, or denoted an indefinite subject or subjects, such as *one says*, *one comes*, or what, it is at present quite impossible to say. Certain *r*-forms in both Italic and Keltic appear to belong to the separate history of those branches.

I shall not indulge in any speculations as to the earliest value of this *r*. The latest discussion may be seen in Johansson's paper, Bezz. Beitr. xviii 49.

§ 1077. Aryan shows it almost exclusively in the 3rd plural (exceptions are the 2nd and 3rd dual perf. act. in *-athur* *-atur* in Sanskrit).

The Active voice has it in the 3rd pl. perfect, aorist, and optative, with exception of the 2nd and 3rd dual perfect.

First as regards the usage in the 3rd plural. Here *-r* sometimes is the only personal suffix and sometimes it is combined with *s*. Tracing the forms back to protoethnic Aryan, we get four:

(1) *-r* = Avest. *-r'*: opt. *hyā-r'* 'sint', a later re-formate with the strong opt. suffix *-yā-* (§ 1018. 2 p. 546).

(2) *-rr* (the form taken by *r* before sonants) = Skr. *-ur* Avest. *-ar'* (I § 290 p. 233): perf. Skr. *ās-úr* Avest. *ānōh-ar'*, aor. Skr. *á-dh-ur* Avest. Gath. *d-ar'*, opt. Skr. *sy-úr* *bhārēy-ur*. But Skr. *-ur* may be equated with Avest. *-er's* (4).

(3) *-rš* = Avest. *-r's*: opt. *daiṇyā-r's*, a new form like *hyā-r'* (1).

(4) *-rš* = Avest. *-er's*: perf. *cikōit-er's* (§ 850 p. 397, § 852 p. 402). This form may also be the origin of Skr. *-ur*, compare gen. abl. Skr. *matúr* with Avest. *ner's* III § 235 pp. 125 f.

Exceptionally Skr. *-ur* appears in the indic. present as well, as *duh-úr* 'they milk'. But this formation, 3rd pl. mid. *duh-ré* and

3rd sing. mid. *duh-ē*, may if you will be called an unreduplicated perfect. In any case *duh-ūr* does not justify our assuming that *r* originally belonged to the indic. present.

The combinations Skr. *-atur* Avest. *-atar*^s in the 3rd dual, and Skr. *-athur* in the 2nd dual, are without doubt peculiar to Aryan; see § 1038 p. 557 f.

§ 1078. In the Middle and Passive *r* is found only with the 3rd plural, and only combined with other elements, added after it, which usually appear as middle and passive suffixes in other connexions.

(1) *-raī* in the 3rd pl. perf., and by analogy in the 3rd pl. present, is proethnic in Aryan. Skr. *du-duh-rē da-dh-rē*, pres. or unreduplicated perf. *duh-rē* (cp. *duh-ūr* § 1077); Skr. *śē-rē* Avest. *saē-rē sōi-rē* 'they lie' (cp. 3rd sing. *śāy-ē* beside *śē-tē*). In Sanskrit *-rē* is generally preceded by *-i* = Idg. *-ə*, regularly so in Vedic with a long stem-syllable (cp. § 844 p. 385), as *iś-i-rē ja-jñ-i-rē* (cp. Avest. *vaoz-i-rem* under 2.); so also pres. *śṛṇv-i-rē* (cp. 2nd sing. *śṛṇv-i-śē* § 853 p. 403). *-irē* became a new suffix and in classical Sanskrit was the only one used for the Perfect, as *duduh-irē cikriy-irē* (pres. *śay-irē* beside *śē-ratē*). By analogy of forms like *duduh-rē* and like *ja-jñ-irē* we have in Vedic *duduh-rirē jagybh-rirē*, and others.

In Avestic *-rē* passed into the *a*-Conjunctive: *āsha-rē* beside indic. *as-tē* 'sits'.

Ar. *-raī* seems to have the same relation to act. *-r* (*-r*) as *-ntaī* to *-nt*, 3rd sing. *-taī* to *-t* and the like.

(2) Further, *-ram* in the augmented preterite is pr. Aryan, as *ā-dṛś-ram a-ṣṛg-ram*, Avest. *vaoz-i-rem* (§ 844 p. 385, § 854 p. 403). *-ram* is usually compared with the middle ending of 2nd pl. *-dhvam*.

The following *r*- suffixes appear in Sanskrit only.

(3) *-ra* in augmented preterite: *ā-duh-ra*. *ā-duh-ra* : *duh-rē* = *ā-duh-ata* : *duh-atē* (*duh-ātē*).

(4) *-ratē* and *-rata*: pres. *duh-ratē śē-ratē*, opt. *maṣ-ī-rata bharē-rata*.

(5) Isolated: *-ranta* in *ā-va-ṽt-ranta*.

(6) *-rām* and (7) *-ratām* in the Imperative: *duh-rām* and *duh-ratām*. Cp. *duh-ātām* § 968.2 p. 510. Lastly

(8) *-ran* in the augmented preterite, as *a-va-ṛt-ran* *á-ca-kr-i-ran* *á-dṛś-ran* *á-śē-ran*, and in the Optative, as *da-dī-ran* *bhárē-ran*. That the ending *-an* is the same as *-an* in the active (for **-ant*) I cannot regard as proved at all. It may be some element not found elsewhere as a personal suffix, of like character with *-s* in the Avestic active ending *-r's*.

§ 1079. As regards the *r*-suffixes in Italic and Keltic, the first remark to be made is that not one of them can be confidently held to have originally had an active meaning. All of them may be explained as originally deponent or passive (cp. § 1081 *sub fin.*).

The Latin suffixes of the 3rd pl. indic. perf. *-erunt* *-ērunt* *-ere* (with *dedrot* etc.) are at least in some degree akin to the Aryan *r*-forms. This has been already pointed out as likely in § 1023 p. 551. But there is no need to believe that the Latin forms have any such basis as the Aryan active forms of the 3rd plural perfect. Since the 1st sing. *tutud-ī* was properly middle, the 3rd plural may be derived from a middle type like that of Skr. *-rē -ra*.

The remaining *r*-forms in Italic and Keltic fall into two groups.

§ 1080. (I) Forms in Umbro-Samnitic and in Keltic where *r* appears to be the only personal suffix.

The Umbro-Samnitic forms seem best translated by aid of the indefinite *one* or *they*. Umbr. *pihafei(r)* 'let them have appeased', Osc. *sakrafir* (with *últiumam* for object) 'let them have consecrated' (§ 874 p. 422, § 926.3 p. 473). Umbr. *ferar* 'let one carry', *ier* 'one will go' possibly for **ier-er* i. e. **e(ī)-es-er* (§ 837 p. 374), *benuso(r)* 'one will have come' (§ 872 p. 421). With Zimmer and Conway, I formerly regarded these as 3rd plural active (Ber. sächs. Ges. der Wiss., 1890, pp. 214 ff.). But, as we infer from a comparison of *sakrafir* with *sakrim fakiia*don the other Oscan inscr. of the same kind (Rhein. Mus. XLIII 557 f.), they may be 3rd singular

deponent. Compare the active and deponent imperatives with *-tu* and *-mu*, used with indefinite subject in the ritual rules of the Iguvine Tables; and the Avest. 3rd sing. *zazan-ti* 'one trains, breeds' and others like it (Bartholomae, *Ar. Forsch.* II 82); and a great deal of illustrative matter may be found in Miklosich's essay on Sentences without a Subject (*Subjectlose Sätze*, 2nd ed. 1883). There is a third possibility. They may be 3rd singular passive, answering to Latin impersonal constructions (*legitur* 'one reads, they read'); Osc. *sakrafir ultiumam* would exactly correspond to Lat. *legitur Vergilium*, *legendum est Vergilium* (see Weisweiler, *Lat. part. fut. pass.*, pp. 70 ff.). The last view is best; it is best supported by Keltic, as will now be shewn.

These Umbro-Samnitic forms run on parallel lines with the Keltic 3rd sing. passive; e. g. O.Ir. *do-berar* 'datur' (also *-berr* because of the two *r*'s, but this syncope is not otherwise found — we only have *-canar*, for example; Zimmer, *Kuhn's Zeitschr.* xxx 252 takes a different view), whose absolute bye-form *berir*, like the 3rd pl. *bertir* beside *do-bertar* (§ 1082), I believe to be a new Keltic developement; imper. *berar* 'should be brought', Mod.Bret. *quemerer* (i. e. **com-berer*) 'is taken', Mod.Cymr. *ni chenir* 'there will be no singing'. Zimmer's view that these Keltic *r*-forms, like the Umbrian and Oscan, are 3rd plural active, has not enough to support it.

Remark 1. Zimmer's attempts to prove that the active indefinite idiom with *one* is kept in Britannic (*loc. cit.*, pp. 237 ff.) fail, according to Thurneysen. "They are proved to fail by the single fact that in expressions like 'he is killed' or 'one kills him' the pronoun which is the object can be left out, even in Cymric, thus shewing that the person is regarded as the subject. Furthermore, Zimmer forgets that the passive preterite to the *r*-forms in Britannic, as in Irish (and in Italic), is represented by the part. passive with *-to-*. This indicates that the *r*-form was regarded as a real passive, possibly in protoethnic Keltic (or, if you will, in Italo-Keltic)."

Remark 2. If we assume these Italo-Keltic *r*-forms to be 3rd sing. deponent or passive, the question arises whether their *-r* came from **-ro*, a form which may have stood to the middle ending **-to* in much the same relation as Pali 3rd pl. *socarē* 'they trouble themselves' to Skr. *śocantē*.

§ 1081. (II) *r* in combination with other personal endings,

active and middle, which always precede it (cp. Skr. 2nd and 3rd dual *-athur -atur* § 1077 p. 574).

These forms may be either deponent or middle in Latin. In Keltic, however, these two moods were distinguished in form; for in the deponent conjugation, *r* runs through all persons except the 2nd plural, but the passive forms only the 3rd singular and plural with such suffixes.

It is possible that once, in protoethnic Italo-Keltic, *r* was used only with middle endings; that in this use it came to be a medio-passive sign; and that it was afterwards added to middle or active endings with the effect of making them middle or passive.

§ 1082. (A) *r* added to Middle endings.

(1) Italic and Celtic 3rd pl. *-nto+r*. Lat. depon. *sequi-tur sequo-ntur sequā-tur sequa-ntur* etc., pass. *agi-tur agu-ntur* etc. Umbr. e. g. *emantur* 'emantur'. O.Ir. depon. *-sechethar* 'sequitur' *-sechetar* 'sequontur' perf. *do-mēnatar* 'putaverunt', pass. *do-berthar* 'dantur, dentur'; in the 3rd sing. indic. pass. this ending is shown only in the 2nd and 3rd Conjugations in Irish, as *no charthar* 'amatur' *do-lēicther* 'linquitur' (1st Conjug. *doberar*, conjunct. *-berar* and *-berthar*).¹⁾ The absolute forms *sechidtr* 'sequitur' *sechitir* 'sequontur' *bertir* 'feruntur, ferantur' *carthir* 'amatur' *lēicthir* 'linquitur' etc. are analogical like *berir* 'fertur' (§ 1080 p. 576).

No satisfactory explanation has been given of the Umbr.-Samn. endings with *e*-vowels, which answer to Lat. *-tur -ntur*. Osc. *vincter* 'vincitur' *sakarater* 'sacratur' *sakahāter* 'sanciat' *comparascuster* 'consultus erit' *karanter* 'pascuntur', Pelign. *upsaseter* 'operaretur' or 'operarentur', Marruc. *ferenter* 'ferantur'. Umbr. *herter herte herti hertei* 'oportet' *ostensendi* 'ostenderentur'; for the form *emantur*, see above. The Oscan forms had undoubtedly a short *e*; and I venture to conjecture that parallel to *-to -nto* there were Idg. forms *-te -nte* (cp. 1st pl. *-mo(s) -me(s), -mom -mem*, § 1000 p. 535).²⁾ Umbr. *hertei* points

1) See footnote 2 to § 1058, page 585.

2) If this be correct, there would be no need to derive the *-re* of Lat. *sequere* (cp. Gr. *ἔνε-ο*) from Idg. **-so*; it might be derived from

to *ē*. Very well — we may suppose that there were variants *-tē* beside *-te -nte*, as we saw *-mēs* beside *-mes* in the 1st plural (*loc. cit.*). But herter is used in such a way that we may believe it to be conjunctive; and then we are led to ask whether its *ē*, and that of *ostensendi* (*-i* for *-ē*), be not the conjunctive suffix *-ē-*, which could easily creep into the personal ending when there was such a form as **ferē-r* (cp. *ferar*).

Remark. On Zimmer's view of these Umbro-Samnite forms (Kuhn's *Zeitschr.* xxx 277), which I regard as wrong, see Buck, *Der Vocalismus der osk. Sprache* pp. 79 f.

(2) Latin forms of the 2nd singular, like *spatiārus* possibly contain **-ru-r* = **-so + r*. See § 1050 p. 562.

(3) In Oscan *censamur* 'censemino, censetor' *r* is seen combined with the Umbr.-Samn. mid.-pass. suffix **-mōd*. *-d* was exchanged for *-r*. See § 967 pp. 508 f.

(4) O.Ir. *-ther* in the 2nd sing. of deponent verbs, e. g. *-sechther* 'sequeris', is derived from *-the* = Idg. **-thēs*, which is preserved without *-r* in the imperative type *cluin-te*. See § 1051 p. 563.

§ 1083. (B) *r* added to Active endings.

(1) Italic and Keltic 1st sing. **-ōr*, in Keltic only deponent. Lat. *sequor* O.Ir. *-sechur* 'sequor', Lat. *gradior* O.Ir. *-midiur* 'iudico', pass. Lat. *feror capior*. Lat. *ferar* beside Act. *feram*, *ferrer* beside act. *ferrem*; *-r* takes the place of *-m*.

Remark 1. It is of course not certain that **-ōr* is the active *-ō + r*. It may be that Italo-Keltic had the 1st sing. mid. **seqōi* (§ 1041.1. b p. 558), and that this was transformed to **seqōr*, as in Oscan **-mōd* **-mud* became *-mur* (§ 1082. 3).

(2) Italic and Keltic 1st pl. **-mor*, in Keltic only deponent. Lat. *sequimur sequāmur sequēmur ferimur* etc., O.Ir. *-sechem-mar* 'sequimur, sequamur' perf. *do-mēnammar* 'putavimus'. Whether **-mor* was transformed to **-mos* by exchanging *-s* for *-r*, or whether it was an extension of **-mo* (cp. § 1000.2. a p. 535), is doubtful. *mm* instead of *m* in Irish is due to the active forms *ammi bermmi* etc. (see § 1006 pp. 537 f.).

Idg. **-se*. *ūtāris* would be related to *ūtārus* as Osc. *vincter* to Lat. *vincitur*. Compare § 1050, page 562.

(3) In the Irish deponent perfect we have 1st sing. *do-mēnar* 2nd sing. *do-mēnar* beside the active forms 1st sing. *cechan* for **ce-can-a* 2nd sing. *cechan* (§ 981.4 p. 521, § 989 p. 525). In 3rd sing. *do-mēnair* beside act. *cechuin* the non-palatal pronunciation of the *n* is a difficulty. Is this due to the analogy of other persons of the perfect, or because *-gēnair* comes from **ge-gnā-*?

Remark 2. Neither Italic nor Keltic have an *r*-form in the 2nd plural. Latin has *sequimini ferimini* (see II § 71 p. 165). The Irish deponents have the active ending, as *-midid* beside *-midiur*, *do-mēnaid* beside *dō-menar*.

PERIPHRASTIC MIDDLE IDIOMS (REFLEXIVE).

§ 1084. In several languages, where the Idg. Middle (Skr. *bhāra-tē* Gr. *φέρει-ται*) either dwindled or quite died out, its place was filled by the combination of the Active (or some Middle form degraded until it could not be distinguished from the active) and an Oblique Case of the pronoun which answered to the active form in question, and which referred to it.

From a comparison of Sanskrit and Greek we may believe that this roundabout idiom was general at the time when the Idg. Middle was still in living use. For in Greek and Sanskrit both periphrastic reflexive and middle are used side by side; and this is true, both when the contrast between the subject and object is important, that is, when there is a contrast with some other person, which makes it necessary to lay stress on the person implied by the middle form; and also when the cases are not clearly shown by the middle, or where this could be understood as a passive, so that there was every need to make the expression as clear as possible. Thus we have Skr. *yád yajamānabhāgā praśnāty ātmānam evā prīṇati* (Taitt. Sāh. I 7. 5. 2) 'when he eats his share of the offering, he gets new life in himself' (otherwise it is his task to quicken others), *nēd ātmānā va prthivī va hināsani* (Satap.-Brāhm. I 2. 4. 7)

'that I may not destroy either myself or the earth', Gr. ἐμοὶ δὲ δέκ' ἔξελον οἶω (Od. 9. 160) 'but for myself alone I chose ten (goats)', ἀποκρύπτω ἐμαυτόν 'I hide myself' beside ἀποκρύπτομαι 'I hide for myself' or 'I am hidden'. Often enough we find the middle used with the reflexive pronouns, as *tābhīr vaī sá atmānam āprīṇīta* (Tāitt.-Sāh. v 1. 8. 3) 'therewith he enjoyed himself', *sá yajñān atmāna vyādhatta* (Māitr.-Sāh. i 9, 3) 'he changed himself into the offering', ἡ κακῶσαι ἡμᾶς ἡ σφαῖς αὐτοὺς βεβαιώσασθαι (Thuc. i. 33. 3), ὅτι Ξενοφῶν βούλεται ἑαυτῷ ὄνομα καὶ δύναμιν περιποιήσασθαι (Xen. An. v 6, 17). Cp. Lith. *būrna sāu prausiū'-s(i)* § 1086.

§ 1085. The next step is represented in Italic and Keltic. Here the original Middle had got mixt up very much with the *r*-deponent (§§ 1081 ff.). E. g. Lat. *sequitur* O.Ir. *-sechethar* 'sequitur' = Skr. *sácatē* Gr. *ἐπεραι*, Lat. *re-miniscor* O.Ir. *do-muiniur* 'I think' = Skr. *mányatē*. But it partly gave place to the periphrastic reflexive, Lat. *dedecore se abstinēbat* (ἀπέχετο), *gloriam sibi peperit* (ἐπορίσατο, ἐκτίσατο), *mecum reputo* (σκοποῦμαι, λογίζομαι), O.Ir. *no-m-moidim* 'glorior' (Wb. 14°), lit. 'I pride myself', *act r-an-glana* 'si emundaverit se' (Wb. 30°). In Latin this idiom is often hardly distinguishable from the deponent, as *immiscemus nos rei* and *immiscemur, castris se effundunt* and *effunduntur, relaxat se* and *relaxatur*.

§ 1086. Next come Germanic and Balto-Slavonic, where the Idg. Middle with middle meaning had died out in prehistoric times. — In Gothic the forms remain but have passive meaning; in Balto-Slavonic there are forms of the 1st and 2nd sing. middle in the place of active forms, see § 1046 p. 560, § 1053 p. 563, and footnote to page 216 above. — Here then the Periphrastic Reflexive is regularly used in place of the Idg. Middle.

Remark. Regularly so used, but not always. Sometimes the Active form alone does duty for the Idg. middle, as Goth. *ga-nisīþ* 'he gets happily through, finds protection or health' as against Skr. *násatē* Gr. *νέται*, Lith. *seka* 'I follow' against Skr. *sácatē* Gr. *ἐπεραι* (Lat. *sequitur* O.Ir. *-sechethar*), O.C.Sl. *mīnjā* 'I think' as against Skr. *mányatē* (O.Ir. *do-muiniur*). In Gothic, verbs in *-nan* may represent the old Middle, as

and-bundniþ 'he lets himself go, gets free, sets off' beside pass. *and-bindada* 'he is released' act. *and-bindiþ* 'he sets free'. There are more of the kind.

Gothic *gavandja mik* O.H.G. *gi-went(i)u mih* 'I turn myself towards, convert me, convertor, return'. Goth. *skama mik* O.H.G. *scamēm mih* 'I am ashamed'. Goth. *ōg mis* 'I fear' (for myself). O.H.G. *furht(i)u mir*, the same. Goth. *gagimand sik* 'they gather together', reflex. In Norse, about the 8th century, the pronoun affix itself firmly to the verb in a contracted shape (*-sk* for *sik*, dat. *-ss* for *-ser*). Then *-sk* and *-ss* were used for the 1st and 2nd persons as well as the third. However, in the oldest period we do find a 1st sing. *-mk* (for *mik*), as *heito-mk* 'I call myself' (where the ending *-ō* is kept, though it drops with *heit* 'I call'). This Norse type, much altered and obscured by sound-change and analogy, was also used as a passive. Compare Noreen, Aisl. und Anorw. Gramm. pp. 185 ff.; Paul's Grundriss I 518 ff.; Specht, Das Verbum Reflexivum und die Superlative im Westnord. (Acta Germ. III 1), Berlin 1891.

In Lithuanian *-si* (for **sē*) became a universal reflexive, and coalesced with the verb, being used for all persons. It was originally only locative or dative, but afterwards came to be used for the accusative (III § 447 p. 385). *-si* at the end of words has now generally become *-s*. *kelū-s(i)* 'I raise myself, get up' 2nd sing. *kelē-s(i)*, and so forth. *bijaū-s(i)* 'I fear'. *džiaugiu-s(i)* 'I enjoy myself'. *būrną prausiū-s(i)* 'I wash my face'. Also *būrną sau prausiū-s(i)*, like Gr. περιποιήσασθαι τι ἑαυτῷ (§ 1084 p. 580). *mūsza-s(i)* 'they struck each other'. When a verb has a prefix, *si* stands between prefix and verb, as *pa-si-keľu* 'I raise myself, rise' (dial. also *pa-si-keľū-s*). Compare Lett. *bistā-s* 'I fear' (in folk-poetry *-si* sometimes survives, and has not yet become *-s*); Pruss. *griki-si* 'they fall into sin' (III § 447 p. 385), with a variant *-sin*, obviously the accusative case, as *etlāiku-sin* 'let him abstain, forbear'. In O.C.Sl. we see the acc. *sę* answering to Pruss. *-sin* as a

(Continued on p. 594.)

[Here follow Tables of the Verb Finite pp. 582—593.]

1. Ind. pres. and imperf. act. of Present Class. I.

Appendix to

	Pr.Idg.	Sanskrit	Avestic	Armenian	Greek
Sing. 1.	*és-mi: 'I am'	<i>ás-mi</i>	<i>ah-mi</i>	<i>em</i>	<i>εἰμι</i>
2.	*ési: *és-si:	<i>ási</i>	<i>ahi</i>	<i>es</i>	<i>εἶ, εἶ-ς (εἶ-ς)</i> <i>ἴσσι</i>
3.	*és-ti:	<i>ás-ti</i>	<i>as-ti</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ἴσ-τι ἴσ-τι</i>
Plur. 1.	*s-měs(i) (*s-mos(i)):	<i>s-más s-mási</i>	<i>mahi</i>	<i>ēmē</i>	Dor. <i>εἰμῆς</i> , Ion. <i>εἰμῆν</i> , Att. <i>ἴσμεν</i>
2.	*s-té (*s-thé):	<i>s-thá</i>	<i>s-tā</i>	<i>ēr</i>	<i>ἴσ-τε</i>
3.	*s-énti:	<i>s-ánti</i>	<i>h-enti</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>εἰσι, ἴσσι</i>
Dual. 1.	*s-úś(i) (*s-uś(i)):	<i>s-vás</i>	<i>*xw-ahi</i>		[Dor. <i>εἰμῆς</i> etc.]
2.	*s-tés (*s-thés):	<i>s-thás</i>			<i>ἴσ-τόν</i>
3.	?	<i>s-tás</i>	<i>s-tō</i>		<i>ἴσ-τόν</i>
Sing. 1.	*és-η(*és-ηm): 'I was'	<i>ás-am</i>	O. Pers. <i>ah-am</i>	<i>ēi</i>	<i>ἦα ἦ, ἦν</i>
2.	*és-s:	<i>ás, áśī-š</i>	<i>*ās</i>	<i>ēr</i>	<i>ἦσα</i>
3.	*és-t:	<i>ás, áśī-t</i>	<i>ās (as)</i>	<i>ēr</i>	Dor. <i>ἦς</i> [<i>ἦer ἦν</i>]
Plur. 1.	*és-s-mě(m) *és- -mě(m) (-mō(m)):	<i>ás-ma</i>	<i>a-h-ma</i>	<i>ēaē</i>	<i>ἦμεν</i>
2.	*é-s-te *és-te:	<i>ás-ta</i>		<i>ēr</i>	<i>ἦσ-τε, ἦτε</i>
3.	*é-s-ent *és-ent:	<i>ás-an (s-án)</i>	O. Pers. <i>ah-a</i> (Avest. <i>h-en</i>)	<i>ēin</i>	Dor. <i>ἦν</i> , Boet. <i>ισαν</i> , Att. <i>ἦσαν</i>
Dual. 1.	*é-s-úś *és-úś(-úō):	<i>ás-va</i>			[<i>ἦμεν</i>]
2.	*é-s-tom *és-tom (-tem?):	<i>ás-tam</i>			<i>ἦσ-τόν, ἦτον</i> [<i>ἦ-</i> <i>την</i>]
3.	*é-s-tām *és-tām:	<i>ás-tām</i>			<i>ἦσ-την, ἦτην</i> [<i>ἦσ-</i> <i>τον</i>]

1) When any of the forms here given under a certain heading belong to the place assigned them in meaning alone, while their ending belongs to a different person, they are enclosed in square brackets [].

Latin	Irish	Gothic	O.H.G.	Lith.	O.C.Sl.
<i>sum</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>im</i>	<i>b-i m</i>	<i>es-mi</i>	<i>jes-mi</i>
<i>es, es</i>	<i>at</i>	<i>is</i> (§ 990. 1)	<i>(bis bist)</i>	<i>esi</i> (991. 1)	<i>jesi</i>
<i>es-t</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>is-t</i>	<i>is-t</i>	<i>es-ti es-t</i>	O.Russ. <i>jes-ti</i> O.Bulg. <i>jesti</i>
<i>sumus</i>	<i>ammi</i>	<i>sijum</i>	<i>b-irum b-iru- mēs</i>	<i>es-me</i>	<i>jes-mū -my</i> , Mod.Bulg. <i>s-me</i> , Serb. <i>jes-mo</i>
<i>[es-tis]</i>	<i>adi-b</i>	<i>sijuþ</i>	<i>b-irut</i>	<i>es-te</i>	<i>jes-te</i>
<i>sunt, Umbr. s-en t</i>	<i>it</i>	<i>s-ind</i>	<i>s-int</i>	<i>[esti est]</i>	O.Russ. <i>safū</i> , O.Bulg. <i>safū</i>
		<i>siju</i>		<i>es-va</i>	<i>jes-vē</i>
2nd pl. <i>es-tis</i>		<i>sijuts</i>		<i>es-ta</i>	<i>jes-ta</i>
		<i>[s-ind]</i>		<i>[es-ti es-t]</i>	<i>jes-te, jes-ta</i>
pres. <i>es (ē)</i>					
					<i>nesē-as-tē</i>
					<i>nesē-as-ta</i>
					<i>nesē-as-te</i>

Spaced Type implies that the inflexion of any given form may be regarded as derived straight from that of the parent language.

2. Ind. pres. and injunct. (pret.) act. of Present Class X.

	Pr. Idg.	Sanskrit	Avestic	Armenian	Greek
Sing. 1.	<i>*uē-mi</i> 'I blow'	<i>vā-mi</i>	<i>vā-mi</i>	<i>mna-m</i> 'I remain'	<i>ἀη-μι</i>
2.	<i>*uē-si:</i>	<i>vā-si</i>	<i>vā-hi</i>	<i>mna-s</i>	<i>ἀης</i>
3.	<i>*uē-ti:</i>	<i>vā-ti</i>	<i>vā-iti</i>	<i>mna-y</i>	<i>ἀη-σι</i>
Plur. 1.	<i>*uē-mēs(i) (-mos(i))</i>	<i>vā-mā-s - mā-si</i>	<i>vā-mahi</i>	<i>mna-mē</i>	<i>Dor. ἀν-μης. Att.</i>

Latin	Irish	Gothic	O.H.G.	Lith.	O.C.Sl.
<i>pleō, nō</i>	<i>scarimm</i> 'I se- parate'	<i>mitō</i> 'I measure'	<i>mezzō-m</i>	<i>līndau</i> 'I put somewhere'	<i>ima-mi</i> 'I have'
<i>plē-s, nās</i>	<i>scari</i>	<i>mitō-s</i>	<i>mezzō-s</i>	<i>līndai</i>	<i>ima-ši</i>
<i>ple-t, na-t</i>	<i>scarid</i>	<i>mitō-þ</i>	<i>mezzō-t</i>	<i>līndo</i>	O.Russ. <i>ima-ti</i> , O.Bulg. <i>ima-tū</i>
<i>plē-mus, nā- mus</i>	<i>scārmme, -sca- ram</i> (?)	<i>mitō-m</i>	<i>mezzō-mēs, -ō-n</i>	<i>līndo-me</i>	<i>ima-mū</i>
<i>[plē-tis, nā-tis]</i>	<i>-scarid, scarthe</i>	<i>mitō-þ</i>	<i>mezzō-t</i>	<i>līndo-te</i>	<i>ima-te</i>
<i>ple-nt, na-nt</i>	<i>scarit</i>	<i>mitō-nd</i>	<i>mezzō-nt</i>	<i>[līndo]</i>	O.Russ. <i>ima-ti</i> , O.Bulg. <i>ima-tū</i>
		<i>mitōs</i> (?)		<i>līndo-va</i>	<i>ima-ve</i>
2. pl. <i>plē-tis, nā-tis</i>		<i>mitō-ts</i>		<i>līndo-ta</i>	<i>ima-ta</i>
		<i>[mitō-nd]</i>		<i>[līndo]</i>	<i>ima-te, ima-ta</i>
<i>-ba-m</i>	<i>ba</i> 'fui'	<i>iddja</i> 'I went'		<i>miniā</i> 'I remem- bered', <i>buvaī</i> 'I was'	
<i>-bā-s</i>		<i>iddjēs</i>		<i>minē, buvaī</i>	<i>bē</i> 'eras'
<i>-ba-t</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>iddja</i>		<i>minē, būvo</i>	<i>bē</i>
<i>-bā-mus</i>				<i>minē-me, būvo-me</i>	
<i>[-bā-tis]</i>				<i>minē-te, būvo- te</i>	
<i>-ba-nt, umbr. -fa-ns</i>				<i>[minē, būvo]</i>	
				<i>minē-va, bū- vo-va</i>	
2. pl. <i>-bā-tis</i>				<i>minē-ta, būvo-ta</i>	
				<i>[minē, būvo]</i>	

4. Indic. perf. act.

	Pr. Idg.	Sanskrit	Avestic	Greek
Sing. 1.	* <i>ge-gón-a?</i> * <i>ge-gen-a?</i> 'gonui', * <i>uóid-a?</i> * <i>uóid-a?</i> 'I know':	<i>ja-ján-a</i> [<i>ja-ján-a</i>], <i>véd-a</i>	<i>dā-dar-s-a</i> , <i>vaēd-ā</i>	<i>γέ-γον-α</i> , <i>οἶδ-ε</i>
2.	* <i>ge-gón-tha</i> , * <i>uóit-tha</i> :	<i>ja-ján-tha</i> <i>ja-jñ-</i> <i>i-thā</i> , <i>vētt-tha</i>	<i>vōistā</i>	<i>γέ-γον-ας</i> , <i>οἶσθα</i>
3.	* <i>ge-gón-e</i> , * <i>uóid-e</i> :	<i>ja-ján-a</i> , <i>véd-a</i>	<i>dā-dār-a</i> [<i>va-va-a</i>], <i>vaēd-ā</i>	<i>γέ-γον-ε</i> , <i>οἶδ-ι</i>
Plur. 1.	* <i>ge-gñ-mē(m)</i> , * <i>uóid-</i> <i>mē(m)</i> , (<i>mū(m)</i>):	<i>ja-jñ-i-mā</i> <i>ca-kṛ-</i> <i>mā</i> , <i>vid-mā</i>	<i>su-sru-ma</i> <i>vaox-mā</i>	<i>γέ-γα-μεν</i> <i>γε-γόν-μεν</i> <i>ἰδ-μεν</i> Att. <i>ἰσμεν</i>
2.	?	<i>ja-jñ-ā</i> , <i>vid-ā</i>	<i>ha-nhān-a</i>	<i>γέ-γα-τε</i> , <i>γε-γόν-σμεν</i>
3.	* <i>ge-gñ-f(r)</i> , * <i>uóid-f(r)</i> (<i>-fs</i>):	<i>ja-jñ-úr</i> , <i>vid-úr</i>	<i>ca-xr-ar</i> , <i>kōit-arē</i>	<i>ci-γε-γά-σσι</i> <i>γε-γόν-σσι</i>
Dual. 1.	* <i>ge-gñ-uē</i> , * <i>uóid-uē</i> (<i>-uō</i>):	<i>ja-jñ-i-od</i> <i>ca-kṛ-</i> <i>od</i> , <i>vid-od</i>		[<i>γέ-γα-μεν</i> etc.]
2.	?	<i>ja-jñ-dihur</i> , <i>vid-</i> <i>dihur</i>		<i>γέ-γα-τον</i> <i>γε-γόν-τον</i> <i>ἰσ-ton</i>
3.	?	<i>ja-jñ-atur</i> , <i>vid-atur</i>	<i>yaēl-atar</i> ⁶	<i>γέ-γα-τον</i> <i>γε-γόν-τον</i> <i>ἰσ-ton</i>

5. Imper. praes. act.

	Pr. Idg.	Sanskrit	Avestic	Armenian	Greek.
Sing. 2.	* <i>i</i> 'go': * <i>i-dhi</i> 'go': * <i>bhère</i> 'carry': * <i>i-tōd</i> , * <i>bhère-tōd</i> :	<i>i-hi</i> <i>bhāra</i> <i>itād</i> , <i>bhāra-</i> <i>tād</i>	<i>i-di</i> <i>bara</i>	<i>ber</i>	<i>ἴθ-ει</i> <i>ἴ-θι</i> <i>φέρει</i> <i>ἰλθι-τω</i> <i>ἰλθι</i> (Ba)
3.	* <i>i-tōd</i> , * <i>bhère-tōd</i> :	<i>i-tād</i> , <i>bhāra-</i> <i>tād</i> , <i>ēt-u</i> , <i>bhārat-u</i>	<i>aēl-u</i> , <i>bara-tu</i>		<i>ἴ-τω</i> , <i>φέρει-τω</i>
Plur. 2.	* <i>i-tē</i> , * <i>bhère-te</i> : * <i>i-tōd</i> , * <i>bhère-tōd</i> :	<i>i-tā</i> , <i>bhāra-ta</i> <i>i-tād</i> , <i>bhāra-</i> <i>tād</i>		<i>berē</i>	<i>ἴ-τε</i> , <i>φέρει-τε</i>
3.	* <i>i-tōd</i> , * <i>bhère-tōd</i> :	<i>yānt-u</i> , <i>bhārant-u</i>	<i>yant-u</i> , <i>barant-u</i>		<i>ἴ-των</i> , <i>φέρ-των</i> <i>φέρ-των</i> <i>ἴ-των</i> <i>-των</i>
Dual. 2.	* <i>i-tōm</i> (<i>-tōm?</i>) * <i>bhère-tōm</i> :	<i>i-tām</i> , <i>bhāra-</i> <i>tām</i>			<i>ἴ-τον</i> , <i>φέρει-τον</i>
3.	* <i>i-tām</i> , * <i>bhère-tām</i> :	<i>i-tām</i> , <i>bhāra-</i> <i>tām</i>			<i>φέρ-των</i>

Latin	Irish	Gothic	O.H.G.
me-min-i, scāb-i	ro ce-chan 'ceoini', ro gād 'I begged'	hai-hāit 'I called', vāit	hiaz 'I called', weiz
me-min-istī, scāb-istī	ro ce-chan, ro gād	hai-hāist, vāist	hiagi, weist
me-min-it, scāb-it	ro ce-chuin, ro gād	hai-hāit, vāit	hiaz, weiz
me-min-imus, scāb-imus	ro ce-chn-ammār, ro gād-ammār	hai-hāit-um, vit-um	hiaz-um, wigg-um (-umēs)
me-min-istis, scāb-istis	ro ce-chnaid, ro gād-aid	hai-hāit-uþ, vit-uþ	hiaz-ut, wigg-ut
me-min-ērunt, scāb-ērunt (-ēre)	ro ce-chn-atar, ro gād-atar	hai-hāit-un, vit-un hai-hāit-u, vit-u hai-hāit-uts, vit-uts [hai-hāit-un, vit-un]	hiaz-un. wigg-un

Latin	Irish	Gothic	O.H.G.	Lith.	O.C.SL
i age i-tō, agi-tō	beir	bafr	bir	eī-k veizdi veizd vedi ved, vèsk	viždī (§ 949)
i-tō, agi-tō		bafradau			
i-te, agi-te i-tōte, agi-tōte	berid	bafrī-þ	bera-t [beret]	eikite, vèskite	
eu-ntō, agu-ntō		bafrā-ndau			
		bafrā-te	2 nd pl. bere-t	eikita, vèskita	
		[bafrā-ndau]			

3. Optative pres. act.

	Pr. Idg.	Sanskrit	Avestic	Greek
Sing. 1.	<i>*s-ix̥-m</i> <i>*s-ix̥-m</i> 'sim'	<i>s-yā-m s-iyā-m</i>	<i>xyēm</i>	<i>ειην</i>
2.	<i>*s-ix̥-s</i> <i>*s-ix̥-s:</i>	<i>s-yā-s s-iyā-s</i>	<i>xyā</i>	<i>ειης</i>
3.	<i>*s-ix̥-t</i> <i>*s-ix̥-t:</i>	<i>s-yā-t s-iyā-t</i>	<i>xyāh</i>	<i>ειη</i>
Plur. 1.	<i>*s-i-mē(m)</i> (<i>mō(m)</i>): <i>*bhū-ix̥-mē(m)</i> (<i>-mō(m)</i>):	<i>s-yā-ma s-iyā-ma</i>	<i>xyāmā</i> <i>buyamā</i> i. e. <i>bo-</i> <i>-iy-amā</i>	<i>ει-μεν, ειη-μεν</i>
2.	<i>*s-i-tē:</i>	<i>s-yā-ta s-iyā-ta</i>	<i>xyāta</i>	<i>ει-τε, ειη-τε</i>
3.	<i>*s-i-ent</i> <i>*s-ix̥-ent:</i>	<i>s-y-úr s-iy-úr</i>	<i>hyān hyār</i>	<i>ει-εν, ειη-σαν</i>
Dual 1.	<i>*s-i-ue</i> (<i>-ue</i>):	<i>s-yā-va s-iyā-va</i>		
2.	<i>*s-i-tóm</i> (<i>-tém?</i>):	<i>s-yā-tam s-iyā-tam</i>		<i>ει-τον, ειη-τον</i>
3.	<i>*s-i-tām:</i>	<i>s-yā-tām s-iyā-tām</i>		<i>ει-την, ειη-την</i>
Sing. 1.	<i>*bhéroix̥-m</i> (<i>m</i>) 'feram'	<i>bhárēy-am</i>		<i>φεροι-μι, φεροι-ν</i>
2.	<i>*bhéroix̥-s:</i>	<i>bhárē-ṣ</i>	<i>barōi-ṣ</i>	<i>φεροι-ς</i>
3.	<i>bhéroix̥-t:</i>	<i>bhárē-t</i>	<i>barōi-h</i>	<i>φεροι</i>
Plur. 1.	<i>*bhéroix̥-mō(m)</i> (<i>-mē(m)</i>):	<i>bhárē-ma</i>	<i>baraē-ma</i>	<i>φεροι-μεν, Dor.</i> <i>-οι-μες</i>
2.	<i>*bhéroix̥-te:</i>	<i>bhárē-ta</i>	<i>baraē-ta</i>	<i>φεροι-τε</i>
3.	<i>*bhéroix̥-nt:</i>	<i>bhárēy-ur</i>	<i>baray-en</i>	<i>φεροι-εν</i>
Dual 1.	<i>*bhéroix̥-ue</i> (<i>-ue</i>):	<i>bhárē-va</i>		[<i>φεροι-μεν, Dor.</i> <i>-οι-μες</i>]
2.	<i>*bhéroix̥-tom</i> (<i>-tém?</i>):	<i>bhárē-tam</i>		<i>φεροι-τον</i>
3.	<i>*bhéroix̥-tām:</i>	<i>bhárē-tām</i>		<i>φεροι-την</i>

Latin	Gothic	O.H.G.	Lith.	O.C.Sl.
<i>s-i-e-m, sim</i>	<i>sifau, vitfau</i> 'I would know'	[<i>s-i, wizzī</i> 'I would know' ?]		
<i>s-i-ē-s, sis</i>	<i>sijái-s, vitei-s</i>	<i>s-i-s -st, wizzī-s -st</i>		<i>jaždī</i> 'eat thou' (§ 949)
<i>s-i-e-t, sit</i>	<i>sijái, viti</i>	<i>s-i, wizzī</i>		[<i>jaždī</i> (949)]
<i>s-i-mus</i>	<i>sijái-ma, vitei-ma</i>	<i>s-i-m, wizzīm</i>		<i>jad-i-mǔ</i>
[<i>s-i-tis</i>]	<i>sijái-þ, vitei-þ</i>	<i>s-i-t, wizzī-t</i>		<i>jad-i-te</i>
<i>s-ie-nt, sint, Umbr. sins</i>	<i>sijái-na, vitei-na</i>	<i>s-i-n, wizzī-n</i>		
	<i>sijái-va, vitei-va</i>			<i>jad-i-vě</i>
2 nd pl. <i>s-i-tis</i>	<i>sijái-ta, vitei-ta</i>			<i>jad-i-ta -te</i>
	[<i>sijái-na, vitei-na</i>]			
	<i>baifrau</i>	[<i>berēf</i>]		
	<i>baifrái-s</i>	<i>berē-s</i>	Preuss. <i>imai-s</i> 'take thou'	<i>berī</i>
	<i>baifrái</i>	<i>berē</i>	<i>te-sukē</i> 'let him turn'	<i>berī</i>
	<i>baifrái-ma</i>	<i>berē-m</i>		<i>berē-mǔ</i>
	<i>baifrái-þ</i>	<i>berē-t</i>	Preuss. <i>imui-ti</i>	<i>berē-te</i>
	<i>baifrái-na</i>	<i>berē-n</i>	[<i>te-sukē</i>]	
	<i>baifrái-va</i>			<i>berē-vě</i>
	<i>baifrái-ta</i>			<i>berē-ta -te</i>
	[<i>baifrái-na</i>]		[<i>te-sukē</i>]	

7. Indic. pres. und injunct. (pret.) mid. of Present Classes I and II.

	Pr. Idg.	Sanskrit	Avestic
Sing. 1.	<i>*ēś-mai</i> 'I sit' (-mai); <i>*bherōi</i> 'I bring me' etc.:	<i>ās-ē; bhr̥rē</i>	<i>ger^o-z-ē; barē</i>
2.	<i>*ēś-sai</i> (-sai); <i>*bhere-sai</i> (-sai):	<i>ās-sē; bhāra-sē</i>	<i>raosē; bara-ṇhē</i>
3.	<i>*ēś-tai</i> (-tai); <i>*bhere-tai</i> (-tai):	<i>ās-tē; bhāra-tē</i>	<i>ās-tē; bara-itē</i>
Plur. 1.	<i>*ēś-medhai</i> (-medhai); <i>*bhero-medhai</i> (-medhai):	<i>ās-mahē; bhārā-mahē</i>	<i>ciš-maidē; barā-maid-</i>
2.	?	<i>ādhoē; bhāra-dhoē</i>	<i>op. mer^ouōg^o-duyē; bara-duy^o-pivē</i>
3.	<i>*ēś-ntai</i> (-ntai); <i>*bhero-ntai</i> (-ntai):	<i>ās-atē; bhr̥dra-ntē</i>	<i>ānh-antē op. mer^onc-aītē; bara-ntē</i>
Dual 1.	<i>*ēś-medhai</i> (-medhai); <i>*bhero-medhai</i> (-medhai):	<i>ās-va hē; bhārā-va hē</i>	
2.	?	<i>ās-āihē; bhr̥rēihē</i>	
3.	?	<i>ās-āiz; bhr̥rēiz</i>	—; [<i>barōipē</i>]

	Pr. Idg.	Sanskrit	Avestic
Sing. 1.	?	<i>ās-i; ā-bharē</i>	<i>aōj-i; a-barē</i>
2.	<i>*ēś-thēs; *(e)bhere-so</i> (-se?):	<i>ās-thās; ā-bhara-thās</i>	<i>aōy-iā; ā-bara-ṇha</i>
3.	<i>*ēś-to</i> (-te?); <i>*(e)bhere-to</i> (-te?):	<i>ās-ta; ā-bhara-ta</i>	<i>mrū-ta; ā-bara-ta</i>
Plur. 1.	<i>*ēś-medhō; *(e)bhero-medhō</i>	<i>ās-mahi ā-bharā-mahi</i>	<i>var^o-maidī</i>
2.	?	<i>ādhoam; ā-bhara-dhoam</i>	<i>i-dām; ā-bara-āuēam</i>
3.	<i>*ēś-nto</i> (-nte?); <i>*(e)bhero-nto</i> (-nte?):	<i>ās-ata; ā-bhara-nta</i>	<i>dar^os-atā, mras-anta; ā-bare-nta</i>
Dual 1.	<i>*ēś-medhō; *(e)bhero-medhō</i>	<i>ās-va hi; ā-bharā-va hi</i>	
2.	?	<i>ās-āihām; ā-bharēihām</i>	
3.	?	<i>ās-āitām; ā-bharēitām</i>	<i>a-srv-ātem; ā-baraētem</i>

Greek	Gothic	Lith.	O.O.Sl.
ἔμαι; φέρομαι	—; O.Icel. <i>heite</i> , Goth. [<i>baírada</i>]	<i>vel-mē-s(i)</i>	
ἔσαι; φέρε-αι φέρη	—; <i>baíra-za</i>	op. <i>desč-s(i)</i>	<i>jasi</i>
ἔσ-ται; φέρε-ται	—; <i>baíra-da</i>		
ἔμεθα; φερό-μεθα	—; [<i>baíra-nda</i>]		
ἔσθε; φέρε-σθε	—; [<i>baíra-nda</i>]		
ἔ-νται; ἔνται; φέρο-νται	—; <i>baíra-nda</i>		
ἔμεθον; φερό-μεθον			
ἔσθον; φέρε-σθον			
ἔσθον; φέρε-σθον			

Greek	Latin	Irish
ἔμην; ἐ-φερό-μην		
ἔσο, ἐ-δό-σθης; ἐ-φέρει-ο ἐ-φέρειον	op. <i>rē-re, -ris, spatiārus; se-que-re, -ris</i>	op. <i>cluin-te; -sechther</i>
ἔστο; ἐφέρει-το	<i>da-tu-r; sequi-tu-r — Oso. vinc-ter</i>	op. <i>as-bert; -sechethar</i>
ἔ-μεθα; ἐ-φερό-μεθα		
ἔσθε; ἐ-φέρει-σθε		
ἔ-ατο, ἔντο; ἐ-φέρει-ντο	<i>da-ntu-r; sequo-ntu-r — Oso. kara-nter</i>	—; <i>-bertar, -sechatar</i>
ἔμεθον; ἐ-φερό-μεθον		
ἔσθον; ἐ-φέρει-σθον		
ἔσθον; ἐ-φέρει-σθον		

general reflexive pronoun; e. g. *privedaḥ se* 'I take myself somewhere, turn towards', *bojaḥ se* 'I fear', *smējaḥ se* 'I laugh'. This *se*-reflexive also got a passive meaning; as *ljubljaše se gospodīmī* 'he was loved of the Lord'.

THE VERB INFINITIVE (VERBAL NOUNS).¹⁾

§ 1087. Our description of the Verb in the strict sense of the word is now at an end. But in its wider sense the Verb includes several classes of nouns, substantive and

1) For the sake of completeness some works are given here which have been mentioned before.

On the Indo-Germanic Verb Infinitive in General. W. von Humboldt, *Über das Wesen des Infinitivs und Gerundiums*, A. W. von Schlegel's Indische Biblioth., II (1824) 71 ff. *Idem*, *Über den Infinitiv*, Kuhn's Zeitschr. II 242 ff. Max Schmidt, *Über den Infinitiv*, Ratibor 1828. C. E. A. Schmidt, *De infinitivo*, Prenzlau 1827. A. Höfer, *Vom Infinitiv, besonders im Sanskrit*, Berlin 1840. C. Fritzsche, *De substantia in verbo constituta vel de participio et infinitivis*, Görlitz 1865. Schömann, *Zur Lehre vom Infinitiv*, Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 1869 pp. 209 ff. E. Wilhelm, *De infinitivi vi et natura*, Eisenach 1869. *Idem*, *De infinitivi linguarum Sanscritae Bactricae Persicae Graecae Oscanae Umbricae Latinae Goticae forma et usu*, Eisenach 1873. J. Jolly, *Geschichte des Infinitivs im Indogermanischen*, München 1873. Th. Benfey, *dārdnē dāmanē dōmeva*, und die Infinitive auf *eva*, *Orient und Occident* I 606 ff. L. Tobler, *Über das Gerundium*, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xvi 241 ff. J. Jolly, *Zur Lehre vom Particip*, Sprachwissenschaftl. Abhandl. aus G. Curtius' grammat. Gesellsch. Leipz. 1874, pp. 71 ff. Th. Benfey, *Indogermanisches Particip Perfecti Passivi auf tua oder tra*, Nachr. von der Gesellsch. d. Wiss. zu Gött. 1873 pp. 181 ff. = *Kleinere Schriften* I 2 and 159 ff. H. Ebel, *Das Suffix -ant und Verwandtes*, Kuhn's Zeitschr. iv 321 ff. M. Bréal, *Origine du suffixe participial ant*, *Mém. Soc. Ling.* II 188 ff. F. Baudry, *Le t du suffixe participial ant*, *ibid.* 393 ff. Bartholomae, *Zur Flexion der nt-Participien*, Bezzenberger's Beitr. xvi 261 ff. The Author, *Zur Geschichte der Nominalsuffixe -as-, -jas-, -vas-*, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxiv 1 ff. J. Schmidt, *Das Suffix des part. perf. act.*, *ibid.* xxvi 329 ff. W. Schulze, *Zum part. perf. act.*, *ibid.* xxvii 547 ff.

Aryan. H. Brunnhofer, *Über die durch Anhängung der dativisch flectierten Wurzel dha, dhā, dhi, dhū an beliebige andere Wurzeln gebildeten Infinitive des Veda und Avesta*, Bezzenberger's Beitr. xv 262 ff. A. Ludwig, *Der Infinitiv im Veda*, Prag 1871. M. Müller, *Grammatische Formen im*

adjective; these are the Infinitive, Supine, Absolutive, Gerund, Participle, and Gerundive.

Sanskrit, welche den sogenannten Infinitiven im Griech. und Lat. entsprechen, Essays IV 420 ff. H. Brunnhofer, Über Dialektspuren im ved. Gebrauche der Infinitivformen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxv 329 ff. *Idem*, Über die durch einfache Fleetierung der Wurzel gebildeten Infinitive des Veda, *ibid.* xxx 504 ff. Th. Benfey, Zu dem sanskr. Infinitiv *manz*, Orient und Occident II 132. A. Barth, Le gérondif sanscrit en *tvā*, Mém. Soc. Ling. II 238 ff. Bartholomae, Altind. Infinitive auf *-man* und *-mani*, Idg. Forsch. I 495 ff. J. Jolly, Der Infinitiv im Zendavesta, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. VII 416 ff. Geldner, Ein neuer Infinitiv im Avesta, Bezenberger's Beitr. XII 160 f. Bartholomae, Noch zwei avest. Infinitive, *ibid.* xv 12 f. *Idem*, Die Infinitivbildung im Dialekt der Gāthā's, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxviii 17 ff. *Idem*, Die ar. Flexion der Adjectiva und Participia auf *nt*, *ibid.* xxix 487 ff. H. Kern, Le suffixe *ya* du sanscrit classique, *ia* de l'arien, Mém. Soc. Ling. II 321 ff.

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Of these, which hold a place halfway between the Noun and the Verb, some general account has been given in vol. II

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§ 144 pp. 456 f., and § 156 pp. 470 ff. Their Suffixes, both formative and case-suffixes, have been described each in its proper place. It remains to pass them in general review, and to point out certain peculiarities which have not yet been touched upon, or others on which I have had reason to change my view.

1. VERBAL SUBSTANTIVES.

§ 1088. Nomina Actionis, which appear in more than one language as Infinitive, Supine, or Gerund.

(1) Root-Nouns. Dat. Skr. *nir-djē* 'to drive out', Lat. *ag-ī*; in Greek this type may be represented by infinitives such as *χεῖν-αι ἐνέγκν-αι* (§ 504 p. 67 f.). See II § 162 pp. 489 f.

(2) -s- -es- between Root and Case-Suffix; this cannot be separated from the Noun-suffix -es- (-as- -s-) or -s- in the aorist. Dat. Skr. *ji-ṣ-ē* 'to conquer', *doh-ās-ē* 'to milk', Gr. *δειῖν-αι* 'to show', Lat. *da-r-ī* (cp. loc. *da-r-e ag-er-e*). See II § 132 pp. 413, 414 f., 416, 418, § 162 p. 489 f., III § 251 p. 153, § 254 p. 155, § 272 p. 172, IV § 655 p. 190, § 824 p. 363.

(3) Suffix -men-. Dat. Skr. *dā-man-ē* Gr. *δό-μεν-αι* 'to give' Lat. 2nd pl. imper. *da-min-ī*; Skr. *vid-mán-ē* 'to learn' Gr. *ἰδ-μεν-αι* 'to know'. Loc. Skr. *dhār-man* 'to hold up' Gr. *δό-μεν* 'to give'. See II § 71 p. 165, § 117 p. 367, III § 251 p. 153, § 257 p. 158.

(4) Suffix -yen-. Dat. Skr. *dā-ván-ē* Gr. Cypr. *δο-φεν-αι*

Keltic. Windisch, Zum irischen Infinitiv, Bezzenger's Beitr. II 72 ff. Loth, Le particip de nécessité en celtique, Mém. Soc. Ling. VI 66 ff.

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Att. *δοῦναι* 'to give'; Avest. *vid-van-ōi* Gr. *εἰδέναι* for **ἰ-εἰδ-ἔ-εν-αι* 'to know'. Loc. Avest. *rōiṣ-wan* 'to make run together', with which perhaps should be compared Greek Infinitives like as *δοῦν* = **δο-ἔ-εν* (§ 1093. 4).

(5) *-sen-* i. e. *s+en* (cp. 2). Skr. loc. *-san-i*, e. g. *sak-śān-i* 'to be with'. With this probably goes the Gr. infin. type Ion. Att. *φέρειν* Dor. Lesb. El. *φέρην* for **φερε-εν*. See II § 114 p. 347.

(6) Suffix *-ti-*. Dat. Skr. *pi-táy-ē* 'to drink', see II § 100 p. 298, III § 249 p. 149, § 251 p. 153. The explanation of Avest. *mrūitē* is uncertain, see III § 249 p. 150, § 260 Rem. p. 161. Loc. Lith. *dektē* 'to burn', see III § 260 p. 161, Hirt, Idg. Forsch. I 27. The Lith. infinitive in *-ti*, as *dā'-ti* 'to give', and the O.C.Sl. inf. in *-ti* as *da-ti* 'to give', are probably locative, standing for **-tēi* or **-teḡ*. But Lith. *-ti* may be derived from **-tḡ-ai* (dative); this would become **-tḡē*, then **-tē*, and lastly, because of the accent (cp. dat. *δό-μεναι*), *-ti* (cp. 2nd sing. *verti* for **ver-tḡē* § 991 p. 528) and would be related to Skr. *-tay-ē* (see above) as Pruss. *-tw-ei* to Skr. *-tav-ē* (7). And O.C.Sl. *-ti* may also be the Idg. locative *-e* for *-ēi* (cp. Lith. *dektē*). See III § 260 p. 161, Hirt, Idg. Forsch. I 28, Streitberg, *ibid.* 271 und 289. It is wholly doubtful how we are to explain such Lith. infinitive forms as *dā'-tē*; see III § 260 p. 161, Hirt, as cited pp. 27 f., Streitberg *ibid.* 271.

(7) Suffix *-tu-*. Dative Skr. *dhā-tav-ē* 'to place', Pruss. *dā-tw-ei* 'to give'. Locative supine Lat. *da-tū* O.C.Sl. *da-tu* 'to give', ground-form *-tēu* or *-teu*. Accusative Skr. *dhā-tu-m* Lat. sup. *con-ditum* Lith. sup. *dē-tu* (*dē-tū*, cp. opt. 1st pl. *dētum-bime*) O.C.Sl. sup. *dē-tū* from *√dhē-* 'place'. See II § 108 pp. 323 ff., III § 250 p. 152, § 261 p. 161 f.

(8) Suffix *-o-*. Accusative Skr. adverbial gerund *abhy-ā-kṛdmam* 'approaching', Umbr. *er-om* Osc. *ez-um* 'esse'; Greek similar forms perhaps are aor. 2nd sing. imper. Syrac. *λάβον* 'take' Att. *δείξον* 'show' etc. (*λάβον* :

δεῖξον = Skr. *-āj-ē* Gr. *χεῖν-αι* : *ji-ṣ-ē* Gr. *δεῖξαι* = Skr. *bhuj-yāi* : *a-vyāth-iṣ-yāi*). See II § 60 p. 114.

(9) There is a close connexion between the Aryan dative infinitive in *-dhāi*, as Skr. *vāha-dhyai* 'to convey' (other suffixes with the same value are used, *-dhēyaya* *-dhai* and *-dhē*), and the Greek dative infinitive in *-σθαι*, as *ἐπε-σθαι* 'to follow'. See § 1089. 12, § 1093. 8, Bartholomae in Rhein. Mus. XLV 151 ff.

§ 1089. Aryan. Alongside of complete Infinitives we meet many other forms which stand on the line between infinitives and nomina actionis. Thus it is impossible to define sharply the infinitive in this branch. In what follows no attempt has been made to give complete lists, at least of what may be called Infinitives *in posse*.

But it is only in the older dialect that Sanskrit shows this rich variety of infinitive forms. The classical language knows only that in *-tum* (9).

(1) Root-Nouns, see § 1088. 1. Dative Skr. *drś-ē* Avest. *dar's-ōi* 'to see'. Locative Skr. *drś-i* 'to see'. Gen.-Abl. Skr. *ā-tīd-as* 'to pierce'. Accus. Skr. *śubh-am* 'to shine, be magnificent', Avest. *dqm* 'to place'.

(2) *-s- -es-* between Root and Case-Suffix; see § 1088. 2. Dat. Skr. *ji-ṣ-ē* 'to conquer' *dōh-ās-ē* 'to milk', Avest. *av-anh-ē* 'to help'. Gen.-Abl. Avest. *aēnānh-ō* 'to force'.

(3) Suffix *-men-*, see § 1088. 3. Dative Skr. *dā-man-ē* 'to give', Avest. *stao-mainē* 'to praise'. Locative Skr. *dhār-man* 'to hold up'; Loc. Skr. *sāvī-man-i* 'to uplift', Avest. *caš-mainī* 'to behold' (so the new recension, in place of the form *caš-mainē* given in II § 117 p. 369).

Remark. The Avestic loc. forms *caš-mān* etc., which we classed as infinitive in II § 117 p. 369 and III § 257 p. 158, comparing them with Oret. inf. *δο-μην*, are now denied to be infinitive at all by Bartholomae (Idg. Forsch. I 495 f.).

(4) Suffix *-nen-*, see § 1088. 4. Dative Skr. *dā-vān-ē* 'to give', Avest. *vid-van-ōi* 'to know'. Locative Avest. *rōiṣ-wan* 'to cause to flow together'.

(5) *-sen-*, see § 1088. 5. Dative Avest. *srao-šan-ē* 'to hear'. Locative Skr. *sak-śān-i* 'to be with'.

(6) Suffix *-ter-*, cp. Avest. *dar°-prāi*, no. 11. Locative Skr. *vi-dhartār-i* 'to divide up, distribute'.

(7) Suffix *-i-*. Dative Skr. *dyś-āy-ē* 'to see'. See II § 93 p. 280, III § 249 p. 149, Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. xv 238.

(8) Suffix *-ti-*, see § 1088. 6. Dative Skr. *pī-tāy-ē* 'to drink', Avest. *ker°-tēē* 'to complete'. Locative Skr. *sātāi* 'to attain' (III § 260 p. 159 f.). Instrumental Skr. *at-i* 'to help', Avest. *fra-mrūiti* 'to recite', see III § 249 p. 150, Bartholomae as cited 245 f. Gen.-Abl. Avest. *darštoi-š* 'to see'. Accusative Avest. *astīm* (= **a-sth-ti-m*) 'to stand by'.

(9) Suffix *-tu-*, see § 1088. 7. Dative Skr. *dhd-tav-ē* 'to place' (cp. *dātavāi* no. 16). Gen.-Abl. Skr. *dhd-tō-š* 'to place'. Accusative *dhd-tu-m* 'to place', which, as has been said, is the only classical type of infinitive.

(10) Suffix *-tno-* *-tyno-*. Locative Avest. *aiwi-šōi-šnē* 'to inhabit', O.Pers. *car-tanaīy* 'to do'. See II § 69 p. 161.) But these may be regarded as the dative from stems containing the suffix *-ten-*.

(11) Suffix *-tro-*. Dat. Avest. *dar°-prāi* 'to hold fast' (cp. 6).

(12) Suffix *-jo-* (cp. *-jo-* as participial suffix § 1099. 3). Dat. Skr. *bhuj-yāi* 'to enjoy', also *-yaj-yā* 'to honour' like *sakhyā*, and *-yājyāya* 'to honour' like *ṛkaya* (III § 246 p. 145), Avest. *vaēd-yāi* 'to recognise'. Skr. *a-vyāth-iṣ-yāi* beside the s-Aorist 2nd sing. mid. *vyath-iṣ-phās* from *vyath-* 'to waver' (Bartholomae as cited, 229 f.). Loc. Avest. *verēidyē* 'to help on' (Bartholomae, as cited, 240). Acc. Skr. *-vidya-m* 'to find'.

The same suffix occurs in the Aryan inf. in **-dhyaī* (dative), as Skr. *vāha-dhyāi* Avest. *vazaidyāi* 'to convey, carry'. This form is a combination of the two noun-stems *vaha-* and *dh-ya-* ($\sqrt{dhē}$), compare these other forms, also used

1) The connexion there assumed between the Latin gerund in *-ndo-* and the Lithuanian participia necessitatis in *-tina-* now seems to me very dubious. See Remark to § 1103.

as infinitive, *vayō-dhēyāya* *vayō-dhāi* 'for giving of strength' and *śrad-dhē* 'for cherishing of trust'. When *vāhadhyāi* had got associated with *vāha-ti* 'conveys, carries', Sanskrit formed *iṣayā-dhyāi* beside *iṣayā-ti* 'is strong', *prṇā-dhyāi* beside *pr-ṇā-ti* 'fills', Avest. *srāvayeidyāi* beside *srāvayeiti* 'causes to hear', *ver'n-dyāi* beside *ver'n-tē* 'chooses' (§ 599 p. 142), *mer'ag'-dyāi* beside *mer'nc-inti* 'they destroy' (§ 626 p. 162) and the like. See § 1088. 9.

(13) Suffix *-iā-*. Acc. Avest. *xwairyam* 'to devour'.

(14) Suffix *-t-īo-* (cp. *-t-īo-* as a participial suffix § 1100. 4). Dat. Skr. *i-tyāi* 'to go'.

(15) Suffix *-uo-*. Loc. Avest. *dā-vōi* 'to place, to give'.

(16) Suffix *-teyo-* (cp. Gr. *διωκ-τέος* § 1099. 4). Dat. Skr. *dā-tavāi* 'to give', also *sār-tavā* 'to stream' like *sakhyā* (III § 246 p. 145). See Bartholomae as cited 224 ff., where conjecture a is offered by way of explaining the double accent.

§ 1090. The Sanskrit Gerund (II § 108 p. 327) in *-y-ā* *-ty-ā*, as *ā-gam-ya* *ā-ga-tya* lit. 'with a coming' (III § 278 p. 182), and that in *-tvā* as *śru-tvā* lit. 'with a hearing' (II § 108 p. 327, III § 279 p. 183), are Instrumental. There is another group in *-tvī*, as *bhū-tvī*, which Bartholomae explains as locative (Bezz. Beitr. xv 227, 240, 241); a group in *-tvāya*, which is dative, e. g. *dr̥ṣ-tvāya* (see Bartholomae, pp. 239 f.); and an accusative "adverbial gerund" as *abhy-ā-krāma-m* 'approaching'.

§ 1091. Another class of verbal substantives in Sanskrit consists of the forms which are found in the well-known periphrasis with *cakāra āsa babhūva*, the accusative in *-ām*, as *vidām*. See § 896, p. 445.

§ 1092. In Armenian, the Inf. has an *l*-suffix, as *ta-l* 'to give' from indic. *ta-m*. See II § 76 p. 202, Bugge, Etruskisch und Armenisch I 15.

§ 1093. Greek Infinitive.

(1) It is doubtful whether *χεῖν-αι* *ἐνέγκ-αι* and the like

are the dative of Root-Nouns, to be placed with Sanskrit and Latin infinitives such as *-āj-ē* and *ag-ī*. See § 1088. 1.

(2) Dative in *-σ-αι*, belonging to the *s*-aorist, e. g. *δεῖξαι*. See § 1088. 2. Thess. aor. *ὄν-γραψεν* (Att. *ἀνα-γράψαι*) with *ει* = *αι* (I § 96 p. 90), and *-ν* added on the analogy of other infinitives.

(3) Suffix *-men-*. Dative *-μεν-αι*, loc. *-μεν*, e. g. *δό-μεναι* *δό-μεν*. See § 1088. 3. By contamination of *-μεν* and *-ειν* (*φέρειν*) arose Rhod. *-μειν*, e. g. *θέ-μειν*. Cret. *δό-μην* is probably, like *δό-μεν*, Locative, with a strong-grade formative suffix; cp. Avest. loc. *caš-mān*, see III § 257 p. 158, IV § 1089 Rem. p. 599.

(4) Suffix *-μεν-*. Dative Cypr. *δο-φεν-αι* Att. *δοῦναι* 'to give', Att. *ἀῖναι* 'to blow' for **ἀφ-η-(F)εναι* (III § 251 p. 153). Forms like *δοῦν* (Theognis), *εἰξ-εῖν* (Oropus), Lesb. *μεθύσθην* may perhaps be locative in *-μεν* like Avest. *rōiṣ-wan*. See § 1088. 4.

(5) A Locative in **-s-en* may perhaps explain Att. *φέρειν* for **φερει-εν*. See § 1088. 5.

(6) Doric and Arcadian infinitives in *-ν*, such as *ἄρχεν* *ἀγαγέν*, are obscure. See the Author's Gr. Gr.² § 146. 5 p. 175.

(7) Perhaps the imperative in *-ον* (2nd sing.), as Syrac. *λάβον* (Att. *λαβέ*) Att. *δείξον*, are infinitive; see § 1088. 8.

(8) The medio-passive Infinitive in *-σθαι* is connected with the Skr. inf. in *-dhyāi -dhēyāya -dhai -dhē*, see § 1088. 9, and § 1089. 12. *εἶδεσθαι* for instance is the dative of a compound consisting of the noun stem *Feιδεσ-* (*εἶδος*) + **dhē-** *dh-* √ *dhē-* 'place, do'); cp. *ἐπεσ-βόλος* and the like, II § 29 p. 50; the Skr. *śrad-dh-ē* corresponds exactly. After the second member of such compounds had sunk into a mere suffix, *εἶδεσθαι* was mentally analysed *εἶδε-σθαι* because such was the structure of the forms associated with it, *εἶδε-ται* and the rest. Then this supposed suffix *-σθαι* was added to other tense-stems, and became a type. It received its medio-passive

meaning because this was the meaning of $-\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha -\sigma\theta\epsilon$ and similar personal endings with ϑ .

§ 1094. Italic Infinitive.

(1) Dat. of Root-Nouns, Lat. depon. pass. *sequ-ī ag-ī*, see § 1088. 1.

(2) Dat. in $-s-ī -r-ī = *-s-a_i$, Lat. depon. pass. *da-rī* (O.Lat. *dastī*) *fer-ri*. Loc. in $-s-e -r-e -er-e = *-s-i *-es-i$, Lat. act. *da-re es-se ag-ere*. See § 1088. 2.

(3) In Old Latin, and later in poetic style, we meet with deponent or passive forms with the ending *-ier -rier*, having the same value as $-ī -rī$; e. g. *ag-ier da-rier*. In II § 162 Rem. 2 p. 490 f. an attempt is made to explain this type; and my attempt has been followed by others, those of Henry, Miodoński, and Miles (see footnote, page 595); compare further Stolz, Lat. Gr.² pp. 380 f. The origin of these forms is still not quite cleared up.

Remark. If we agree with Fr. Müller (Grundr. der Sprachwiss. III 2 p. 651) that *-er* is the exponent of the deponent and passive, and that this was added to forms in $-ī$, we must suppose that it has been abstracted from forms like Osc. *vincer* 'vincitur' karanter 'pascuntur'. As pointed out in § 1082. 1, it is possible that the Latin language once had likewise these indicative forms in *-er*.

(4) An infinitive with formative suffix *-men-* is probably to be seen in the Lat. 2nd pl. imper. in $-minī$, as *da-minī sequi-minī*. See II § 71 p. 165, § 117 p. 373, IV § 1088. 3.

(5) On the Lat. inf. fut. in $-tūrum$, as *da-tūrum*, see § 900 p. 448 and no. (7) below.

(6) An Infinitive type is also to be seen in forms like *are* in *are faciō*, see § 578 p. 120, § 896 Rem. p. 445, § 899 p. 447.

(7) In Umbr.-Samn. the inf. pres. act. ends regularly in *-om*, as Umbr. *er-om* Osc. *ez-um* 'esse', Umbr. *fašiu* 'facere' *stiplo* 'stipulari' (for **stipla-om*), Osc. *deikūm* 'dicere' *moltaum* 'multare' *fatium* 'fari'. See II § 60 p. 114, IV § 1088. 8, § 1103 Rem., Buck, Der Vocalismus der osk. Spr. 123, von Planta, Vocalismus der osk.-umbr. Dialekte 111 f., 272.

Postgate holds that the Latin inf. fut. in *-tūrum* represents the same type, and that its ending is **-tū+erom*; see § 900 p. 448.

§ 1095. In Latin there are two Supines, in *-tu-m* (acc.) and in *-tū* (loc.), e. g. *da-tum da-tū*. The former occurs in Umbr., *aseriato* 'observatum' (*-o(m)* for *-u(m)*, I § 49 p. 42). See § 1088. 7.

On the Latin Gerund with *-ndo-* see § 1103. 3.

§ 1096. Where other languages use the Infinitive, Irish has instead a group of nomina actionis which do not lose their noun character, and when an object is express, it is put in the dependent genitive (II § 156 p. 471). As a rule, each verb has some noun from the same root ready to be used as the infinitive; the strong verbs having nouns with the suffixes *-men-*, *-ti-*, *-tu-* and others (Zeuss-Ebel, Gr. Celt. 483 ff., Windisch, Bezz. Beitr. II 75, Ir. Gr. pp. 97 ff.), and the weak verbs usually nouns with *-tu-*, e. g. *nertad* 'a strengthening' beside *nertiam* 'I strengthen' (II § 108 p. 329). Most commonly these are used in the dative with *do* 'to', as Mid.Ir. *do blith* 'to grind, for grinding' (pres. *melim*) *do nertad* 'for strengthening'. This is as near as Irish ever comes to the infinitive of the other European languages.

For the infinitive in Britannic dialects, which differs from Irish only in unimportant particulars, see Zeuss-Ebel, Gr. Celt. 534 ff.

§ 1097. In Germanic there used to be in prehistoric times a noun with the suffix *-ono-* used in the accusative case as an infinitive; e. g. Goth. *itan* O.H.G. *ezzan* 'to eat' = **ed-ono-m*, Goth. *aihan* O.H.G. *eigan* 'to possess, own'. These come very near the Skr. *ádana-m* neut. 'an eating', and Irish infinitive-nouns such as Mid.Ir. *blegon* 'a milking'. See II § 67 p. 153.

§ 1098. Balto-Slavonic. (1) *-ti-* forms the infin. stem in Lithuanian, where the infinitive ends with *-ti* or *-tė*, and in Old Church Slavonic, which has *-ti*; e. g. Lith. *dė-ti dė-tė*, O.C.Sl. *dě-ti* 'to place, lay'. There are also Lith. inff. in *-tė*

(loc.), as *dektè dēga* 'it burns fiercely' (cp. Leskien, *Bildung der Nomina im Lit.*, 404). See § 1088. 6.

(2) The Suffix *-tu-* occurs in the Supines Lith. *dētū* i. e. *dē-tū* (cp. opt. 1st pl. *dētum-bime*) O.C.Sl. *dě-tŭ* (acc.) and O.C.Sl. *dětu* (loc.), beside which observe Pruss. acc. *dā-tun* *dā-ton* and dat. *dā-twei* 'to give' used in the ordinary infinitive way (the more usual ending for this meaning is *-t*, as *dā-t*). See § 1088. 7.

(3) A verbal substantive in *-ě* is seen in O.C.Sl. *vidě-achŭ* 'I saw'. See § 903 p. 452.

2. VERBAL ADJECTIVES.

§ 1099. As already explained, no clear line can be drawn between Verbal Adjectives (Participle, Gerundive) and other Adjectives. I mention first such suffixes as are found in more than one language with verbal adjectives.

(1) *-to-*, part. perf., mostly passive. **dha-tó-s* 'placed, laid': Skr. *-dhitá-s hitá-s* Gr. *θετός* Lat. *crēditu-s* Lith. *dėta-s*. Mid.Ir. *do-breth* 'datum est' Skr. *bhṛ-tá-s* 'borne'. Goth. *vāuhr-t-s* Avest. *varš-ta-* 'done'. O.C.Sl. *žę-tŭ* 'cut, mown' Skr. *ha-tá-s* 'struck, killed'. See II § 79 pp. 218 ff., § 140. 3 and 4 p. 452 f.

(2) *-no- -eno- -ono-*, part. pret., mostly passive. Skr. *pūr-ṇá-s* 'filled', Alban. *ṭene* (Gegian dialect *ṭan*) 'said' for **ṭons-no* (G. Meyer, *Kurzg. Alban. Gramm.*, p. 42 f., *Alban. Stud.* II 76, III 65 f.), O.H.G. *gi-tān* 'done' O.C.Sl. *o-děnŭ* 'done again, turned over', A.S. *bund-en* O.Icel. *bund-enn* Goth. *bund-an-s* O.H.G. *gi-buntan* 'bound', O.C.Sl. *nes-enŭ* 'borne'. See II §§ 65—67 pp. 138 ff., § 140. 3 p. 452.

(3) *-iō-*, part. fut. pass. (Gerundive). Skr. *dṛś-ya-s dárś-īya-s* 'conspiciendus, visible, worth seeing', Goth. *un-qēp-s* 'inexpressible' O.Sax. *un-fōd-i* 'insatiate' (cp. also Gr. *ἀγ-ιo-ς* 'venerandus' Lat. *ex-im-iu-s* 'eximendus, remarkable'). See II § 63 pp. 123 ff., § 140 p. 452.

(4) *-teyo-*, *-tuyo-* *-tuyo-*, part. fut. pass. (Gerundive). Gr. *διωκ-τέo-ς* 'to be followed' for **-τεfo-ς* (Hesiod *παρείo-ς* for

**φα-τεf-ιο-ς*?), Skr. *kar-tavyà-s* 'faciendus' (implies **kar-tava-*, cp. inf. in *-tavāi* § 1089.16 p. 601), Skr. *kár-tva-s kár-tuva-s* 'faciendus'. See II § 61 p. 116, § 63 p. 127, § 64 p. 135, § 140 p. 452.

(5) *-lo-*. Armen. part. aor. act. and pass., *gereal* 'capiens', *captus* from *gerem* 'capio', O.C.Sl. part. pret. act. II *nes-lū* 'having borne'. See II § 76 p. 212, § 140 p. 451.

(6) *-ent-* *-nt-*, part. pres., aor., and fut. act. Skr. *bhārant-* Gr. *φέρων* Lat. *ferēns* Goth. *batrand-s* O.C.Sl. *bery* 'ferens', Lith. *vėžąs* 'vehens'. *s*-Aor. Skr. *dhák-ṣ-at-* 'burning', Gr. *πέψας* 'cooking'. *sjo*-Fut. Skr. *dā-syá-nt-* Lith. dial. *dū-sius* for **sians* High Lith. *dū'sęs* Gr. *δώσων* 'daturus'. See II §§ 125 f. pp. 394 ff., § 140 p. 451, IV § 491 p. 50 footnote.

(7) *-ues-* part. perf. act. Skr. *ririk-vás-* Gr. *λελοιπ-ώς* Lith. *likęs* 'having left', O.C.Sl. *mlŭz-ŭ* 'having milked'. See II § 136 pp. 438 ff., § 140 p. 451.

(8) *-meno-* *-mono-* *-mno-*, part. mid.-pass. Pres. Skr. *yāja-māna-s* Avest. *yaza-mna-* Gr. *αἰζό-μενο-ς* from √ *jaḡ-* 'honour', Pruss. *po-klausi-manas* (ī) nom. pl. fem. 'being heard'. Fut. Skr. *dā-syá-māna-s* Gr. *δω-σό-μενο-ς* from √ *dō-* 'give'. Perf. Gr. *δε-δό-μενο-ς*. The suffix *-ana-*, which replaces this in Sanskrit with unthematic stems, e. g. pres. *dā-dh-āna-s* perf. *riric-ānā-s*, may perhaps come from **-ṃno-*. See II § 67 Rem. p. 152, § 71 pp. 163 ff., § 140 p. 451.

§ 1100. Aryan.

(1) *-to-*, part. perf. mostly passive. Skr. *kṛ-tá-s* Avest. *ker'-ta-* O.Pers. *kar-ta-* 'made', Skr. Avest. O.Pers. *i-ta-* 'gone'. See § 1099.1.

(2) *-no-*, in Sanskrit, beside *-to-*, as *pūr-ná-s* = *pūr-tú-s* 'filled', *bhinná-s* 'split'. See § 1099.2.

(3) *-jo-*, part. fut. pass. (Gerundive), Skr. *dṛś-ya-s* *dārś-ya-s* Avest. *dar's-ya-* 'conspiciendus, visible'. See § 1099.3.

(4) Skr. *-t-ya-* instead of *-ya-* (3) when the root ends in a short vowel, as *kṛ-tya-s* 'faciendus'. See II § 63 p. 123. Cp. infin. *i-t-yāi* beside *bhuj-yāi* § 1089.12, 14 pp. 601 f.

(5) Skr. *-ay-ya* *-ay-ya-*, part. fut. pass., based upon the

Infinitive in *-ay*, as *śravāy-īya-s* 'laudandus, praiseworthy'; next we have *stuṣṭēyīya-s* 'celebrandus, praedicandus' based upon the Infin. *stu-ṣ-ē* (§ 1089. 2 p. 599). Cp. Mod.H.G. *der zu lobende, ein zu lobender* from *zu loben*.

(6) Skr. *-tva- -tuva-* and *-tavya-*, part. fut. pass., *kār-tva-s* *kār-tuva-s* and *kar-tavyā-s* 'faciendus'. See § 1099. 4.

(7) Skr. *-anīya-*, part. fut. pass., derived from nomina actionis in *-ana-m* (II § 67 p. 150), as *karānīya-s* 'faciendus' from *karāna-m* 'a making', cp. *gṛhamēdh-īya-s* adj. of *gṛhamēdhā-s* 'house offering', *tṛt-īya-s* 'tertius' (II § 63 p. 122). These gerunds did not grow common until the later period.

(8) Skr. *-ēnya- -ēniya-*, part. fut. pass., as *dyṣṭēniya-s* 'conspiciendus', from an *s*-aorist *yās-ēnya-s* 'cohibendus'. A suggestion may be offered that this form comes from the infin. with *-ē*; compare the remarks on *-na-* as a secondary suffix in Sanskrit, vol. II § 66 p. 142.

(9) *-ent- -nt-*, part. pres., fut., and aor. active. Skr. *s-ánt-* Avest. *h-ant-* 'being', Skr. *vāha-nt-* Avest. *vaza-nt-* 'vehens', fut. Skr. *vak-ṣyā-nt-* Avest. *vax-ṣya-nt-* from *vac-* 'to speak', *s*-aorist Skr. *dhák-ṣ-at-* from *dah-* 'to burn'. See § 1099. 6.

(10) *-o-*, part. pres. active. Skr. *pra-mṛṇá-s* 'destroying' with indic. *-mṛṇá-ti*, Avest. *per'sō* 'asking' with indic. *per'sa-iti*. See III § 198 p. 78.

(11) Skr. *-u-*, part. pres. active of *s*-Desideratives (§ 667 pp. 198 ff.), as *dipsú-ṣ* 'wishing to hurt' beside indic. *dīpsa-ti*, and from verbs in *-āya-ti* (§ 794 pp. 326 ff., § 795 pp. 330 f.), as *bhājayú-ṣ* from indic. *bhājāya-ti*. See II § 104 p. 314. With the latter participles compare those from denominative verbs, such as *aśvayú-ṣ*. II § 105 p. 319.

(12) Skr. *-uka-*, part. pres. active, formed from *-u-* (11) with *-ka-*, as *śikṣu-ka-s* 'sharing' (specially common in the Brāhmanas). See II § 88 p. 264.

(13) *-uṣ-*, part. perf. active. Skr. *ci-kit-vás* Avest. *ci-kiṭ-wah-* beside indic. Skr. *ci-kēt-a* 'knows'. See § 1099. 7.

(14) Skr. *-tavant-*, part. perf. active, formed from *-ta-* (1)

with *-vant-*, as *kṛtá-vant-* 'factum habens, πεποιηώς' (cp. the unique Avestic (*vī*)*ver'zda-vant-* = ai. *vṛddhá-vant-* from *vardh-* 'to help, exalt'). See II § 127 p. 406, Bartholomae, Stud. zur idg. Sprachg. I 14 ff.

(15) Skr. *-māna-* Avest. *-mana-* *-mna-*, part. mid.-pass. with thematic stems. Pres. Skr. *bhāra-māna-s* from *bhar-* 'to bear', Avest. *bar'ze-mana-* *bar'ze-mna-* from *barz-* 'to raise oneself, be high'. Fut. Skr. *yak-ṣyá-māna-s* from *yaj-* 'to honour' Avest. *var'sya-mna-* from *varz-* 'to work'. See § 1099. 8.

(16) Ar. *-āna-*, part. mid.-pass. with thematic stems. Pres. Skr. *dā-dh-āna-s* Avest. *da-ḥ-āna-* beside indic. Skr. *dā-dha-ti* 'places'. Perf. Skr. *ja-gm-ānā-s* from *gam-* 'to go', Avest. *vāver'z-āna-* from *varz-* 'to work'. The ground-form of this *-āna-* is doubtful. See § 1099. 8.

§ 1101. Armenian.

(1) *-lo-*, part. aor., e. g. *gereal* 'capiens, captus', from the ę-Aorist *gereçal* (§ 905^a p. 453). See § 1099. 5.

(2) *-aul* (later *-ol -ol*) forming nomina agentis and part. pres. act., e. g. *geraul* 'captor, capiens'. Bugge, Idg. Forsch. I 437 derives *-aul* from Idg. *-a-tro-* (II § 62 pp. 118 ff., § 119 pp. 376 ff.).

(3) Two part. fut., both with active and passive meaning, are made from the infinitive in *-l + -i* and *-oç*, as *gereli* and *gereloç*.

§ 1102. Greek.

(1) *-to-*, part. perf., mostly passive (but generally used as adj.) and gerundival (expressing capacity, possibility, or the like, II § 79 p. 220); e. g. *ῥα-τό-ς* 'skinned', *λυ-τό-ς* 'capable of being set free'. See § 1099. 1.

(2) *-teuo-*, part. fut. passive, as *διωκ-τέο-ς* 'fit to be pursued'. See § 1099. 4.

(3) *-ent-* *-nt-*, part. pres., aor., and fut. active, as *λείπω* *λείπων* *λείψας* *λείπων* from *λείπω* 'I leave'. See § 1099. 6.

(4) *-ues-* (*-uet*), part. perf. active, as *λε-λοιπ-ώς*. See § 1099. 7.

(5) *-meno-*, part. mid.-pass. from any mid.-pass. indicative; *λειπό-μενο-ς* *λιπό-μενο-ς* *λειψά-μενο-ς* *λειψό-μενο-ς* *λε-λειμ-μένο-ς*. See § 1099. 8.

§ 1103. *Italic.*

(1) *-to-*, part. perf., mostly passive (for the use of this participle with deponents see II § 79 p. 219 f.). Lat. *scrip-tu-s*, Umbr. *screihtor* pl. 'scripti' Osc. *scriftas* pl. 'scriptae'. See § 1099. 1.

(2) Lat. *-turo-*, part. fut. active, as *datūru-s*. Possibly developed out of the inf. in *-tūrum*. See § 900 p. 448.

(3) Ital. *-endo-*, part. fut. passive (Gerundive.) Lat. *ferundu-s ferendu-s faciundu-s faciendu-s, juvandu-s, videndu-s*, Umbr. *an-ferener* gen. 'circumferendi' *pihaner* gen. 'piandi', Osc. *úpsannam* 'operandam'. In the explanation suggested in vol. II § 69 p. 161 f. (cp. Bartholomae, Stud. idg. Spr. II 96) I went far astray, chiefly because the Lith. participles in *-tina-s*, which I compared, are probably analogical and belong only to Balto-Slavonic (§ 1106. 3). Of the explanations which I have met with in the meantime, those of Thurneysen, Conway, and Dunn (for references see footnote to page 596) in my opinion none will do.

Remark. Weisweiler's investigations (for which see same page) make it extremely probable that 'something to be done' is really the original meaning of this Gerundive; and that the Gerund (which is not found in our records of Umbrian or Samnite) is a mere outgrowth of the gerundive, such a phrase as *virtūs colenda est* suggesting *colendum est* (similarly *patriae defendendae causā* suggested *defendendī causā*) as an impersonal construction with similar meaning (*colitur* = *cultio fit*, *cultum est* = *cultio facta est*, hence *colendum est* = *cultio facienda est*). And since the other Idg. languages, so far as we know, have nothing which we can compare with the suffix of the Italic gerundive, it becomes probable *a priori* that the gerundive grew up in Italy, and was based upon the infinitive of purpose, just as Mod.H.G. *der zu lobende, ein zu lobende* comes from *zu loben*, and Skr. *śravāy-īya-s* 'laudandus' from inf. **śravāi* (§ 1100. 5 p. 102). On this I base the following conjecture.¹⁾

1) This was written before I learnt that Pott (Et. Forsch. II¹ 239 and II² 517) and Schröder (Kuhn's Zeitschr. XIV 354) had already analysed *ferendus* into *feren-do-*, and that in the final part of it, *-do-*, they saw the Mod.H.G. *zu* (Engl. *to*). But their view of the first part of *feren-do-* is untenable.

In pr. Italic it was customary to combine the accus. infinitive in *-m*, such as Umbr. *fero(m)* *fašiu(m)*, with the postposition **dō* or **de* 'to' (cp. Lat. *en-dō indu*, *dō-nicum dō-nec*, Avest. *vaesman-da* 'to the house', Gr. *ἡμέτερον-δε ἡμέτερον δῶ*, O.Ir. *do* 'to' A.S. *tō* O.H.G. *zuo* and *zi* 'to', see III § 223 Rem. 3 p. 102, Fick, Wtb.⁴ 457), the combination meaning the same as our *to* with the infinitive. *-md-* must have become *-nd-* in pr. Ital. (cp. O.Lat. *quan-de* Umbr. *pane* and the like, I § 207 p. 174); this isolated the inf. + postposition from the ordinary inf. in *-m*. Then these forms ending with *dō* or *de* were made the foundation for derivative adjectives in the *o*-declension, on the same principle as *subjugu-s*, *anteno-vissimu-s*, *perfidu-s* come from *sub jugō*, *ante novissimum*, *per fidum* (II § 15 p. 31, § 35 p. 62).

The explanation of the forms *plendu-s videndu-s flandu-s arandu-s* depends upon our view of the Umbr.-Samn. infinitive (Osc. *fatium* 'fari' *censaum* 'censere' Umbr. *stiplo(m)* 'stipulari' — *-o(m)* contracted from *-ā-om*). Firstly, these may be transformations of *-m* and *-ā-m* on the lines of the thematic conjugation. In view of all that has been said in § 487 p. 41 f. §§ 578 ff. pp. 118 ff., and of infin. forms like Avest. *dam* 'to place, give' (§ 1089.1 p. 599), **plē-m* **vidē-m* **flā-m* **arā-m* in the same sense as *plēre*, *vidēre* etc. would seem nothing strange. In Lat. *plendu-s arandu-s* Osc. *úpsannam*, then, we should see these older infinitive forms unchanged. For Lat. *rotundu-s* (beside *rota*) *rubicundu-s* (beside *rubicāre* *Rubicō* from **rubicō-*) it would be needful to assume inf. **rotō-m* **rubicō-m* (cp. *aegrō-tu-s*); *rotundu-s* for **rotōndo-s* like *latrunculu-s* for **latrōn-culu-s*. And the agreement in form between *arandu-s videndu-s* and part. pres. *arant- vident-*, whilst in **ferondo-s* (*ferundu-s*) the vowel did not agree with *ferent-*, produced very soon, indeed in pr. Italic, the re-formate *ferendo-s*. Secondly: it is possible that even in pr. Italic the Oscan forms *fatium censaum* existed, in the shape **-ē-jom* **-ā-jom* (cp. 1st sing. pres. in **-ē-jo* **-ā-jo*),¹⁾ and so there were also in use *-ē(j)on-do-* *-ā(j)on-do-* (cp. Lat. *faciundu-s* beside Umbr. *fašiu(m)* 'facere'). Then the relation of **ferondo-* to the participial stem **feront-* (cp. *eunt-* etc. II § 126 p. 401) produced not only *ferendo-* following *ferent-* but also *arando- videndo-* following *arant- vident-*. In this case a simple explanation is possible for *rotundu-s rubicundu-s*.²⁾ They would go with *rotāre rubicāre*, and would come regularly from **rotā(j)ondo-* **rubicā(j)ondo-* through the intermediate stage of **rotōndo-*

1) This would allow a simple explanation for Umbr. *subocau* in the formula *sobocau suboco* 'I entreat entreatingly'. It would be inf. like Lith. *deklė* in *deklė dēga* 'it burns up bright' (cp. § 473 Rem. p. 17 f.). But it would be perhaps not acc., for **-ā-jo-m*, but instr., for **-ā-jo* ('with weeping'). For the ending of the 1st sing. *subocau* see § 980 p. 520.

2) What is gained by connecting the group in *-cundu-s* with the Greek *κ-*perfect I cannot see (cp. Weisweiler, p. 41; Johansson, Beitr. Gr. Spr., 91 f.).

**rubicāndo-* (cp. 1st sing. *rotō* for **rotā-(i)ō*) — *rotundus* would mean 'that which goes rolling, rollable'. These then will have kept the older form of the infinitive more exactly than *rotandu-s rubicandu-s*, because they so soon became simple adjectives.

Of these two explanations I prefer the second.

The Lat. adj. in *-bundu-s* cannot be directly connected with the *b*-future, as is shewn by *furibundu-s* (beside *furere*) *pavibundu-s* (beside *pavēre*) and like forms. If we are not to start from nouns with the suffix *-bho- -bhā-* (II § 78 pp. 216 ff.), the best thing is to suppose that they are compounds containing *-bhū-o-* (from *√bhey-* 'to be come, be', cp. Skr. *ā-bhū-a-m*). We then compare the Skr. *vāha-dhyāi* and similar compounds (§ 1089. 12 p. 600).

(4) *-ent- -nt-*, part. pres. active. Lat. *prae-sēns* Osc. *prae-sentid* 'praesente', Lat. *sedēns* Umbr. *zeřef serse* 'sedens'. See § 1099. 6.

(5) The part. perf. active with *-ues-* must have been living in Umbro-Samnite, because it was used to make the future perfect, as Umbr. *dersicust* 'dixerit'; cp. also Osc. *sipus* 'sciens'. See II § 136 p. 445, IV § 872 p. 421, § 1099. 7. p. 606.

§ 1104. Keltic.

(1) The *-to-* of the part. perf. (passive), which is contained in the pret. passive, e. g. Mid.Ir. *do-breth* 'datum est', was exchanged for *-te -the*, which consist of *-to-* + *-io-*; e. g. O.Ir. *brúthe brethe* 'brought'. Cymric had in place of *-to-* the ending *-(e)tic* i. e. *-t-ico-*. See II § 79 p. 232 f., IV § 1099. 1.

(2) O.Ir. *-ti -thi,*¹⁾ part. fut. passive ("participle of necessity"); e. g. *messi* 'iudicandus' *carthi carthⁱ* 'amandus'. Mod.Cymr. *cara-dwy* Cornish *cara-dow*.

Remark. The last who has discussed this participle is Ascoli (*Sprachwiss. Briefe*, 76 ff.); but he comes to no definite conclusion. Thurneysen writes: "I know no plausible explanation. Ir. *-thi* admits of no ending with orig. *-os* or *-ā*. British has for final the diphthong which has developed in stem-syllables from *ei* (or from *ē* in borrowed words), e. g. O.Bret. *in-aatōe*, a gloss, 'ineundum' (*√ag-*) Mod.Cymr. *caradwy* 'amandus'. The suffix perhaps originally had *ā* before the dental even in primary verbs, cp. Brit. **aga-toi*, Ir. *bethi* for **biathi* 'to cut' beside part. passive *búthe* (this word *bethi* I have wrongly explained in Kuhn's *Zeitschr.* xxxi 92), *for-canti* 'to teach' for **-canathi*. Its

1) The supposed ending *-ti -thi* is due to a scribe's blunder, *dénti* 'faciendum' being written *dénti*.

connexion with the stem of the part. passive, which came about in Irish with primary verbs, must then be secondary; it is not carried out in Old Irish. We should arrive at something like **-ateivis* as the original ending."

§ 1105. Germanic.

(1) *-to-*, part. perf., mostly passive, in Weak Verbs and those Strong ones which had a weak preterite (§ 907 p. 454). Goth. *salbō-p-s* O.H.G. *gi-salbō-t* 'anointed', Goth. *vaúrh-t-s* O.H.G. *gi-worht -woraht* 'worked'. See § 1099. 1.

(2) *-no- -eno- -ono-*, with the same function as *-to-* (1), only in Strong Verbs. O.H.G. *gi-tān* 'done', O.H.G. *bund-en* O.Icel. *bund-enn* Goth. *bund-an-s* O.H.G. *gi-buntan* 'bound' (II § 65 p. 138, § 67 pp. 151, 153). See § 1099. 2.

(3) *-jo-*, part. fut. passive, seems established for the earlier periods of Germanic as a participial suffix, e. g. Goth. *un-qēþ-s* 'inexpressible', O.Sax. *un-fōdi* 'insatiate'. See § 1099. 3.

(4) *-nt-*, part. pres. active. Goth. *kiusa-nd-s* O.H.G. *chiosanti* 'trying, choosing' (II § 126 p. 402). See § 1099. 6.

§ 1106. Balto-Slavonic.

(1) *-to-* part. perf., mostly passive. Living in all classes of verbs in Lithuanian, as *sūk-ta-s* 'turned'. In O.C.Sl. however its use is circumscribed; an example of it is *īč-tŭ* 'chopped, hewn, mown' (II § 79 p. 236). See § 1099. 1.

(2) *-no- -eno-*, with the same function as *-to-* (1), and in O.C.Sl. much the commoner; e. g. *danŭ* 'given' *nes-enŭ* 'borne, carried' (II § 67 p. 151, 154). See § 1099. 2.

(3) A part. fut. passive is formed in Lithuanian and Slavonic from the part. in *-to-* (1), and in Slavonic from that in *-no- -eno-*, the further suffix used for this purpose being *-yno-* Lith. *-ina-* O.C.Sl. *-ino-*; e. g. Lith. *sūk-tina-s* 'fit to be turned' O.C.Sl. *pri-jetŭnu* 'acceptable, pleasant', O.C.Sl. *ne-iz-d-reč-enŭnŭ* 'inexpressible'. On consideration of what Leskien says in his *Bildung der Nomina im Lit.*, 255 f., I now believe that the comparison of Lith. *-tina-* with the O.Pers. infin. in *-tanaiy* and the Lat. gerundive in *-ndo-* (II § 69. 2 pp. 161 f.) must be given up.

(4) O.C.Sl. *-lo-*, so-called part. pret. active II, e. g. *nes-lŭ* in *neslŭ jesmŭ* 'I have borne' (§ 903 p. 452). See § 1099. 5.

(5) O.Preuss. *-mana-*, part. pres. passive: *madlas poklausimanas ast* 'the prayers are heard'. See § 1099. 8.

(6) *-mo-*, part. pres. passive in Baltic and Slavonic; also part. fut. passive in Baltic. Lith. *vėža-ma-s* O.C.Sl. *vezo-mŭ* 'being carried', Lith. fut. *vėdzi-ma-s*. Add the so-called Lith. part. pres. active II in *-da-ma-s*, as *sūk-dama-s* 'turning', which is closely connected with the imperf. *-davau* (§ 908 p. 455) and must originally have been middle (deponent). Compare Umbr. *persnih-mu* 'precamino', II § 72.1 p. 166.

(7) *-ent-* *-nt-*, part. pres. and fut. active. Lith. *vėžās* O.C.Sl. *vezy* 'vehens', Lith. fut. dialectic *vėszius* for **veszians*, High-Lith. *vėszės* (O.C.Sl. *byšąšteje byšęšteje* 'futurum, τὸ μέλλον'). See § 1099. 6.

(8) *-ues-*, part. perf. active. Lith. *milž-ęs* O.C.Sl. *mlŭz-ŭ* 'having milked'. In Lith. also in the so-called part. imperf. act. in *-davęs*, belonging to the indic. in *-davau* (§ 908 p. 455). See § 1099. 7.



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A
COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR
OF THE
INDO-GERMANIC LANGUAGES.

Da muss sich manches Rätsel lösen
Doch manches Rätsel knüpft sich auch.

Goethe, Faust.

A
COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR
OF THE
INDO-GERMANIC LANGUAGES.

A CONCISE EXPOSITION

OF THE HISTORY

OF SANSKRIT, OLD IRANIAN (AVESTIC AND OLD PERSIAN), OLD ARMENIAN,
GREEK, LATIN, UMBRO-SAMNITIC, OLD IRISH, GOTHIC, OLD HIGH GERMAN
LITHUANIAN AND OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC

BY

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PROFESSOR OF COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LEIPZIG.

INDICES OF THE VOLUMES I—IV.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

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TO

JOHN PEILE,

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THIS TRANSLATION IS DEDICATED

IN TOKEN OF THEIR GRATITUDE AND AFFECTION

BY

HIS OLD PUPILS.

148239

P r e f a c e.

In the treatment of Phonetics and Morphology in this work, so many words are cited along with parallels and words etymologically connected, that the book may be used to this extent in the study of etymology. To this end the Index of Words has been compiled, including as it does more than mere grammatical forms. I would also observe that I have somewhat departed from the usual methods of such indices, because very few of those who use it will be equally at home in all the languages therein contained, and many may look for words out of a language whose paradigms are not familiar to them.

For the Index of Matters two limitations have been set. If it contained all the processes described, in the same detail as we find in the indices to our periodicals, or in any other conceivable form, not only would this have taken up much space, but what is more to the point, it would have been hardly easier to find one's way about by means of the index than can be done by aid of the very full Table of Contents to Volume I. I have therefore, with certain few exceptions, excluded the processes of sound change. On the other hand, the idea of giving all the exemples of Analogy in all its kinds was given up, chiefly for lack of space. The headings given are those only which the student is most

likely to look for, such as Popular Etymology, Assimilation of Opposites, and the like. In these last I have had much help from lists of the examples for Analogical Re-formation, given in Vols. I and II, which were compiled by my pupil E. Kleinhans, and very kindly placed at my disposal.

Leipzig, Jan. 5. 1893.

Karl Brugmann.

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I. Index of Words.

(Numbered by Volume and Page.)

Sanskrit.

Order of the letters: *a ā i ī u ū ṛ ṝ ḷ ḹ ē ai ō āu ḥ , k kh g gh ṇ c ch j*
jh ñ ṭ ṭh ḍ ḍh ṇ t th d dh n p ph b bh m y r l v ś ṣ s h.

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zaranyetē IV 156.
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zazaran- II 96.
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zāta- I 206.
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<i>hađiš</i> - II 425.	<i>hāu</i> III 337.	<i>hunāiti</i> IV 138.
<i>hapta</i> I 348, III 17.	<i>her̥zaiti</i> IV 87.	<i>hunu-š</i> II 320 ^{bis} .
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<i>ham</i> - II 483.	<i>hišaxti</i> IV 101.	<i>huška</i> - I 332, II 254.
<i>hama</i> ('in summer') III 104.	<i>hišcamaiđē</i> (1 st pl.) IV 536.	<i>hva</i> - I 140. 142, III 371. 390. 392 (see also <i>xwa</i> -).
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<i>havane-m</i> II 150.	<i>hu hu</i> - I 49, II 43.	<i>hvaṇmahī</i> (1 st pl.) IV 138, Addenda p. 141
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Old Persian.

Order of the Letters: *a ā i ī u ū k g x c j t d p p b f n m y v r l*
š s š z h.

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<i>aitiy</i> I 49, IV 59.	<i>atiy</i> I 273.	<i>aniyanā</i> III 344.
<i>aiva</i> - I 69, II 134, III 4.	<i>adadā</i> IV 101.	<i>amahy</i> (1 st pl.) IV 60.
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<i>aura</i> - II 201. 314.	<i>adaršnauš</i> I 230. 275, IV 355.	<i>amiy</i> (1 st sg.) I 415, IV 60.
<i>auramazdāh</i> - I 415, II 44.	<i>adānā</i> I 207, IV 142.	<i>aya</i> (3 rd pl.) IV 30.
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<i>akūnavatā</i> (3 rd pl.) IV 185.	<i>adīnā</i> (3 rd sg.), <i>adīnam</i> (1 st sg.) IV 143.	<i>ayastar</i> - II 384.
<i>akūnavam</i> I 231, IV 178.	<i>apāha</i> I 295.	<i>ava</i> - III 329.
<i>akūnavayatā</i> (3 rd pl.) IV 332.	<i>apa</i> - I 88.	<i>avajata</i> - II 37.
<i>akūmā</i> IV 57.	<i>apataram</i> II 191.	<i>arasam</i> IV 201. 204.
<i>agarbāyam</i> IV 262.	<i>aparam</i> II 190.	<i>ariyārāmna</i> - II 42.
<i>aja</i> (3 rd sg.), <i>ajanam</i> (1 st sg.) IV 58.	<i>aparsam</i> I 230.	<i>-aršan</i> - I 419.
	<i>abara</i> IV 81.	<i>ašiyavam</i> I 333. 350, II 81.
	<i>abiš</i> III 136. 258.	<i>asariyatā</i> IV 244.
	<i>an</i> - ('un-') I 196.	<i>astiy</i> I 32, IV 60.
	<i>anayam</i> IV 81.	<i>aspa</i> - I 142.

<i>aspacanh-</i> II 416.	<i>cā</i> I 49. 332.	<i>patiy-axšaiy</i> IV 193.
<i>asman-</i> I 88, II 368.	<i>ciy</i> I 32, III 333.	194.
<i>ašārayam</i> IV 288.	<i>cišciy</i> III 333.	<i>patiš</i> III 136.
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<i>aḥatā</i> (3rd pl.) IV 569.		<i>pariy</i> I 49.
<i>aḥy</i> (2nd sg.) IV 523.	<i>jata-</i> I 335.	<i>paru-</i> I 231, II 314.
	<i>jatar-</i> II 384.	<i>parūva-</i> II 134.
	<i>jadīy</i> (imper.) IV 503.	<i>parsā</i> (imper.) IV 204.
<i>-āiš</i> (3rd sg.), <i>-āiša</i> (3rd pl.) IV 355.	<i>jadīyāmīy</i> IV 234.	<i>pātīšuvārī-š</i> II 280.
<i>āpiyā</i> II 181.	<i>janiyā</i> IV 484.	<i>pātūw</i> IV 129.
	<i>jamīyā</i> I 334, IV 484.	<i>piṭar-</i> I 100, II 383.
		<i>pušra-</i> I 213.
<i>ima</i> III 331.	<i>taiy</i> ('tibi') I 162, III 384.	<i>basta-</i> I 194. 356, II 225.
<i>iyam</i> III 337.	<i>taumā-</i> II 172. 369, III 102. 282.	<i>diyā</i> (opt.) I 112. 150, IV 481.
<i>u-</i> ('well') I 40. 414.	<i>tarsatīy</i> IV 203.	<i>bumi-</i> II 289.
<i>ud-apataīā</i> IV 82.	<i>tūwam</i> III 373.	<i>brātar-</i> II 383.
<i>ubarta-</i> II 43.	<i>tya-</i> I 116, III 328.	
<i>uwa-</i> I 143, III 371. 390.	<i>tyanā</i> III 344.	<i>fra-</i> I 264. 348.
<i>uṽmaršīyu-š</i> II 42.		<i>fratama-</i> II 178, III 5.
<i>uṽarazmī-</i> I 300. 415.	<i>dauštar-</i> I 49. 297. 410. II 384.	<i>framātar-</i> II 384.
<i>uška-</i> I 332. 413, II 254.	<i>darga-</i> I 243. 335, II 111.	<i>nāpā</i> I 416.
<i>katanaīy</i> II 161.	<i>dastayā</i> III 206.	<i>nāvama-</i> III 22.
<i>karta-</i> I 230.	<i>dahyāu-š</i> II 318.	<i>nāman-</i> II 368.
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<i>gaudaya</i> I 300.	<i>dārayāmīy</i> IV 330.	<i>niy-apišam</i> IV 195. 369.
<i>gauša-</i> II 111.	<i>dīdā-</i> I 300.	<i>niy-ašādayam</i> I 410, IV 330.
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	<i>dūra-</i> II 201.	
	<i>dūrūxta-</i> I 356.	<i>mai</i> y (dat. gen.) III 384.
<i>xšayāršan-</i> II 42. 348, III 70.	<i>dūrūjiya-</i> (present stem) I 335. 470, IV 244.	<i>maḥišta-</i> I 90, II 428.
<i>xšasapāvan-</i> II 41.	<i>drauga-</i> I 335.	<i>manā</i> (gen.) III 389.
<i>xšaša-m</i> II 118.	<i>drayah-</i> I 297, II 415.	<i>maniyaḥy</i> I 195, IV 235.
<i>xšnāsātīy</i> I 296. 298, IV 203. 204.		<i>martiya-</i> I 116, II 126.
<i>cazriyā</i> IV 486.	<i>ḥahyāmahy</i> IV 244.	<i>mātar-</i> II 383.
<i>cartanaīy</i> II 161. 476, IV 600.	<i>ḥatīy</i> I 415.	<i>mārgava-</i> II 112.
	<i>ḥuzra-</i> I 332. 350, II 183.	<i>ya-</i> I 113.

<i>vāyam</i> III 374.	<i>rautah-</i> I 414, II 416.	<i>hainā-</i> I 414.
<i>varnavatām</i> (imper.) IV 185.	<i>rāsta-</i> II 235.	<i>hawō</i> II 3. 9, III 337.
<i>vašna-</i> I 296, II 142.	<i>ša</i> (abl.) III 379.	<i>hazāmani-š</i> I 351.
<i>vasiy</i> (<i>vasaiy</i>) I 296, III 185.	<i>šaiy</i> (dat. gen.) III 371.	<i>hadiš-</i> II 425.
<i>vazraka-</i> II 183.	<i>šiyāti-š</i> II 297, IV 207.	<i>hama-</i> I 414.
<i>vahuka-</i> II 314.	<i>sugūda-</i> <i>sugūda</i> I 470.	<i>hamapitar-</i> II 24.
<i>vahyasdāta-</i> II 43.	<i>stā</i> ('to stand') I 351.	<i>hamarana-m</i> II 150.
<i>viṣ-</i> II 479.	<i>onaxa</i> II 264.	<i>harauvai-</i> I 143, II 338. 406.
<i>višpa-</i> II 134.	<i>ši-</i> 'dreī', <i>šitiya-</i> I 213. 274. 349, II 244. 470, III 9.	<i>harūva-</i> I 142.
<i>raucah-</i> I 211, II 416. 425.		<i>hašiya-</i> I 114. 274. 349.
		<i>hidū-š</i> I 414, II 314.
		<i>hya</i> III 328.

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<i>bām</i> II 172.	<i>sāyah</i> I 294.
<i>nāxun</i> I 406.	<i>varvarah</i> II 95.

Ossetian.

<i>ard</i> (<i>art</i>) II 227.	<i>nūx</i> ¹⁾ I 406.
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Armenian.

Order of the Letters: *a b g d e z ʒ ɛ t š i l x c k h j l č m y n š o u*
ç p ǰ ř s v t r ɸ ʃ ʁ ̈o (au).

<i>agevor</i> II 45.	<i>amis</i> I 62. 169. 416, III 285.	<i>anarg</i> II 46.
<i>ac</i> (3. sg.) IV 29.	<i>aīl</i> I 87. 112. 117, II 192.	<i>andān</i> II 46.
<i>acem</i> I 87, IV 81.	<i>aic</i> I 301, II 280.	<i>ancuk</i> see <i>anjuk</i> .
<i>akn</i> I 336. 357, II 347.	<i>aīl</i> I 70.	<i>ankin</i> II 46.
<i>aknkāl</i> II 45.	<i>aitnum</i> I 70, IV 180.	<i>anjuk</i> I 301. 358, II 263. 269. 313. 455.
<i>al</i> I 94. 416, II 281. 485.	<i>air</i> II 345.	<i>anun</i> I 169. 197, II 367.
<i>alačēm</i> IV 202. 205.	<i>airevji</i> II 46.	<i>aņčanem aņči</i> IV 29. 204.
<i>albeur</i> I 214. 228. 233. 266, II 364.	<i>aīç</i> I 301, II 275.	<i>ačē</i> (pl.) I 70. 336. 357, II 279. 280.
<i>alwēs</i> I 63. 214, II 251.	<i>an-</i> ('un-') I 194. 197, II 29. 46.	<i>ařajin</i> III 6.
<i>alauri</i> II 119.	<i>ananun</i> II 46.	<i>ařn</i> III 124.
<i>amařn</i> I 197. 416, II 171. 483.		

1) *njx* in Tagaurian, *nix* in Digorian, according to Hübschmann, Etym. und Lautl. der osset. Sprache, 52. 84.

arṇakin II 46.
arṇem IV 113. 149.
arṇim IV 246.
arṇum ari IV 29. 177.
 180.
aṛoganem IV 156.
aseḷn I 89. 300.
astl I 214. 276. 416.
-a-vor II 7.
ateam I 70.
arari IV 113. 149.
arḅ I 266.
arbi I 266. 358.
argel I 90. 336. 357.
ardar I 233, II 183. 227.
ardarev III 133.
arciv arcui I 233. 301.
 350.
armukn I 241, II 171.
 264.
arj I 230. 233. 358. 417.
araur arḅr I 94. 222.
 276, II 118.

basuk II 315.
ban I 255. 266. 358,
 II 287.
banam IV 144.
baṛnam barji IV 88. 144.
barapan II 45.
barj I 301.
barji see *baṛnam*.
barjr I 232. 304. 359,
 II 315.
bači IV 201. 203. 204.
bekanem IV 169.
berem I 263, IV 80.
bok I 419, II 254.
bu buč I 265.

gail I 227. 233. 336,
 II 111.
gan I 317. 336. 358.
gaṛn I 218. 233, II 349.
gelmn II 369.

get I 277.
gin II 142.
gini I 70, II 127. 134.
gišer I 417.
giut IV 164. 166.
gitači IV 204.
gitem I 137. 145, IV
 82. 404.
gom IV 64.
gočem I 332.
gorc I 145, II 113.
gorcem IV 293.
gtanem I 32. 473, IV
 87. 88. 157.

-d (Pronoun) III 327.
da III 327.
dalar II 183.
dayeak I 101.
dail dal I 101. 210, II
 198.
daṛnam IV 144.
diem I 63. 276. 368.
dizem I 50.
diučazn II 46.
dnem I 273, IV 149.
du III 373.
duṛn I 43. 213.
dustr I 276 343, II 382.
durn I 327. 336. 406.
duķ III 364. 369. 374.
drakič II 45.
drand drandi I 207. 276.
 357, II 45. 227.

e- (augment) IV 24.
egit (3. sg.) IV 52. 88.
 157.
edi IV 31. 53. 63. 519.
 529. 546.
edič IV 28.
eṭuķ (3rd sg.) IV 88. 157.
eliķ (3rd sg.) IV 88. 157.
eker (3rd sg.) I 336, IV
 82.

eki, 3rd sg. *ekn*, I 336,
 IV 31. 51. 63. 529.
 530.
ekič IV 28.
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elbair I 97. 214, II 382.
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eln I 50. 214, II 349.
em I 417, IV 52. 63.
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en (3rd pl.) IV 546.
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The spelling follows G. Meyer's Wörterbuch der alban. Sprache, and the meanings are added to make finding easier.

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Romance.

Abbreviations: Rou. = Roumanian, It. = Italian, Fr. = French,
Sp. = Spanish, Port. — Portuguese.

<i>avamo</i> It. I 483.	<i>guastare</i> It. I 145.	<i>pattepelue</i> Fr. II 64.
<i>belva</i> It. I 151.	<i>jeune</i> Fr. I 121.	<i>pellegrino</i> It. I 217.
<i>bonbon</i> Fr. II 100.	<i>joujou</i> Fr. II 100.	<i>pevera</i> It. II 213.
<i>canif</i> Fr. I 468.	<i>liga</i> It. Sp. IV 292.	<i>pidria</i> It. II 213.
<i>cavalligieri</i> It. I 483.	<i>ligue</i> Fr. IV 292.	<i>rouge-gorge</i> Fr. II 64.
<i>complete</i> Fr. I 463.	<i>-ment</i> Fr. II 104.	<i>semù</i> Rou. IV 92.
<i>dites</i> (2 nd pl.) Fr. IV 542.	<i>mezzo</i> It. I 122.	<i>somos</i> Sp. Port. IV 92.
<i>faites</i> (2 nd pl.) Fr. IV 542.	<i>mon</i> Fr. III 370.	<i>tenoe</i> Fr. 151.
<i>ganso</i> Sp. I 393.	<i>morto</i> It. I 151.	<i>tututto</i> It. II 100.
<i>giovane</i> It. I 121.	<i>muerto</i> Sp. I 151.	<i>vecchio</i> It. I 278.
	<i>neté</i> Fr. I 483.	<i>venche venge</i> Fr. IV 80.

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Umbrian.

For *k* see *c*; *ř* follows *r*, *ś* and *š* follow *s*.

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c and *ch* will be found under *k*, *qu* under *kw*, *v* under *f*.

The Presents are generally cited in the infinitive form.

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(b) Middle High German.

v follows *e*.

The Present is cited in the Infinitive form.

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Low German (Low Saxon).

c will be found under *k*, *ð* under *b*, *th* (*ð*) under *t*.
The Present is usually given in the Infinitive form.

(a) Old Saxon (Old Low German).	<i>dag</i> I 393.	<i>fregnan</i> (1 st sg. <i>frignu</i>) IV 438.
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<i>aðuh</i> II 256.	<i>ðom</i> IV 479.	<i>frost</i> II 235.
<i>agastria</i> II 336.	<i>drugina</i> II 151.	<i>fugal</i> I 221.
<i>aha</i> I 94.	<i>dunian</i> IV 323.	<i>fullitha</i> II 239.
<i>ahsla</i> II 199.	<i>eðan</i> I 182.	<i>fullōn</i> IV 306.
<i>accar</i> I 211. 392.	<i>eggia</i> I 380.	
<i>alowaldand</i> II 403.	<i>ēcso</i> II 445, IV 430. 436.	<i>gaduling</i> II 267.
<i>antahoda</i> III 40.	<i>elilendi</i> II 70.	<i>gast</i> I 77. 393.
<i>antsibunta</i> III 40. 43. 254.	<i>elleban</i> III 28.	<i>ge gi</i> III 374.
<i>āthom</i> II 175.	<i>ēn</i> I 78.	<i>gelibð</i> IV 455.
	<i>fader</i> I 388.	<i>gihugd</i> (part. and subst.) IV 455.
<i>band</i> I 77.	<i>fagan</i> II 153.	<i>gisih</i> I 331.
<i>biddian</i> I 395.	<i>farm</i> II 175.	<i>gisūnfader</i> II 91.
<i>bi-felhan bi-felahan</i> I 222.	<i>farwurht</i> II 302.	<i>git</i> III 397.
<i>bindan</i> I 394.	<i>fast</i> II 227.	<i>githungan</i> IV 165. 439.
<i>biodan</i> I 394.	<i>fathmōs</i> II 175.	<i>glīmo</i> IV 226.
<i>bītan</i> I 393.	<i>fēkan</i> II 148.	<i>glūtan</i> IV 175. 226.
<i>biti</i> II 282.	<i>ferah</i> I 222.	<i>godcund</i> II 223.
<i>bittar</i> I 392.	<i>fersna</i> I 423. 435.	<i>griot</i> I 340.
<i>blad</i> I 103.	<i>fifoldara</i> II 98.	<i>grōtīan</i> IV 329. 341.
<i>blicsmo</i> II 374.	<i>fiwar</i> III 11.	<i>gūdea (gūðea)</i> I 205. 330, II 126.
<i>blōian</i> I 127, IV 264.	<i>floð</i> I 85.	
<i>brahtum</i> II 175.	<i>fōgian</i> IV 329.	<i>hard</i> I 387.
<i>brōsmo</i> II 374.	<i>folda</i> I 230.	<i>harm</i> II 176.
	<i>forht</i> II 235.	<i>hē hie</i> III 329. 336.
	<i>formo</i> III 5.	
	<i>fōt</i> I 85, III 289.	

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<i>hēr</i> I 65.	<i>līnōn</i> I 436. 467.	<i>skīr</i> I 39, II 187.
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<i>holm</i> I 310.	<i>māska</i> I 391.	<i>swercan</i> I 378.
<i>hord</i> I 394.	<i>mēda</i> I 394. 452. 467.	<i>swīn</i> I 39.
<i>hrēni</i> II 287.	<i>mengian</i> IV 170. 342.	<i>swōti</i> I 97.
<i>hross</i> IV 197.	<i>merrian</i> I 435.	
<i>hugda hogda</i> IV 455.	<i>metod</i> II 393.	<i>tehan</i> III 23.
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<i>hund</i> I 202.	<i>middea</i> II 132.	<i>terian</i> IV 339.
<i>hwō</i> ('how') III 177. 345.	<i>middi</i> I 395.	<i>timbar</i> II 187.
	<i>mikil</i> II 209.	<i>torht toroht</i> I 238, II 235.
	<i>mildi</i> IV 221.	<i>twē</i> III 198.
	<i>mōdag</i> II 259.	<i>twēntig</i> III 35.
	<i>mornōn</i> IV 146.	
<i>ink</i> (pron. du.) III 401.		<i>thanc</i> I 391.
<i>irrian</i> I 435.	<i>nigun</i> III 21.	<i>thē thie</i> III 336.
<i>ist</i> I 57.		<i>thiggian</i> IV 251.
<i>iwa</i> (gen.) III 394.	<i>ōk</i> I 94.	<i>thriddio</i> I 389.
<i>iwar</i> III 368.	<i>ord</i> I 392.	<i>-thungan</i> see <i>githungan</i> .
	<i>ōstar</i> I 92.	
<i>jung</i> I 156. 387, II 252.		<i>unkero</i> III 402.
	<i>plegan</i> (1 st sg. <i>pligu</i>) I 390.	<i>ūsa</i> (pron. possess.) III 246.
<i>kaft</i> II 200.		<i>ūsa</i> (gen.) III 394.
<i>kennian</i> IV 325.	<i>rōd</i> I 78.	
<i>kūh</i> II 238.		<i>wakōn</i> I 391.
<i>kō</i> II 482, III 80.	<i>sē</i> III 328. 335. 336.	<i>wallan</i> I 243.
<i>craflag</i> II 259.	<i>sēola</i> I 476.	<i>wegos</i> (plur.) II 319.
<i>kumi</i> II 282.	<i>sibbia sibbea</i> I 395.	<i>wekkian</i> I 392.
	<i>sīmo</i> II 367.	<i>werpan</i> (1 st sg. <i>wirpu</i>) I 390.
<i>leccōn</i> I 394.	<i>sindun</i> (3 rd pl.) IV 553.	<i>wīgand</i> I 387.
<i>lettian</i> I 392.	<i>siun</i> I 328.	<i>willio</i> I 222.
<i>libbian</i> IV 239. 258. 455.	<i>scimo</i> I 293.	<i>wissun</i> (3 rd pl.) IV 32.
<i>libda</i> IV 455.		

<i>wita</i> (1 st du.) IV 555.	(b) Middle and Modern Low German.	<i>vorst</i> II 9. 297.
<i>writan</i> IV 226.		<i>nuster</i> II 188.
<i>wundar</i> I 202.	<i>bulle</i> I 436.	<i>slap</i> I 103. 270.
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Dutch (Low Frankish).

Middle and Modern Dutch.	<i>vorst</i> II 9. 297.	Frankish Dialect of the Salli.
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<i>deemster</i> I 434, II 182. 187. 425.	<i>schoffl</i> II 207.	<i>septun</i> III 18.
	<i>slap</i> I 390.	<i>thüschunde</i> III 47.

Frisian of all periods.

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<i>ēthma</i> II 175. 341.	<i>lērest</i> II 243.	<i>tusk</i> II 265.
<i>filmene</i> II 370.	<i>litik</i> II 277.	<i>ūse</i> III 246.
<i>ful</i> II 317.	<i>mēde</i> I 394.	

Anglo-Saxon and English.

ð and *þ* come after *d*, *k* under *c*. The Present is usually cited in the Infinitive form.

(a) Anglo-Saxon.	<i>arð earð eart</i> (2 nd sg.) IV 57. 75. 527.	<i>bindan</i> I 394.
<i>ād</i> I 87. 94.	<i>aron earun</i> (pl.) IV 75.	<i>bledsian</i> IV 305.
<i>æccer</i> I 221.		<i>blōstma</i> I 84, II 374, IV 197.
<i>æfen</i> II 105.	<i>bæcestre</i> II 336.	<i>bōc</i> I 98, II 489.
<i>æftemest</i> II 180. 248.	<i>bann</i> IV 188.	<i>bold</i> II 121.
<i>æfterra</i> II 197.	<i>baso</i> II 105. 137.	<i>botm</i> I 347.
<i>æftra</i> II 191.	<i>bealdor</i> II 388.	<i>breȝdan</i> IV 225.
<i>æȝ</i> II 421.	<i>bēȝen</i> II 148.	<i>brīw</i> IV 138.
<i>æȝerfelma</i> II 73.	<i>be-līfan</i> I 270. 387.	<i>brord</i> I 451.
<i>ælf</i> II 317.	<i>bellan</i> I 436.	<i>brū</i> II 486.
<i>ærn</i> I 436.	<i>bēn</i> II 287.	<i>brūcan</i> IV 94.
<i>afera</i> II 190.	<i>beó</i> (1 st sg.) IV 73. 208. 235. 252.	<i>bryne</i> IV 188.
<i>alor</i> I 429.	<i>beódan</i> I 285. 394.	<i>bucca</i> I 294.
<i>ān</i> I 78.	<i>beór</i> I 221.	<i>būȝan</i> IV 88.
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<i>ār</i> II 323.		

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clūfan IV 90.
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þē ('the') III 336.
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fricgea II 357.
fricgean IV 252.
frīd II 225.
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fuzol I 221.
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hafu) IV 239^{bis}.
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Lithuanian.

Order of the letters: *a* (*q*), *b*, *c*, *cz*, *d*, *e* (*ę*, *é*), *ė*, *g*, *i* (*į*, *y*), *k*, *l* (*l*), *m*,
n, *o*, *p*, *r*, *s*, *sz*, *t*, *u* (*u*), *ū*, *v*, *z*, *ž*.

As regards the spelling *l* instead of *li*, e. g. *galū* instead of *galiū*, see
vol. I p. 29.

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Prussian.

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1) In origin it is true there is a connexion between *δέυτερος*; 'next in point of time' and *δύω* (Johansson, Beitr. zur griech. Sprachkunde 96 f., 148 f.), but when the Greeks used *δέυτερος* as a numeral this connexion had been forgotten.

2) In origin these two words likewise were really connected (cp. footnote 1).

Brugmann, Elements. Indices.

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(Here are enumerated only those suffixes which can easily be detached from their surroundings, and they come in the following order:

- (1) Formative suffixes for Noun and Pronoun Stems.
- (2) Case-endings and Adverbial suffixes.
- (3) Endings of Infinitive, Supine, and Gerund.
- (4) Formative suffixes for verbal stems.
- (5) Personal suffixes.

Proethnic.

æ follows e in the alphabetical order.

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Sanskrit.

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Avestic.

Order of the Letters: *a ā e ē ē o ō ā q i ī u ū k g x á γ c j t d p ḥ*
ḍ ḍ p b f w ʾ (ʾ) n ṇ ṇ m y v r š (š š) s z z h. As regards *ñ š ṣ* see
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-ayōi II 280. ¹⁾	-ā- (conj.) IV	569.	-tē (-dē) 3rd du.
-ō IV 599.	465. 468. 477.	-antē 3rd pl. IV	IV 572.
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599.	-ī- see -yā-.	-antī 3rd pl. IV	557.
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-a- (ind.) IV 78.	aḥtem 3rd du. IV	565.	IV 518.
81.	572.		

1) Cp. Bartholomae in Bezzenger's Beitr. XV 238.

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-ntē 3rd pl. IV 568. 569.	-mā 1st pl. IV 536.	-va 1st du. IV 555.	-svā -hvā -nuha -švā 2nd sg. IV 510.
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-ntī 3rd pl. IV 545.	-maidī 1st pl. IV 566.	-re 3rd pl. IV 573.	-hē -šī 2nd sg. IV 523.
-ntū 3rd pl. IV 546.	-mahī 1st pl. IV 536.	-r's 3rd pl. IV 573.	

Old Persian.

Order of the Letters: *a ā i ī u ū k g x c j t d p b f n m y v r l*
š s š z h.

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-a- -ā- II 111.	-yu- II 318.	masc. neut. III 246. 248.	masc. neut. III 355.
-an- II 348.	-va- II 134, III 4.	-āha nom. pl. masc. III 212.	-šuvā see -uvā.
-ana- II 150.	-vant- II 406.	-īy loc. sg. III 172.	-hyā gen. sg. masc. neut. III 130. 339.
-ara- II 191.	-ra- II 182.	-uvā -šuvā loc. pl. I 40, III 259. 260.	
-ah- II 414.	-sa- II 118.	-biš instr. pl. III 273. 278.	Infinitive Ending:
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-in- II 358, III 281.	Case und Adverbial Suffixes:	-nām gen. pl. masc. neut. III 246. 248. 251.	Suffixes of Verbal Stems:
-iya- see -ya-.	-a nom. pl. masc. fem. III 211. 218.	-m nom.-acc. sg. neut. III 109.	-a- (ind.) IV 78. 81.
-iš- II 425.	-a acc. pl. masc. fem. III 224.	-m acc. sg. masc. fem. III 89.	-a- (conj.) IV 462.
-išta- II 244.	-aiy loc. sg. masc. neut. III 164.	-yā gen. sg. fem. III 114.	-aya- IV 318. 326.
-ī -yā- II 332.	-aiy nom. pl. masc. III 352.	-yā loc. sg. fem. III 166.	-asa- IV 204.
-u- II 314.	-am nom. sg. III 372. 373.	-š nom. sg. masc. fem. III 75.	-ā- (ind.) IV 129.
-ka- II 264.	-am acc. sg. masc. fem. III 89. 94.	-š gen. sg. III 118. 121.	-ā- (conj.) IV 465. 468.
-ta- II 225, IV 606.	-ā instr. sg. III 184.	-š adv. III 135. 257.	-nava- IV 185.
-tama- II 178.	-ā nom.-acc. du, masc. fem. III 195.	-šām gen. pl.	-nā- IV 142.
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-tara- II 191.			-ya- -iya- IV 243. 262.
-tah- II 416.			
-ti- II 296.			
-tiya- III 9.			
-tu- II 326.			
-na- II 142.			
-man- II 368.			
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-mi- II 289.			
-ya- -iya- II 125.			

-yā- -iyā- (opt.) IV 482.	-atā 3rd pl. IV 569.	-taiy 3rd sg. I 88, IV 564.	-m 1st sg. IV 517. 518.
-š- IV 352.	-atiy 3rd pl. IV 545.	-tā 3rd sg. IV 564.	-mahy 1st pl. IV 536.
-ha- -ša- IV 193.	-am 1st sg. IV 517. 519.	-tām 3rd sg. IV 510.	-mā 1st pl. IV 536.
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-a 3rd pl. IV 544.	-iy 3rd sg. IV 453. 565.	-tūv 3rd sg. IV 129.	-hy 2nd sg. IV 523.
-aiy 1st pl. IV 559.	-uvā 2nd sg. I 415, IV 510.	-diy II 503.	

Armenian.

Order of the Letters: *a b g d e z ē ē t š i l x c k h j λ č m y n š o u*
č p j ř s v t r ç p' k ō (au).

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-asun III 37.	-oç (-loç) IV 608.	276. 278. 357. 388.	-i- IV 230. 235. 266. 293.
-avor II 7.	-u- II 315.	-j -z dat. IV 376. 381. 383.	-na- IV 144.
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-do- see -to-.	-un, gen. -an (*nen-) II 364.	142. 339.	-nu IV 180.
-du- (*tu-) II 327.	-ur, gen. -r, I 215, II 364, III 103.	-s acc. pl. III 224. 226. 232.	-č- IV 205.
-erord III 15.	-sun III 37.	-r gen. sg. III 341.	-ç- IV 204. 453.
-i (*-io-) II 127.	-ti- II 298.	-ç gen. loc. dat. abl. III 245.	Personal Suffixes :
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-l I 210, II 201, IV 606. 608.	-r (*-er- *-ter-) I 47 f., II 385.	-k nom. pl. III 212.	-mk 1st pl. IV 536.
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-no- II 142.	-bē -vē instr. pl.		-k 2nd pl. IV 536. 541.
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-αιτα (-αινη-) II 103. 335.	-εδε(σ)- II 7.	-ηεντ- II 407.	-ιδιο- II 128.
-αιο- II 127.	-εινο- (Dor. -ηνο-, Lesb. -εννο-) II 144.	-ηιο- II 127, III 162.	-ιθ- III 285.
-ικ- II 265. 410.	-ειο- II 128.	-ηλο- (Dor. -αλο-) II 203.	-ικ- II 270.
-ακιο- II 265.	-ελο- II 203.	-ηλο- (Dor. -ηλο-) II 203.	-ικο- II 260.
-ακο- II 265.	-εν- -ην- II 350.	-ηνο- (Dor. -ανο-, Lesb. -αννο-) II 144.	-ιλο- II 203.
-αλεο- II 135. 202.	-εννο- Lesb., see -εινο-.	-ηνο- Dor., see -εινο-.	-ιμο- II 174.
-αλο- II 202.	-ενο- II 150.	-ηρο- (Dor. αρο-) II 184.	-ινη- II 359, III 285.
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-μο- I 163, II 167. 172. 173.	-τεο- II 135, IV 605. 608.	-ων, gen. -ατος, II 351, III 103.	-εις nom. pl. masc. fem. I 48, III 211. 216.
-μον- -μων- II 371.	-τερ- -τηρ- I 48. 209, II 18. 385.	-ως, gen. -οτος, see -(f)ως.	-εσι -εσι dat. (loc.) pl. III 263.
-μωρ II 371.	-τερο- II 192, III 394. 402.	-ως, gen. -ωτος (subst.) III 285.	-(f)ως adv. II 405. 406, III 105.
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-νε(σ)- II 417.	-τητ- (Dor. -τὰτ-) II 309.		-η (Dor. -ε) dat. sg. fem. III 147.
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-ο- I 66, II 113.	-τορ- -τωρ- II 385.		
-ο(f)εντ- II 407.	-τρια, gen. -τριδς, II 336.		
-οιο- II 128.	-τριδ- II 334. 335.		
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-οπο- I 69, II 152.	-τρο- II 118.		
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-οστο- II 245.	-υ- I 40, II 315.		
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-ρι- II 291.	-υγ- II 411.		
-ρο- I 210. 229, II 184.	-υγγ- II 411.		
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-α nom.-acc. pl. neut. III 236. 238.
-α adv. I 87, III 174. 185.
-α (Dor.) adv., see -η.
-α (Dor.) adv., see -η.
-αι dat. (loc.) sg. fem. and adv. III 147. 166.
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-iu -o comparat. II 435.	-ther comparat. II 195.	-ib dat. (instr.) pl. III 275. 208.	-nim(*-no-) pres. IV 151.
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-aini- II 288.	-d- see -t-.	-dūpi- II 311.
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-an- -in- II 353, III 290.	-dar- -dr- see -tar-.	-ei- -jō- (nom. sg. -i) II 332. 334. 335. 336.
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		-i- II 282, III 289. 290.

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-ila- II 208. 209.	-ōzan -ōzin- II 248. 436.	-þjōn- II 330. 304. 361.	-na acc. sg. masc. III 338.
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-mista- II 169.	-þ- see -t-.		
-munda- I 192, II 249.	-þa- see -ta-.		
-na- II 147, III 51.	-þar- (-þr-) see -tar-.		
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-ni- II 286. 288.			
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- <i>an</i> II 153, IV 604.	- <i>na</i> IV 151. 159. 581.	- <i>ind</i> 3rd pl. IV 552.	- <i>t</i> 3rd sg. IV 528. 532.
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- <i>a</i> - <i>i</i> - (themat. vowel) I 48. 67, IV 78. 84.	- <i>ska</i> - (- <i>iska</i> -) IV 208.	- <i>nd</i> 3rd pl. I 272, IV 552.	- <i>um</i> 1st pl. IV 385. 386. 429. 538.
- <i>a</i> - <i>ai</i> - (3rd weak conj.) IV 133. 238. 307.	- <i>ta</i> - <i>þa</i> - <i>da</i> - IV 211. 215. 698.	- <i>nda</i> 1st, 2nd and 3rd pl. 566. 568. 571.	- <i>un</i> 3rd pl. IV 552.
- <i>di</i> - (opt.) IV 493. 494.	Personal Suffixes:	- <i>ndau</i> 1st, 2nd and 3rd pl. opt. IV 571.	- <i>uts</i> 2nd dual I 406, II 556.
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- <i>ð</i> IV 127. 133.	- <i>da</i> 1st and 3rd sg. IV 560. 563. 566.	- <i>s</i> 2nd sg. I 409, IV 523. 526.	- <i>za</i> 2nd sg. IV 563.
- <i>ei</i> - (opt.) I 37, IV 481. 491.	- <i>dau</i> 1st and 3rd sg. opt. IV 566.	- <i>s</i> (- <i>ōs</i>) 1st du. IV 555.	- <i>zau</i> 2nd sg. IV 563.
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Old West Germanic (Old High German, Old Saxon, Old Frisian, Anglo-Saxon).

(O.H.G. unmarked.)

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	- <i>alōd</i> II 330.	- <i>āri</i> (- <i>āria</i> -) II 103.	- <i>darsubst.</i> (*- <i>ter</i> - *- <i>tor</i> -) II 388.
- <i>a</i> , gen. - <i>en</i> , neut. II 355.	- <i>am</i> (*- <i>mo</i> -) II 174.	- <i>astria</i> II 336.	- <i>dar</i> comparat. (- <i>t(e)ro</i> -) II 196.
- <i>a</i> , gen. - <i>ūn</i> , fem. II 355.	- <i>an</i> - (- <i>ana</i> -) II 153, IV 604.	- <i>azzi</i> adj. II 409.	- <i>daro</i> - <i>dero</i> - <i>dro</i> II 197.
- <i>a</i> - <i>ō</i> II 111.	612.	- <i>dal</i> (*- <i>tlo</i> -) II 120.	- <i>der</i> (*- <i>ter</i> - II 388.
- <i>ag</i> (- <i>aga</i> -) II 258. 268.	- <i>an</i> (*- <i>no</i> -) II 147.	- <i>dam</i> (*- <i>tmo</i> -) II 174.	- <i>di</i> - <i>-ti</i> II 302. 307.
- <i>ah</i> - <i>uh</i> - (- <i>aha</i> - - <i>uha</i> -) see - <i>uh</i> .	- <i>ar</i> (*- <i>ro</i> -), fem. - <i>ara</i> , II 186.	- <i>damo</i> (*- <i>tmen</i> -) II 374.	
- <i>al</i> II 120. 207.	187.		

- <i>dil</i> - <i>dol</i> (*- <i>tel</i> - *- <i>tol</i> -) II 388.	- <i>in</i> (- <i>ina</i> -) adj. subst. II 158.	- <i>ni</i> - (O.Sax., A. S.) II 286. 287.	- <i>daro</i> etc. II 197.
- <i>du</i> - <i>-tu</i> - II 329.	- <i>in</i> (- <i>ini</i> -) subst. II 288.	- <i>n-i</i> -, nom. sg. - <i>n</i> -, fem. II 336.	- <i>ter</i> - <i>der</i> (-* <i>ter</i> -) II 388.
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-mu dat. sg. III 346. 347.	-s gen. sg. III 131. 340.	-ē opt. IV 494.	-m -n 1st sg. IV 521.
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-o gen. pl. III 246. 248.	-um -om dat. (in- str.) pl. III 275.	-(i)u (-i)e- -i-) IV 230. 233. 251. 266. 281. 305. 306. 339.	-n 3rd pl. IV 553.
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		-ta- -ti- -da- -di- IV 211. 215. 698.	-u 1st sg. IV 517. 521.
		-za- -zi- -za- -zi- IV 225.	-um (-umēs) 1st pl. IV 429. 538.
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Middle and Modern High German.

(Mod.H.G. unmarked.).

-hand II 8.	-heit II 3. 6. 10.	-lein II 104.	-massen II 7.
-hart (Mid.H.G.) II 8.	-keit II 19.	-lich II 6. 10. 104.	-tel II 6.

Old Icelandic.

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-ti- -di- numeral abstr. II 306.			

Lithuanian and Lettic.

For *y* see under *i*; *ė* under *e*; *ë* comes after *e*; *ą ę į ū* under *a e i u*;
ũ after *u*; *sz* after *s*; *ž* after *z*.

(Lith. unmarked.)

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-āk-s (Lett.) II 273.	-esti-s II 307. 422.	iszki-s -iskė II 276.	-ō- see -a-.
-ala- II 211.	-ēna- II 160.	-yva- II 137. 212.	-oka- II 273.
-ana- II 153.	-gi-s -gy-s II 277.	-ja- II 124. 130. 132, III 12. 52. 292.	-oriu- II 276.
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-ba- II 217.	-i (-jo-) II 339.	-ju- II 319.	-sla- II 211.
-dama- IV 613.	-i- II 283, III 291.	-ka- I 307, II 255. 259.	-sma- II 176.
-ē- II 332. 339, III 292. 293.	-iba (Lett.) II 217.	-kla- II 121.	-smė- II 176.
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-eli-s -elė, -ėli-s -ėlė II 211.	-yki-s -ikė II 262. 269.	-li- II 293.	-snu- II 321.
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-ēs (-vės) see -usia-.	-yma- II 176.	-men- I 163. 164, II 374, III 292.	-ter- I 48. 209. II 388, III 293.
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	-inga- II 277.	-na- I 164, II 148. 153, III 4.	-tina- II 160. 162, IV 612.
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Prussian.

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Slovonic.

Order of the Letters: *a q b c č ch d e ě g i ĵ j k l m n o p r s š t u*
ŭ v y z ž.

Old Church Slavonic unmarked.

Noun Formative Suffixes: -a- I 95, II 115, III 103. 294. -ako- II 273. -arje- II 276. -avo- II 137.	-qste- -ęšte- (nom. -q -ę) II 403, III 292, IV 606. 613. -ba- II 218. -dlo- (Czech) I 273, II 121. 215.	-edŭ- II 410. -elo- II 211 f. -en- II 356. -enŭ- II 283. 289. 356. -enŭno- IV 612. -eno- II 151, IV 605. 612.	-es- I 48. 409, II 422, III 293. -eto- II 236. -ę-ęšte- see -qšte- -ęŭ (-ęŭše-) II 438, III 177. -etŭ- II 293. -eno- II 160.
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-ica- II 271.	-mo (adv. II 405.	-tro- II 121. 197.	-boja instr. sg. III 175.
-iji II 339.	-my see -men-.	-tŭ- II 331.	-chŭ gen. pl. II 355. 356.
-ik (Russ.) II 272.	-niko II 270.	-ivo- I 138, II 117.	-chŭ loc. pl. III 257. 260. 261. 291.
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-řniko- II 271.	-sŕ- II 293.	-ze- II 277.	-ichŭ loc. pl., see -chŭ.
-řnje- II 156.	-slo- II 211.		-řma dat. -instr. du., see -ma.
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-ř- II 284. 293.			
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Addenda and Corrigenda.

Volume I.

- Page 32 line 9 read *bhai-* for *bheḷ-*.
Page 35 middle read A.S. *liccian* for *liccean*.
Page 53 line 7 inf. read *ūdecim* for *undecim*.
Page 59 line 10 inf. read *eu eo*, for *eo*.
Page 63 middle read *ḷa* for *ēa*.
Page 78 line 5 read *lḷis* for *leisan*.
Page 82 middle *v-ēna-s* for *v-ēna-s*.
Page 96 line 10 inf. read *gibdi* for *gibai*.
Page 103 § 109, line 5 read O.H.G. *starēn* M.H.G. *starn* Mod.H.G. *starr* 'stiff'.
Page 110 line 9 read **patr-i-iḷo-s* for *patr-iḷo-s*.
Page 115 line 8 inf. read *yehyā* for *yehya*.
Page 124 middle read **ḷounko-s* for **ḷounko-s*.
Page 135 § 148 line 6 read *v-ēna-s* for *v-ēna-s*.
Page 137 line 6 read O.H.G. *gi-wahannen* for O.H.G. *gi-wahanen*.
Page 139 line 8 inf. read *ḷatōm-βoio-s* for *ḷatōm-βoio-s*.
Page 160 line 3 read *aswina-n* for *aswina-m*.
Page 182 line 10 inf. read *From* g. pl. for *from*.
Page 193 line 7 inf. read *Rem. 2* for *Rem*.
Page 207 end of § 253 read *va-* for *vā-*.
Page 211 line 15 inf. read *flewen*, *flauwen*, *flouwan* for *flewen*, *flouwan*;
also p. 266 § 333 line 5.
Page 221 line 12 read *μυμύρειν, μομύρειν* for *μυμύρειν, μομύρειν*.
Page 223 line 17 inf., and p. 229 l. 8 inf., *dele* Skr. *mihirā-* 'cloud'; it is
borrowed from the Persian (*mihir*).
Page 223 end of § 279 and 229 (line 7 inf.) *dele* *mihirā-*.
Page 227 read **pātēr-*.
Page 248 line 22 inf. read *Mid.Ir.* for *O.Ir.*
Page 252 line 3 inf. read *z-dhi* for *z-dhī*.
Page 274 line 4 inf. *dele* *Av. scind-dyeiti*.
Page 277 line 11 read *Hom. ὀππως*, *Lesb. ὀππως* for *Hom. Lesb. ὀππως*.
Page 289 line 6 read § 282 *Rem.* for § 282.
Page 291 § 389 line 6 read *ḷatd-r-s* for *ḷat-di-s*.

- Page 312 line 6 inf. read *πεμπας*- for *πεντας*-.
- Page 325 § 437 line 2 read Ir. Brit. *b* initial and in the sound-group *æg*.
O.Ir. *imb* Cymr. *ymen-yn* is to be mentioned at end of § 437.
- Page 326 read Ir. Brit. *b* in word-initials and in the sound-group *æg*.
The O.Ir. *imb* Cymr. *ymen-yn*, mentioned in § 438 *b*, showed be put in § 438 *a* end.
- Page 338 line 5 inf. read *vlěši* for *vlěštū*.
- Page 343 line 21 read *klausaū* for *klausau*.
- Page 343 line 8 inf. read **gnā-* for *gnā*.
- Page 350 line 6 inf. read **skhaið-* for *skhaið*.
- Page 360 § 489 line 5 read § 497 for § 479.
- Page 380 line 10 read *manus* 'hand'.
- Page 400 (last line) read **ūzdi* for **uezdi*.
- Page 405 § 553 line 4 read § 475 for § 474.
- Page 406 § 553. 3 line 3 *dele* dat. *caedo*.
- Page 406 line 16 inf. *dele* Lat. *caedō*, and add Lith. *skėdrà* 'chip'.
- Page 450 at end of § 593 add As regards Zios etc. see Streitberg Idg. Forschungen I. 514, Zur germ. Sprachgeschichte 72.
- Page 467 § 621 line 2 read **fāxo* for **fāxo*.
- Page 467 § 621 near the end, read: A.S. *tedr* (for **tahur*) O.H.G. *zahar* (instead of Goth. *tagr*).
- Page 477 § 636 line 11 *dele* the sentence; Fut. 2 pl. *drste* etc.
- Page 496 § 649. 6 read § 473 for 474.
- Page 524 lines 8, 9 read *vēnas* for *vēnas*.

Volume II¹.

- Page 4 line 14 read running together of the vowels *instead of* contraction.
- Page 27 line 12 inf. read Theog. *instead of* Thesg.
- Page 30 line 18 inf. read Bartholomae.
- Page 40 line 11 inf. read *-yōgá-s*.
- Page 40 line 10 inf. read „
- Page 84 line 3 inf. read *krūvo-prolitije*.
- Page 111 line 9 inf. read *gij-à*.
- Page 125 line 6 inf. read *věždi*.
- Page 130 line 5 inf. read *faúra-daúri*.
- Page 145 line 5 inf. *dele* O.H.G. *spannan* 'to stretch'.
- Page 146 line 6 read *amnúd*.
- Page 168 line 5 read *dekmanniúfs*.
- Page 195 line 12 read *alttram*.
- Page 197 line 6 read O.H.G. *instead of* Goth.
- Page 201 line 2 inf. read *ðjmel* *instead of* *djmel*.
- Page 224 line 14 *dele* The character etc. down to *δῶρον*, and substitute:
There are no denominative *to*-participles found in Aryan; for Skr.

1) For a few of these I am indebted to reviews of my book by G. Meyer, Liter. Centralblatt 1892 col. 1767, and V. Henry *Révue Critique*, 1893, pp. 120 ff.

mantri-ta- is not of this kind; hence it is doubtful whether there ever were any.

- Page 236 line 4 read *us-farþō*.
 Page 255 line 6 read *þrosk-r vask-r*, without final hyphens.
 Page 263 line 9 inf. after O.H.G. add Frankish.
 Page 291 line 15 inf. dele the example Avest. *maoiri-š*.
 Page 301 line 5 inf. read 'ear' instead of 'hearing'.
 Page 303 line 7 inf. read *hlu-s-t*.
 Page 316 line 1 inf. dele A.S. *fealo* = pr. Germ. **fal-u*.
 Page 329 line 4 insert full stop after 'form'.
 Page 329 line 4 inf. read O.Sax. instead of A.S.
 Page 329 line 3 inf. read *fri-*.
 Page 330 line 2 read *juṣ-ṭv-ā*.
 Page 336 line 8 inf. read *αὐλῆ-τῆ-ῖς*.
 Page 347 line 18 read *dkṣ-i*.
 Page 353 line 1 read *An-u* instead of *Ān-u*.
 Page 354 line 17 inf. read *Gutones Semnones Herminones* instead of *Teutones*.
 Page 358 line 15 read *libelli-ō*.
 Page 358 line 19 dele stop after 'corn'.
 Page 362 line 19 inf. read *-iĕn-* instead of *-iĕn*.
 Page 375 line 14 read pp. 368 f.
 Page 375 line 18 read *ċisme*.
 Page 382 line 3 read O.H.G. instead of Goth.
 Page 385 line 2 inf. after root-syllable add (of. O.C.Sl. *jetr-y*).
 Page 388 line 1 insert Goth. before *svistar*.
 Page 393 line 7 read *cing*.
 Page 399 line 5 inf. read *mahānt-*.
 Page 403 line 8 read *all-valdand-s*.
 Page 410 line 18 read *fēlāx*.
 Page 414 line 11 read *teg* instead of *leg*.
 Page 415 line 19 read *deuṣ-sravah-*.
 Page 427 line 11 inf. read *suoz-isto*.
 Page 430 line 1 inf. read Meisterhans.
 Page 438 line 13 inf. read *sāh-vās-*.
 Page 444 line 10 read *σε-σηε-ώς*.
 Page 444 line 13 inf. read *πε-φω-ώτ-α*.
 Page 444 line 5 inf. read *τετελευτακούςας*.
 Page 445 line 1 read *τεθνεῶσα*.
 Page 465 line 8 inf. insert in before Greek.
 Page 483 line 5 inf. read *sum-ar*.
 Page 488 line 2 read *ωπ-α*.

Volume III.

- Page 4 line 1 inf. read *ἀ-πλόο-ς*.
 Page 40 line 13 inf. read *hund-seo-*.
 Page 50 line 5 read *petiro-pert*.
 Page 50 line 8 read *fulþan*.

- Page 91 line 8 *read* *hvō* *instead of* *pō*.
 Page 83 § 217 line 2 *read* *-i-m-*.
 Page 162 line 6 *add* *ρομείς* *after* *χαλκούς*.
 Page 178 line 4 *read* I p. 508 footnote.
 Page 187 line 1 *inf. and* p. 344 line 9 *dele* *Skr. sanēmi* *as uncertain*.
 Page 188 line 3 *read* *houbitun*.
 Page 188 line 4 *read* *hōfđum*.
 Page 245 line 3 *insert* *proethnic before* *Balto-Slavonic*.
 Page 257 footnote 1, line 3, *dele* *even down to* VI 377.
 Page 277 *at end of* *Remark add* (Thurneysen).
 Page 317 *in column* O.Icel., *nom. sing.*, *read* *sý-r*.
 Page 357 line 11 *inf. read* *hōfđum*.
 Page 367 line 9 *read* *Rem. 3 instead of* *Rem. 2*.
 Page 368 line 11 *inf. read* *iuwih*, *omitting* *.
 Page 371 line 5 *read* *eu*.
 Page 396 line 15 *inf. read* *Gaedicke*.

Volume IV.

- Page 5 line 4 *inf. add:* E. Budde, *Russkij glagol sravitel'nos cerkov-noslavjanskim* (The Russian Verb compared with the Church Slavonic), *Russkij filol. věstnik* XXVII (1892) 1 ff.
 Page 5 line 13 *add:* F. Schulz *De obsoletis conjugationum Plautinarum formis*, Konitz 1864.
 Page 5 line 16 *before* *Schleicher insert:* Rosenberger, *Das lettische Verbum aufs neue dargestellt*, Dorpat 1843.
 Page 7 *before* *Verbal Compounds, insert* § 463.
 Page 10 *before* *Reduplication, insert* § 464.
 Page 17 § 472 *at end of* *Remark, add:* Further, Johansson regards *ai* in the Goth. perfect *rai-rōþ sai-sō* etc. as a long (open) *e*; De deriv. verb. contr. 187, Bezz. Beitr. XIII 125. The sound-change by him assumed seems to me insufficiently supported.
 Page 22 line 14 *inf. and* 421 line 2, *dele* *Umbr. stitisteteie(n)s* (cp. Thurneysen, *Kuhn's Zeitschr.* XXXII 559 ff.).
 Page 24 line 2 *inf. add:* Platt, *The Augment in Homer*, *Journ. Phil.* 1891 no. 38 [G. Meyer].
 Page 28 line 13 *inf. add:* The *ēs* of the comedians should probably be read *ess*, answering to *terr ferr* (p. 501 footnote 1). Compare Skutsch, *Forschungen zur altlat. Gramm.* p. 60.
 Page 33 footnote line 16 *add:* J. P. Janzon, *De aoristo*, Lund 1843.
 Page 34 footnote line 7 *add:* H. Pedersen, *Das Präsensinfix n*, *Idg. Forsch.* II 285.
 Page 34 footnote line 10 *add:* Streitberg, *-ž-* in der Verbalflexion, *P.-B. Beitr.* XIV 224 ff.
 Page 34 footnote line 14 *add:* Burchard, *Die Intensiva des Sanskrit und Avesta*, Theil I (1892).
 Page 35 footnote 1 *inf. add* C. F. Lorenz, *De vestigiis decem classium verbi Sanskritiei in Graeci verbi formis apparentibus*, *Regim.* 1868.
 *

- Page 51 line 14 inf. *read* *kypāna-tē*.
- Page 56 footnote 1, *add*: With *fenestra* seems to be connected *fōns font-is*, originally 'opening' (cp. Armen. *bana-m* 'I open'); B. Maurenbrecher, *Fleckeisen's Jahrb.* 1892 p. 199. Compare *mon-t* beside *prō-mineō*. Thus we may also justify the derivation of the latter part of *Ἀγχι-φόντης* from *φαίω* (Roscher, *Hermes der Windgott* 94 ff., *Lexicon der gr. und röm. Myth.* I 2386).
- Page 83 line 3 *read* § 478 p. 26.
- Page 108 line 1 inf. A different explanation of *ni-śanḥastī* is offered by Caland, *Kuhn's Zeitschr.* XXXII 590 f.
- Page 141 line 17 *before* see *insert*: *hṛ-an-mahi*
- Page 177 § 639. J. Schmidt (*Kuhn's Zeitschr.* XXXII 377 ff.) tries to show that *ḍe-rū-mi* *śrō-rū-mi* come from **ḍe-rū-mi* *śrā-rū-mi* = Skr. *ṛ-ṇō-mi* *stṛ-ṇō-mi*. This attempt, in my opinion, fails.
- Page 197 § 662 *add*: On *accersō* see further Thurneysen, *Kuhn's Zeitschr.* XXXII 571 f.
- Page 211 §§ 680, 681 *add*: On Skr. *sphuṭa-ti*, *rēṣṭa-tē*, and *cēṣṭa-ti*, see Johansson, *Kuhn's Zeitschr.* XXXII. 469 ff.
- Page 278 § 758. For the Doric Future see further Solmsen, *Kuhn's Zeitschr.* XXXII 546 ff.
- Page 394 line inf. *read* *to instead of do*.
- Page 404 line 2 *read* *nt-ḡḡas-rai*.
- Page 417 line 9 *read* *pe-pendī*.
- Page 419 line 10 inf. *read* *cēpī*.
- Page 523 line 4 inf. *read* O.Pers. *instead of* Goth.
- Page 546 line 22 *read* *etun*.

